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SHORT HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BY

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SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

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PREFACE

The present work has as its basis the series of five Short Histories by the same author, which appeared in the following order: The Reformation, 1884; The Early Church, 1886; The Mediæval Church, 1887; The Modern Church in Europe, 1888; and The Church in the United States, 1890. Reversing the order of the first two volumes—The Short History of the Reformation and The Short History of the Early Church—the five volumes form a connected History of the Church nearly down to the present time. From this experiment of brief histories of the several periods, it has been illustrated anew that the popular taste for the condensed treatment of the secular sciences can be safely applied to the domain of Theological Science, and to no department with greater hope of success than to Historical Theology. These summaries have met with a reception far more generous than could have been expected, and the indications are not wanting that they have led students of Church History, and even general readers, into the broader paths laid out by Neander, Gieseler, Schaff, Hagenbach, Fisher, and other masters of this fascinating and growing science. What was done in the Short History for each period has seemed proper for all the periods taken together. The result is the present work—Short History of the Christian Church.

All the matter contained in the separate Short Histories has been examined with care, and large portions in every period have been rewritten. Fundamental changes have been made, such as a summary of literature at the beginning of each chapter, important additions to the part assigned the Reformation,

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and especially such enlargement of the parts relating to the European Church in the Modern Period and the Church in the United States as to amount to an entirely new treatment. The method pursued in the Short History of these periods has been abandoned, and the result is practically a new History of each period.

In these important departments—namely, the literature for each chapter, the survey of the later European Church and the American Church, and essential aid in every part of the work—I have had the valuable co-operation of the Rev. John Alfred Faulkner, B.D. This scholar has elsewhere given ample proof of the true historical instinct. Among all the younger men who are digging in the rich mines of Historical Theology, I know of no one who is likely to bring to the light a gold of finer quality or richer lustre, or whose pen bids fairer to make the Church of the Past a wise instructor for the Church of the Future. The Index of Authors and General Index have been prepared by a friend in other labors, the Rev. Albert Osborn, B.D. For the important section of Ecclesiastical Statistics in the Appendix to this volume, obligations are due to Henry K. Carroll, LL.D., of the editorial department of *The Independent*, New York, and General Agent for the Statistics of the Churches for the present United States Census. No part of the treatment has been so delicate, or conducted with so much misgiving, as that of the various American denominations. But fairness has been uppermost in mind throughout. Yet it would be a great pleasure to welcome any suggestion, from whatever quarter, where there may seem the least lack of that high impartiality which is essential to any one who makes bold to pass, and would lead others, along the paths of History. It is earnestly hoped, however, that not even a seeming injustice has been done to any one of the noble Churches which have grown up amid the manifold ecclesiastical life of the United States.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 1st*, 1892.

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THE EARLY CHURCH

A.D. 30–768

The Bibliographical Notes are intended for aid in the study of the special topics treated, not for general historical investigation. For more extended help on all the periods of Church History, consult Adams, Manual of Historical Literature (N. Y., new ed., 1889); Fisher, J. A., Bibliography of Ecclesiastical History in Methods of Teaching and Studying History, edited by G. S. Hall; also reprinted in separate form (Boston, 1885); Hurst, Bibliotheca Theologica, (N. Y., 1883); and the rich literary material in the histories of Schaff, Fisher, Kurtz, Guericke, and Gieseler. For the general history of the Church, consult Neander (Boston, 12th ed., 1881), who combines in a wonderful degree scholarship, edification, and spiritual insight; Kurtz (new ed., N. Y., 1889–90); Schaff, our American Neander, but superior to him in interest, and in having at command the latest researches (N. Y., rev. ed., 1882–89); Philip Smith (N. Y., 1881–89); G. P. Fisher (N. Y., 1888).

On the early period of Church History in general the following hand-books may be commended: The Church of the Early Fathers, by Alfred Plummer, D.D. (London and N. Y., 1887); The Church and the Roman Empire, by Rev. A. Carr (London and N. Y., 1888). The above belong to the useful series edited by Professor (now Bishop) Creighton. Epochs of Church History: Martyrs and Apologists, by the late Edward de Pressensé (5th ed., London, 1889); History of the Christian Church, from the Earliest Times to the Death of Constantine, by F. J. Foakes-Jackson, with questions, tables, etc. (Cambridge and London, 1891); The Church of the Fathers, by John Henry Newman (in Historical Sketches, vol. ii., pp. 1–210). This last work consists mostly of biographical sketches, with copious translations from the writings of the Fathers, written before the author became a Roman Catholic, in a pious and uncontroversial spirit, and is well adapted to reveal the inner life and moral earnestness of the ancient Church.

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH AND ITS HISTORY

[Authorities.—The following special works on the Apostolic Church are of value: Neander, Planting and Training of the Christian Church (N. Y., 1865); Pressensé, Early Years of Christianity: Apostolic Age, 4th ed. (London, 1890); Farrar, Early Days of Christianity (N. Y., 1883).]

The visible Church consists of the organized believers in Christ and the followers of his life. General history reveals the constant presence of a superintending Providence. The rise and fall of nations is not an idle play of human passions. Schiller's aphorism is a just recognition of God's constant watchfulness and justice: "The world's history is the world's judgment." The wild currents have never been permitted to flow on without divine control. When the hour came for the wrong to cease, the controlling hand intervened. The result was always the triumph of the right. In the history of the Church the divine superintendence has been far more prominent. While in secular history the spiritual forces lay largely in the background, in the life of the Church they have come out boldly into the clear foreground. Though often in the wrong, and divided in opinion, the Church has been saved from fatal error and downfall by divine interposition. Even when it has been grossly superstitious, and the teacher of false doctrine, God has always raised up true servants, who became the heroes of a holy cause and the heralds of a brighter day. The champion of a wrong cause has always had his plans fail through the work of some brave and pure opponent. There has been an Athanasius to meet every Arius. To counteract a Leo X. there has always arisen a fearless Luther. To show where the divine force has controlled all human events, and made them subserve the steady progress of God's servants, is the mission of him who treats the history of the Church. The office of the historian of the Church is not to untie a

tangled skein, but to follow the golden thread of the divine presence in all Christian ages.

When our Lord's passion had occurred, three important works were accomplished. He had communicated his gospel to men, he had set a spotless example before the world, and he had achieved universal redemption by his voluntary death. His subsequent resurrection and ascension were the visible proofs of the truth of his doctrines. They were more than this—they were the twofold assurance to his followers, then and in all later ages, that they who believe in him, and love him, shall enjoy his constant presence during life, and afterwards enter upon the inheritance of heaven. Christ, immediately before his ascension, commanded his disciples to remain in Jerusalem until they should be endued with power from on high. Here lay his promise of spiritual endowment for their ministry. It was, at the same time, a direct lesson that a special spiritual preparation and plenitude were, for all time, a requisite for the successful preaching of the gospel. Without the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost there would have been no impulsive power in Christianity.

Completion of Christ's Personal Ministry

The Pentecost was the Jewish national thanksgiving day. It was the feast of weeks, or harvest feast-day, which commemorated the gift of the Law to Moses, and at the same time gave occasion to return thanks for the annual products of the soil. Its observance was associated with the most touching memories connected with the founding of the theocracy, and with the subsequent preserving care of a bountiful Creator. Jews in all lands united with their brethren in Palestine in an annual visit to Jerusalem, to celebrate the day. The first Christian Pentecost came on the fiftieth day after our Lord's resurrection and the tenth after his ascension. There were Jews in the sacred city from all parts of the known world. On that day the promise of the Spirit's descent was fulfilled. Cloven tongues of fire flamed above the heads of the disciples. The miraculous gift of utterance was imparted. The multitude of Jews was attracted to the place where the disciples were. Each worshipper, whatever his language, understood the preaching. Peter explained to the people the significance of the scene, and applied the descent of the Spirit to the work of our Lord.

Preaching at Pentecost

The result was the addition of three thousand to the body of believers.

The organization of the Church took place immediately after the remarkable scenes at Pentecost. Measures were soon taken for a unifying ecclesiastical polity. Even before Pentecost a new apostle, Matthias, was chosen in place of the fallen Judas. Orders of ministers and lay members were established for the preaching of the gospel, the care of the needy, and the building-up of the body of believers. Only a general organization, however, was effected. The most simple arrangements were made for government, as the believers were as yet but few, and confined to a narrow territory. The more elaborate polity was left for the future needs of the Church, to take its shape according to the expansion of the societies into all lands and nationalities, and their individual requirements.

Practical Life

The practical life of the Christians was at once simple and beautiful. It was a type of all the essential qualities which Christ had taught, as requisite for pure living and final salvation. There were both a simplicity of faith and that intense brotherly love which had their practical demonstration in the equal distribution of temporal possessions. The community of goods did not arise from a divine command, but was merely the natural effect of that broad charity which arose from the love of Christ and the possession of the Spirit. The real majesty of the early Church lay in its spontaneous quality. All thoughts centred in the memory of Christ as a personal Saviour, and in the consciousness of his continued presence. To crown all, there was a fervor in communicating the gospel which knew no bounds. The whole world seemed small. Its farthest horizon alone was to be the limit of teaching. What the apostles had felt and known was now their sole passion. There was little difference between the apostle and the unlettered believer. Each, in his own best way, was to preach the new life in Christ, that all men might share its sacrifice here and its holy joy hereafter. Pentecost was the practical divine testimony to the universal adoption of the gospel. The removal of the natural limitations of language was a providential indication of the application of Christianity to every class and condition. It was the divine endorsement of the command to the disciples to preach and teach the Word throughout the world.

CHAPTER II

THE SCENE OF THE LABORS OF THE APOSTLES

[Authorities.—Conybeare and Howson's Life and Epistles of St. Paul (London, 1853), often reprinted, is still invaluable. Farrar's more brilliant work on the same apostle (N. Y., 1880) should be read along with it. Prof. Salmond has given in brief compass an excellent study of Peter, Life of the Apostle Peter (Edinb., 1884). On the life of John, see Macdonald's Life and Writings of St. John (N. Y., 1880), and Farrar's Early Days of Christianity, book v. chaps. xxiv.–xxxvii.; also Paton J. Gloag, Introduction to the Johannine Writings (London, 1891), a work of great ability and scholarly insight.]

The Acts of the Apostles is the chief source of information concerning the fields of work of the different apostles. But the epistles of Paul and his associates contain frequent statements which serve to supply missing links in that more formal history. To these may be added the supplementary accounts of writers from the second century to the fourth; many of which, however, are only vague suppositions, or impressions, which existed in oral form in the early Church.

Peter represented the Jewish type of Christianity. He was slow to learn that Christianity was designed for all men.

Peter

Pentecost should have been enough, but even this great lesson did not satisfy his intensely Jewish character. After important labors in Palestine, extending as far north as Antioch, he came to the council in Jerusalem. Here, at the moment of supreme test, he wisely changed his position, and united with Paul in removing all Jewish ceremonials as a condition of entrance into the Church. Henceforth all bonds with Judaism were broken, and Jews and Gentiles became Christians on precisely the same terms. There are good reasons to suppose that Peter made an evangelistic tour through portions of Asia Minor, for his first epistle intimates previous labors in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia (the province), and Bithynia. He also says that at the time of writing he was in Bab-

ylon. If this was the Babylon on the banks of the Euphrates —and we believe it was—he was, no doubt, attracted thither by reason of the large Jewish population resident there. It seems to have been understood by him and Paul that he should confine his labors to the East, while Paul should occupy himself with the West.

Peter in Rome

There is no historical proof that Peter founded the Church in Rome, or that he was ever there. His residence there is not mentioned by the earliest writers in their lists of the first bishops of the Western metropolis. The first mention was by Dionysius of Corinth, A.D. 170, who speaks of Peter's death in Rome. The concurrent later testimony of the early Christian writers as to his residence and death there is worthy of credit. But while we are without definite proof of Peter's presence in Rome, it is not impossible that he did spend a brief period there, and that he died about the year 67, in the persecution under Nero. There is, however, not the least foundation for the belief that Peter was ever bishop of the Church.

Paul

Paul towers far above all the apostles in the majesty of his character, the scope of his genius, the depth of his learning, and the sublime quality of his labors. Educated in both Jewish and pagan learning, after his miraculous conversion he became an apostle, in every sense able to cope with the antagonism of the combined foes of his age. His call was to the Gentiles. He made three great missionary tours. The first was begun A.D. 44, and embraced Cyprus, and then Asia Minor, where he visited Perga, Pisidia, Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe.

Paul's second missionary journey began A.D. 48. He went northward through Syria into Asia Minor, and visited Cilicia, Phrygia, Galatia. He then crossed the Ægean Sea into Macedonia. He began his European ministry in Philippi, and went thence southward into Greece as far as Corinth. From thence he went to Ephesus, and returned to Jerusalem. He entered upon his third tour A.D. 52. He went again into Asia Minor, taking Galatia, Phrygia, and Troas on the way. He then crossed into Macedonia and Illyricum. He returned to Troas, and, passing by the Ægean islands, proceeded back to Jerusalem. Here he was arrested, and taken a prisoner to Cæsarea, where he was two years in confinement. He appealed for

justice to Cæsar, and was taken to Rome. He remained there from A.D. 59 to 61. He was now released, and, as we believe, entered on a fourth tour, embracing a visit to Crete, Macedonia, Corinth, Nicopolis, Dalmatia, and Asia Minor. He was a second time arrested, and taken to Rome. He suffered martyrdom in Nero's reign, A.D. 66.*

John represented the mediating element between Judaism and paganism. His attachment and scene of labor seem to have been, for the first twenty years after Pentecost, chiefly in Palestine. He was present at the council in Jerusalem, A.D. 50. For twenty years, or until A.D. 70, we lose sight of him entirely. The probability is, that he labored in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, with Babylon as the centre, and returned to Jerusalem, whence he fled to Ephesus on the capture of that city by Titus. We find him now in Ephesus. His residence was intermitted by his exile to the island of Patmos. He died in Ephesus about A.D. 98, when about one hundred years old.

John

The labors of the other apostles are largely matter of conjecture, derived from the writings of Hegesippus, Eusebius, and Nicephorus, who framed their suppositions from the floating oral traditions in the Christian communities. James the Elder suffered martyrdom in Jerusalem, about A.D. 44. James, our Lord's brother, preached in Jerusalem, and finally died there a martyr. It was believed that Philip labored in Phrygia; Simon Zelotes, in Egypt and the neighboring African coast; Thomas, in India; Andrew, in Scythia, Asia Minor, Thrace, and Greece; Matthias, in Ethiopia; Judas, called Lebbæus or Thaddeus, in Persia; and Bartholomew, in Lycaonia, Armenia, and India.

The other Apostles

The uncertainty as to fields of labor of most of the apostles is one of the marvels of the Scriptures. One fact is clear, however, that the trend of the world's Christian life was westward. On the distribution of the gospel into the more stable

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* Historians differ as to these dates of Paul's tours. Lewin places the first tour A.D. 45; Schaff (rev. ed., vol. i.), A.D. 50; and Conybeare and Howson, A.D. 48. The second tour is placed by Lewin, A.D. 49; by Schaff, Conybeare, and Howson, A.D. 51. Lewin and Schaff, for the third tour, give A.D. 54. These writers give the date of his residence in Rome A.D. 61–63.

parts of the Roman Empire we have full light in the accounts of Paul's labors. All the just and vital interests of Christianity centred in that one man's work. Rome was to be the point of departure for the sowing of the truth in the north and farther west. Here Paul brought his life and labors to a triumphant close. But with his martyrdom he had only begun his work. His example and writings—and the two are inseparable—have been, ever since, the permanent and necessary treasures of the Church. The present current of the truth is a reversal of the old order. It is from the fields then barbarous, and largely unknown to the geography of those times, towards the old East. What the apostles could only begin will be completed, in the Eastern countries, by the laborers sent out from the warm heart of Western Protestantism.

CHAPTER III

THE GREEK AND ROMAN CONDITIONS

[Authorities.—For a fine survey of the preparations of Christianity, and of the conditions of the Greek and Roman world, see Fisher, Beginnings of Christianity (N. Y., new ed., 1887), chaps. i.–vii. William Ralph Inge, assistant master at Eton, has given us a scholarly and helpful study, Society in Rome under the Cæsars (N. Y., 1888).]

Paganism and Christianity

The pagan literature, in the earliest period of Christianity, was a beautiful piece of human workmanship. No temple in stone was so symmetrical and elaborate as that of Greek and Roman letters. From rude beginnings, it had grown into such majestic and firm proportions that, to this day, it challenges the admiration of the world. The classic achievements in the whole field of literature, art, philosophy, and legislation are the common inheritance of man. When Christianity came forward with its strange claims upon the confidence of men, there was but little in its exterior which could awaken sympathy. The most despised land had produced it. Its founder had suffered death on the ignominious cross. Its first apostles were of humble origin, and, with the exception of Paul, not one had drunk at the classic fountains. That a new faith, with such multiform

disadvantages, should venture upon such a hostile field, where the literature and traditions of many centuries held firm ground, seemed a hopeless task. But the heroism of the first preachers of Christianity was not disturbed by the number or strength of the enemy. The promise of success was the basis of their faith. They wrought on, and expected triumph over every foe. Which should win—the obscure Christian, who had never fought a battle, or the cultivated pagan, who had never lost one?

The Greeks

The path of the Greek to mastery had been through all fields of intellectual development. Out of the old Pelasgic cradle he had grown to the full grandeur of Attic manhood. The blood of many tribes flowed through his veins, and he had absorbed the strongest and best elements of all. In epic and dramatic poetry he produced Homer, Hesiod, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. The Greek was a lover of form and color. He caught his inspiration from the wild and beautiful scenery of his islands and broken coast. Apelles and Phidias became the incarnation of his passion. In his long battle for federation he had produced such great law-givers as Solon and Lycurgus. He was of fervent temperament, and, living always in a feverish political atmosphere, he had developed Demosthenes, Æschines, and Isocrates—orators who have swayed audiences in all later ages.

Philosophical Systems

In philosophy, the Greeks labored with great industry. The growth of their systems was contemporaneous with their national prosperity. The dealing with the fundamental questions of human being and destiny by Socrates and Plato reveals a deep moral purpose. There are two great periods of Greek philosophy, separated by the downfall of Alexander's empire. The former extends from B.C. 600 to B.C. 324. Within this short space arose all the best thinkers, who founded the Ionic, the early Pythagorean, the Eleatic, the Atomistic, and the Sophist schools. The culmination was reached in the three systems of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. The second period extends from B.C. 324 to A.D. 530. The schools of the decadence rose and fell at this time—the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Sceptics. To this was added Neo-Platonism, founded by Plotinus. The most spiritual of the entire circle of Greek philosophers was Plato. In many departments of his philosophy, such as the

unity and spirituality of God and the immortality of the soul, he made, though unconsciously, very near approaches to the truths of revelation. It was the habit of early Christian teachers to regard his system as kindred to Christianity. Eusebius said: "Plato alone, of all the Greeks, reached the vestibule of truth, and stood upon its threshold." Justin Martyr, Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, and Augustine, in the early period, and Schleiermacher and Neander in the recent period, were led to Christ through Plato as their guide.

Decay of Greek Philosophy

The best systems in the group declined with the political supremacy of the Greek confederation. Those which succeeded the loss of national independence were the systems of despair. When Christianity arose, the prevailing Greek philosophy was sceptical. The mythology had lost its firm hold; while philosophy, which was the substitute offered by the profoundest thinkers, proved its own inability to satisfy the cravings of the soul for salvation, and to be the solution of its great problems.

Pagan faith and thought were unavailing to meet the spiritual wants of man. The soul could not live on the triumphs of art, or literature, or eloquence, or legislation. Christianity came forward with its sublime truths, and made proffer of them to the world. Paul, preaching Christ on Mars Hill, looked back upon a long pathway of dead systems of Greek genius, and forward upon the rise of Christian creations in their place. Great as had been the thinkers of the Stoa and the Academy, greater still was the messenger of Christ. His system was the permanent truth.

The Roman Empire

When Christianity began its career for the world's possession, the Roman rule was universal. The literature and religion were shaped from Greek models. But the Romans gave to everything a practical direction. Law was the Roman habit, and to govern was the Roman passion. The Romans had no sooner conquered a rude tribe than they converted the territory into a new province, and gave it all the qualities of a firm part of the empire. Palestine was an integral part of the great domain, governed by Roman deputies, who were closely watched at the same time that they were intrusted with large authority. Paul, the Greek preacher, enjoyed and asserted the rights of Roman citizenship. Great highways, built at great expense for the rapid

movement of armies, connected all parts of the broad territory. These made easy the rapid dissemination of the gospel. The apostles could move along these stone roads with ease, and so convert paths for soldiers into highways for the triumphant march of the messengers of the peaceful gospel.

Obstacles to Christianity

The difficulties confronting the Church throughout the Roman Empire were, however, of formidable character. The entire body of the people was hostile to any spiritual religion. What did not appeal to the senses had no attraction to them as an object of worship. The hold of the old mythology was lost, and a general scepticism as to all beliefs prevailed. But the emperors regarded the preservation of the ancestral faith as the great bulwark of the throne. Political government and fidelity to the prevailing mythology were held to be inseparable. Hence, Christianity was bitterly opposed, so soon as its antagonism was discovered. It was seen to be hostile to the elaborate temple service. The emperor, who was also Pontifex Maximus, or supreme priest, was held responsible for the support of the state religion. The temples and pagan rites must be sustained. The more closely Christianity came into view, the more stringent became the measures for its suppression. The Christians made no concealments. They absented themselves from the temples, threw off all faith in the ruling mythology, and openly declared their hostility to it.

When Christianity appeared, the moral depravity of the Roman Empire was at its lowest ebb. The stricter morals of the republic had disappeared in the wild licentiousness of the empire. It was an age of excesses, which the satirists, with Juvenal and Persius at their head, held up to universal contempt.

Degradation of Women and Childhood

The degradation of women was complete. Even in Athens the wife was a slave, and possessed no legal rights. She could bequeath only a measure of barley to her offspring. Her present depression in Turkey is a fair picture of the old pagan conditions. Her mental endowments were declared to be of inferior grade. She was supposed to excel in duplicity and treachery. Marriage was a loose bond, with only the shadow of political institution. A low estimate was placed on childhood. In Sparta the maimed children were a burden to the

state, because useless as soldiers. Only boys had an importance in the eye of parents. Stealing was a virtue in a boy, provided he could do it so cleverly as not to be detected. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle never went so far as to enforce the element of religion in education. Children were not taught reverence for their parents. Jupiter, the son of Saturn, hurled his father from the throne, shut him up in Tartarus, and parcelled out the universe between himself and his two brothers, Neptune and Pluto. With this picture of filial brutality as the basis of the pagan mythology, what better estimate could be expected of childhood? All the types of parental love were based on admiration of heroic deeds. When Xenophon was told that his son had died in battle, he replied: "I did not request the gods to make my son immortal or long-lived, for it is not clear that this was suitable for him; but that he might have integrity in his principles, and be a lover of his country, and now I have my desire." Children, according to the pagan thought, were only machines for fighting future battles. Christ achieved no greater revolution than when he elevated childhood into equality with manhood. His one declaration: "Of such is the kingdom of heaven," was a fatal blow at the world's prevailing estimate of children.

Slavery was universal. It underlay the whole political and social structure. In Attica, as early as B.C. 309, according to Demetrius Phalereus, there were twenty thousand citizens and four hundred thousand slaves. Among the Romans the slaves were not regarded as persons (*personæ*), but as things (*res*). The doors of the wealthy Romans were guarded by *ostiarii*, or slaves in chains, who lay like dogs before their kennels. When a gentleman was murdered, and his assassin could not be found, the crime was supposed to have been committed by a slave, and all the slaves, with their wives and children, were put to death, to make sure of the offender. Tacitus says that when Pedanius Secundus was murdered, as many as four hundred innocent slaves were put to death. Slavery extended to all parts of the empire, and the number in Rome was constantly kept up by the inflow of captives in the wars.

Slavery

CHAPTER IV

THE ATTITUDE OF JUDAISM TOWARDS CHRISTIANITY

[Authorities.—Consult Schürer, History of the Jews in the Time of Christ (Edinb., 1887), an unimpeachable authority; also Prof. Stapfer's useful book, Palestine in the Time of Christ (3d ed., N. Y., 1889). Prof. Pick has given a magnificent sketch of the after-history of the Jews (N. Y., 1887.)]

Jewish Antecedents

The Jews regarded themselves as the world's teachers and law-givers. They alone, of all peoples, believed in the unity of God. Their history was a long chapter of splendor and defeat. When they escaped from Egyptian bondage, and reached Palestine, their first form of government was theocratic. God raised up judges to meet special emergencies in their history. From this they degenerated into a monarchy, which, after the death of Solomon, was divided into two kingdoms—Israel and Judah. Unity in both government and faith was gone. Israel was overcome by the Assyrians, and Judah by the Babylonians, and both nations were led off into exile to the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Only a small portion of Israel, or the ten tribes, returned. The captives of conquered Judah were cured of their polytheistic tendencies, and, preserving their identity under Cyrus and his Persian successors, returned to Palestine. After the dissolution of the empire of Alexander the Great, who had conquered Palestine B.C. 332, the Seleucidæ ruled in Syria and the Ptolemies in Egypt. Between these two the Jews led a subject and timid life, and finally submitted to the Seleucidæ. The Greek religion was foisted upon them, but they rebelled, and determined to preserve their old faith and to conquer their rulers. Mattathias and his three sons led the revolt. For a time they were successful, and hoped to restore the old Davidic splendor. Pompey was at this time in Asia, at the head of the Roman army. He was invited to settle the dispute. He entered the country, besieged Jerusalem B.C. 63, and, as was the Roman wont, took possession of the country,

and united it with the Roman Empire. The Jews had now lost all independence. Their later revolts had no other effect than to tighten the Roman hold, and to disperse small bodies of colonists around the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean.

Samaritans

The Samaritans were a mongrel religious body. They consisted of returned Jews from Assyria, who brought with them those elements of pagan worship which they had absorbed during their captivity. They settled in the valley of Shechem, and built their temple on the top of Mount Gerizim. The sect still exists, and consists of about one hundred and fifty people. Their city is Nablus, which lies in the valley between Mounts Gerizim and Ebal. They have a high-priest, and are still in possession of their revered copy of the Pentateuch, believed to be the oldest in the world.

Other Jewish Bodies

The Pharisees were the most educated of all Jewish classes. Their teachers were versed in the law, and represented the hopes, the narrowness, and the ritualism of the people. They taught a national revival. They originated as a class about B.C. 144, and aimed to restore the waning faith to its old Mosaic strength. Inclined to allegorical interpretation, and devoted to traditions, they aimed to supplement the Scriptures by traditional accretions. The Sadducees originated, according to some, with Zadoc, who lived about B.C. 250. They strove to restore Mosaism, but rejected tradition. They absorbed some of the elements of pagan thought, especially the doctrines of Epicurus. They rejected angels, the resurrection of the body, the immortality of the soul, and the divine interference in human affairs. The Essenes originated about B.C. 150. Their belief was Jewish, with Persian elements. They prayed towards the sun, and held that virtue and vice inhered in matter. They led a monastic life, and practised community of goods. All of these sects were in full strength at the time of Christ. The Essenes were retired, but the Pharisees and Sadducees were strong and prominent. But all the sects disappeared with the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, A.D. 70.

Dispersed Jews

The Jews are the wanderers of all history and all continents. From the time of their captivity in Assyria and Babylonia down to the present day, they have held their pilgrim staff in hand. About B.C. 350 we find a large colony on the shore of the Caspian Sea. Syria,

under the reign of Seleucus Nicator (B.C. 312–280), received a vast Jewish population. In the insecure interval between Alexander the Great and A.D. 70, they had gone, in colonies, into Assyria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Asia Minor, Crete, Cyprus, and the Ægean Islands. In Lydia and Phrygia there was a colony of two thousand families. They generally preserved their identity. The most concentrated Jewish population outside of Palestine was in northern Africa. Egypt, Lybia, and Cyrene abounded in Jews. Alexandria was their chief centre. Even under Alexander, the founder of the city, large numbers settled there, while he assigned eight thousand Samaritans to the Thebaid. Extensive privileges were granted the Jews. They not only thrived in commerce, but developed thorough and broad scholarship. Philo, who attempted to harmonize Jewish theology and Greek philosophy, was a Jew, whose learning was profound, and worthy of high praise. The Greek version of the Old Testament, the Septuagint, was a great triumph of Jewish learning.

Roman Jews

The first Jewish colony in Rome consisted of captives brought by Pompey from Palestine. They were assigned a distinct part of the city, which they have occupied ever since—the present Ghetto. Julius Cæsar granted the Jews special favors. They were declared freedmen (*libertini*), had their synagogues, observed their festivals, and held the Sabbath as a sacred day. The cultivated Romans, however, always despised them. They were the usual objects of raillery and satire. Juvenal held them up to contempt by saying that they prayed to nothing but the clouds and the empty heavens.

Jewish Colonies

The apostles observed a common plan in preaching the gospel. They went first to the Jews, and then appealed to the outlying populations. Paul's success among them was often signal, but from them came also his most bitter foes. There were great advantages in making the Jews his first auditors. They were already familiar with the sacred history antecedent to Christianity. They had heard of the marvellous career of Jesus. Their annual visits to Jerusalem, to attend the festivals, had made them acquainted with the popular estimate of the new gospel. "To the Jew first," was his invariable plan. But there was no long pause. "Also to the Greek," was the next step of the tireless preacher.

CHAPTER V

THE PERIOD OF UNIVERSAL PERSECUTION

[AUTHORITIES.—Dr. Gerhard Uhlhorn's interesting and suggestive work, Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism (N. Y., 1879), is of much service here. Paul Barron Watson has made a new study of Aurelius's attitude in his Marcus Aurelius (N. Y., 1884). The Persecutions of Diocletian have been treated in a book of that title by A. J. Mason (London, 1876).]

THE political prostration of the Jews embittered them against the Christians. There was nothing in common between the Jewish sects and the early Church. The scepticism of the Sadducees and the disappointed hopes of the Pharisees combined to intensify the popular hate. The council in Jerusalem cast Peter and John into prison, and put Stephen to death. A general persecution, under Herod Agrippa, A.D. 44, broke out, and James the Elder fell a victim to its rage. The Christians took refuge in Pella, beyond the Jordan. Bar-cochba led a final popular Jewish revolt against the Roman authority, A.D. 132, but was defeated by Julius Severus, and Jerusalem became a heap of ruins. The Roman emperor Hadrian tried to destroy the attachment of the Christians to the sacred associations of the city by erecting on Calvary a temple to Venus, and, over the Holy Sepulchre, a statue to Jupiter. But his efforts, while pleasing to the Jews, had no material effect. The Jews, now that all hope of national independence was gone, established a school at Tiberias, where they tried to achieve with the pen what they had failed to accomplish by the sword. Their misrepresentations of Christ and his doctrines formed an important element in the general literary attack on Christianity during the first three centuries.

Jewish Hostility to Christianity

Christianity soon extended beyond Jewish bounds, and became a thing which might well arouse the fears of the whole Roman Empire. In Rome the Christians were regarded as

simply a new Jewish sect. And when, in the middle of the first century, a disturbance arose among the Jews of Rome, both Jews and Christians were banished by the Emperor Claudius. Nero represented the popular hostility to Christianity. He was believed to have set fire to Rome, where the flames had full sway for nine days. He threw the blame, however, on the Christians, and resorted to the most barbarous methods to show his rage. He even had some Christians smeared with pitch and burned alive, while he caused others to be sewed in the skins of wild beasts and thrown out to the dogs. The persecution continued until his death. Under Domitian (A.D. 81–96) a milder policy of hostility was observed, the oppression of the Christians being chiefly confined to exile and the seizure of their property.

Persecution of Christians

The Twelve Tables of the Roman law forbade the existence of foreign faiths within the dominions, but the habit had been to conciliate the conquered provinces by toleration of the existing religions. The appearance of the Christians, however, was the signal for revival of the old prohibition. The bonds uniting the Christians were close. Their separate services were declared an act of hostility to the country. They were accused of disobedience to the laws, and of a spirit ripe at any moment for insurrection. They were charged with immoral practices in their services. All popular calamities, such as earthquakes, inundations, pestilence, and defeat in war, were attributed to them. A popular proverb ran thus: "Deus non pluit—duc ad Christianos!" "It does not rain—lead us against the Christians!" Tertullian has left this record of the Roman habit of charging the disciples of Christ with all possible calamities: "If the Tiber overflow its banks, if the Nile do not water the fields, if the clouds refuse rain, if the earth shake, if famine or storms prevail, the cry always is, 'Pitch the Christians to the lions!'"

Grounds of Hostility

Trajan (A.D. 98–117) continued the policy of his predecessors, but in milder form. He gave orders to the Proconsul Pliny, in Bithynia, not to seek out the Christians, but, when charges were brought against them, to give them opportunity to recant, and, in case of refusal, to sacrifice them to the gods. The persecution under Trajan extended to Palestine and Syria. Under Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) and Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) the popular fury

New Persecutions

against the Christians increased to great violence. While these emperors granted the Church no favor, their attitude was less hostile than that of some of their predecessors. Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180) was thoughtful and calm. He was a Stoic by profession, and, while he had no warm reverence for the national religion, he showed no sympathy with the Christians. He was repelled by their devotion to Christ and their readiness to suffer. He tolerated violence, and under him the persecutions at Smyrna, where Polycarp suffered martyrdom, and at Lyons and Vienne, in Gaul, took place.

There was now a slight relaxation of violence, but under Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211) the Christians were treated with cruelty. The persecution was wide-spread, and the martyrdoms were numerous. Alexander Severus professed to be an Eclectic in faith, and regarded Jesus as one of the gods. He placed a bust of Christ beside those of Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana. He instituted no active measures of hostility. Decius had but a short reign (A.D. 249–251), and yet he improved his time industriously by endeavoring to exterminate the Christians. His persecution was general, and as violent as that under Nero.

The reign of Decius was succeeded by a brief interval of peace, which was brought to a close by the hostile attitude of Valerian (A.D. 253–260). Under Aurelian, Diocletian, Galerius, and Maximinus, the persecution raged with varied fury. Great political complications arose. The changes in the imperial succession were frequent, and new methods of repression of the Christians were constantly adopted. During the whole time, however, the Christian Church grew in numbers and aggressive force. From A.D. 64 to 313, when Constantine granted an edict of toleration to the Christians, persecutions prevailed about seventy years. All forms of torture and violent death were adopted. There was no security at home. The exiles were numerous, but the Christians carried their faith and life with them to their new places of abode, where they built up societies, which in turn became centres for the wider dissemination of the gospel. Christianity had conquered in the realm of political life. It was now safe from the hand of any Roman ruler.

Final Efforts to Destroy Christianity

CHAPTER VI

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

[Authorities.—See Schaff, vol. i. §§ 52–57 (new ed.), for an admirable discussion of the points mentioned in this chapter. The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (best eds.: Schaff, 3d ed. rev., N. Y., 1889; Hitchcock and Brown, rev. ed., N. Y., 1885; J. Rendel Harris, with autotype plates, Baltimore, 1888), throws needed light on the worship of the Early Church.]

Simplicity of Forms

The Christians were at first greatly attached to the temple in Jerusalem. They met within its precincts. There was no disposition to erect separate sanctuaries, and, had there been, the means to meet the expense were too limited. In time, however, the hostility of the Jews made it impossible to convene in either the temple or any room near it. The Christians were, therefore, driven to private houses, where one room served the purpose of a sanctuary. A small platform (*cathedra*) served for the speaker or reader, while a table (*ara*) was used for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Order of Service

The services consisted chiefly of reading selections from the Old Testament, the apostolical epistles, and, latest of all, the gospels. The reading was attended with copious exposition. The day of the elaborate homily, with a short scriptural passage as a mere motto, had not yet arrived. All that was said was meant to give to the hearer a deeper knowledge of the divine word. Singing of psalms and hymns was an important part of the service. It might be led by an individual, but the music was by the whole congregation. The Psalms of David and the rhythmic parts of the prophecies furnished the favorite basis. Prayer was connected with the singing, and the congregation responded "Amen" at the close. The concluding part of the service was the Lord's Supper. Until about A.D. 150, the agape, or love-feast, was connected with the communion service, but, because of its

abuse, was afterwards separated from it. After the prayer the kiss of charity was given, and the apostolical benediction was pronounced.

There were two sacraments in the early Church—the Lord's Supper and Baptism. After the council at Jerusalem, which abrogated the Jewish initiatory ceremonial as necessary for admission to the Church, baptism was held to be the only visible condition of reception. The formula, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," was observed from the beginning of the Apostolic Church. With respect to the mode of baptism, on which there has been much discussion, there can be no doubt that, in the age immediately succeeding the apostolic, immersion in water was nearly, if not quite, the universal custom. This is now established beyond question by the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," one of the earliest remains of post-apostolic literature. At the same time, it is now equally indisputable that sprinkling or pouring was allowed when immersion was impracticable, and some of the earliest frescos represent this as though it were a common mode. But it was not till much later that the Church entered into her full liberty, and restored what many consider the apostolic mode, and the one most accordant with the spirit of Christianity as well as with the symbolism of the ordinance.

Sacraments

The Sabbath, or seventh day, continued to be observed by the Christians who had entered the Church from Judaism. But the Sunday, or first day of the week, was also observed, in memory of our Lord's resurrection. Gradually the Sunday became more prominent, and, finally, the observance of the seventh day was discontinued entirely. Those members of the Church who had been Jews were inclined to regard with reverence the festivals to which they had been accustomed in their former communion. These, however, they relinquished, with the exception of two, Easter and Pentecost, to which also the Gentile Christians adhered, as these festivals commemorated two great events in Christian history—our Lord's resurrection and the descent of the Spirit.

The Sabbath

CHAPTER VII

THE LIFE OF CHRISTIANS

[Authorities.—Uhlhorn has opened an inviting field of study in his Christian Charity in the Ancient Church (N. Y., 1884). He gives also a sober view of the place of slavery in the view of primitive Christianity. See also the excellent book of the late Charles Loring Brace, Gesta Christi: A History of Humane Progress under Christianity (4th ed. enlarged, N. Y., 1885).]

Every part of Christian life was in direct antagonism to that of the pagan Greeks and Romans. The Christians obliterated all social and national differences. No sooner was a new member received than he found himself in the midst of a brotherhood. "These Christians," says Bunsen, "belonged to no nation and to no state; but their fatherland in heaven was to them a reality, and the love of the brethren, in truth and not in words, made the Christian congregation the foreshadowing of a Christian commonwealth, and a model for all ages to come."

The relief of the poor and suffering received early attention. Paul collected contributions from the Greek Christians in Asia Minor for the poor in Jerusalem. All his epistles prove that the poor in each society were constantly in his mind. No needy body of believers was forgotten in its silent sorrow. When, later, persecutions became violent and wide-spread, the spirit of apostolic sympathy was sustained in all its fervor. The pagans neglected their needy. Their religion had no heart. But the Christians sought out the suffering, and helped them with lavish hand. During the pestilence in North Africa, in the middle of the third century, the pagans deserted their sick and dying, and stripped their bodies of valuables, while the Christians divided their means with the suffering, cleared the streets of decomposing bodies, and nursed the sick with tenderness and devotion.

Care of the Needy

The early prominence given to woman was an important factor. Elizabeth, Anna, and Mary, the mother of Jesus, became early witnesses, however unconscious, to the dignity and worth of woman in the Christian system. The women mentioned by Paul in his epistles were examples of devotion and wisdom in the spread of the gospel. In times of persecution women presented a sublime spectacle of readiness and composure in the hour of death. Perpetua and Felicitas, who cheerfully welcomed martyrdom, became types of womanly heroism in every part of Christendom. Christianity triumphed not only in the broad field of territorial expansion, but in the more subtile department of the whole structure of social life. Paganism was only a whited sepulchre. Its splendor was an exterior thing alone. It created no happy homes, for woman was without worth, and children were no blessing. Wherever the Christians lived they built up happy households.

Elevation of Woman

There was no attempt made to emancipate slaves. Obedience on their part was inculcated. Spiritually free and equal to their masters, their religious prerogatives did not elevate them above their station. Ignatius (died about 115) counsels slaves to serve the more zealously, that they may have the greater reward. Not till Chrysostom, in the fourth century, do we find any discussion of the evils of slavery, and proposals for a gradual emancipation. At the same time, Christianity applied its humane spirit to the slave. Paul's chart of freedom ran thus : "There is neither bond nor free." The slave, the moment he became a Christian, became a brother with his master. As Christianity expanded, its tendency was to bring the oppressed and the oppressor together, upon a common plane of brotherly equality. Paul's appeal to Philemon, to show kindness to the slave Onesimus and receive him back again, was an index of the power of Christianity to soften, and even obliterate, all the asperity attendant upon bondage in man.

The Slave

CHAPTER VIII

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

[Authorities.—Bishop Lightfoot in his Commentary on Philippians (7th ed., London, 1885), excursus on the Christian Ministry, has traced the origin and development of the offices in the Early Church. His conclusions are now accepted by impartial scholars. Read also Hatch's Organization of the Early Christian Churches (3d ed., London, 1888), for the influence of the guilds and other societies of the Greek world. The Croall Lectures for 1886, The Growth of the Church in its Organization and Government, by Dr. John Cunningham (London, 1886), are discussions of these vexed questions at once interesting and satisfactory.]

The constitution of the early Church was in part of divine ordering. But this was only in outline. The apostolate was fundamental and original, but temporary. It was designed as the great introductory force, which should cease so soon as it had served its purpose. From this, as a basis, the permanent orders of presbyter and deacon developed. A large measure of liberty was left to the judgment of the Church, as new exigencies and larger growth might demand.

To the temporary officers belonged the apostles. The condition was that the apostles must have seen Christ in the flesh or in his risen state. Their work was evangelistic and organizing. Then came the prophets. They were inspired by the Holy Ghost for the special work of teaching higher revelations. Foretelling events was not their controlling function, but the revelation of God's will, especially in the choice of persons for great service in the Church. The prophet was not necessarily an apostle, but the apostle was a prophet. Paul, Agabus, Simeon, Barnabas, Manaen, Judas the Evangelist, and Silas belonged to the prophetic class. After them came the evangelists. They were preachers without defined limits, and were aids to the apostles, or, as Rothe says, "apostolic delegates." Their work was preparatory—the preaching in new societies until organization

Apostles and Prophets

was established. Philip, Timothy, Titus, Silas or Silvanus, Luke, John, Mark, Clement, and Epaphras belonged to the evangelist class.

The bishops or presbyters were the highest permanent officers. The word bishop (*episcopos*) was of Greek origin, and was in common use among both Greeks and Romans as a political supervisor. The societies of the West, which consisted of members from paganism, used the word for the chief or superintending pastor, as they were already familiar with it. The converts from Judaism naturally took the synagogue as their model, and as the elder pastor (*presbuteros*) was the chief or superintending pastor of the synagogue, they applied it to the chief pastor of the Christian Church. There was not the least difference in the original duties of the bishop and the presbyter. In each case he was the spiritual head of one church or society. Later, when churches increased, and the supervising office was of wider scope, the Western word supplanted the Eastern, and the term bishop was used, while that of presbyter went into the background. But the bishop, in the early and pure period of the Church, was of no higher order than the presbyter. The duties of one were those of both: "To feed the flock of God . . . taking the oversight thereof" (1 Peter v. 2).

Permanent Officers

The deacons were both an order and an office. The duties are minutely described in the Scriptures (Acts vi. 1–8). They aided the apostles, had care of the poor and sick, assisted in administering the Lord's Supper, and preached. The deaconesses were a special office, designed for caring for the sick, the aged, the female poor, and the instruction of orphans.

CHAPTER IX

EBIONISM AND GNOSTICISM

[Authorities.—On the Ebionites, see the excursus in Lightfoot's Commentary on Galatians (8th ed., London, 1884), and on the strange phenomena of Gnosticism see the same writer's essay in his Commentary on Colossians (8th ed., 1886), and Dean Mansel's Gnostic Heresies (London, 1875). C. W. King has published an admirable book on Gnostic symbols and works of art, The Gnostics and their Remains (new ed., London, 1887).]

Christianity was making steady progress in every field. Some of the more advanced thinkers in both Judaism and paganism saw in the Christian system so much that commended itself to universal confidence that each proposed to adapt it to his own faith and philosophy. This was a new plan, more dangerous to Christianity by far than outward opposition. In each case the overture was strengthened by people within the Christian fold, who responded to the flattering proposition, though without representing the spirit of the whole body.

Ebionites

After the council in Jerusalem which settled the great Pauline principle of the freedom of Christian converts from the Mosaic law, there remained a body of Christians who would not accept the conclusion. Jerusalem was their centre. They were of two classes—those who saw in Christianity the fulfilment of all that was worthy in Judaism, and those who were more conservative, and refused to acknowledge the new faith as the culmination of Mosaism. Out of these two tendencies sprang Ebionism. It held that the Mosaic law was still in force; its close observance was a necessity for salvation; Christianity fulfilled the law, but did not abrogate it; Christ was the prophet of Israel's deliverance; he was a mere man; his generation was natural; the Divine Spirit entered him at baptism; Christ was a good Jew; his piety was his claim to Messiahship; he performed miracles; and he supplemented the law by his own commands. The Ebionites rejected Paul's writings, as not Jewish enough. They had communi-

ties in Asia Minor, Cyprus, and in Rome, and existed down to the fourth century.

The Nazaræans more nearly approached Christianity. They accepted Paul's writings, and held that Christ was the Son of God, and that his generation was divine. They disappeared in the fourth century. The Elcesaites, or Sampsæans, were of similar Jewish proclivities, but had a stronger Oriental element in their faith. They kept the Jewish Sabbath, retained sacrifices, held that oil and salt are emblems of spiritual communication, and prayed with their faces towards the sun.

Nazaræans

The Gnostic system was a combination of the new Platonic philosophy with Oriental theosophy, the two proposing to appropriate certain Christian elements. Philo, a learned Jew of Alexandria, born about B.C. 20, furnished the most decided contribution. He aimed to unite Judaism and Platonism. He regarded God and the world as forming a dualism, both finite and infinite. He believed that God could not assume visible form, but can reveal himself to the soul. The Logos is a divine emanation, which the Holy Spirit, the Divine Wisdom, imparted directly to the first men, and to all who have since striven after likeness to God. From the fundamental ideas of Philo the great Gnostic system developed into special systems, but all of them were strained accommodations to Christian ideas.

Gnosticism in General

Cerinthus (A.D. 100) was the earliest representative of the Jewish form of this strange philosophy. He held that Judaism was the world's preparation for Christianity; that Jesus was the natural son of Joseph and Mary, and arrived at his pure state at baptism and by his holy life; that his death was not a mediatorial service; but that he would come again, and establish a vast earthly kingdom. Basilides taught in Alexandria about A.D. 130. He held that the universe is a dualism—deity and matter. Between these there is a great multitude of æons, or emanations from God, who record his glory and make it fruitful. Each nation is ruled by an æon. The Jewish æon taught by means of Moses and the prophets. But truth was universal—Greeks, Jews, and Persians shared it. The highest æon was accorded to Jesus at his baptism. Basilides was cautious, not committing himself to any of the extremes which constituted the body of

Jewish Gnosticism

the Gnostic system. Valentinian (A.D. 138) first taught in Alexandria, but afterwards removed to Rome. He was at first a Christian, but withdrew from the Church. He borrowed his chief ideas from Plato. His fundamental doctrine was emanation. The supreme God lives in silence and solitude. But, to be perfect, he must love, and in order to love there must be an object. So he began to emanate. The æons are personalities, which emanate from him. Man, the Logos, and the Church, are divine emanations. Man is redeemed through the Logos. The crucifixion represented the divine might by which the world is purified from sin. Valentinian was the founder of the largest Gnostic school. His chief disciples were Heracleon, Ptolemæus, and Bardesanes.

Oriental and Pagan Gnostics

The Ophites (serpent-worshippers) were the first of this class. They existed as a small sect in Egypt at the time of Christ, and afterwards adopted a perverted type of Christianity, but retained a large measure of Oriental theosophy. The pleroma, or highest spirit, develops itself in æons; and from the fourth one there floats a ray of light, which combines with matter, and becomes the world-soul. Man is created. To defeat his elevation the serpent is prepared. The serpent becomes the type of all wisdom, and is worthy of worship. Man, by his fall, first arrives at the consciousness of freedom and mastery. There were two minor Ophite sects—the Cainites and the Sethians. Carpocrates built his system out of fragments of Buddhism and Neo-Platonism. He placed all faiths on the same plane—Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, and Christ were quite the same, according to him. His sect degenerated into wild libertinism. In Mani and the Manichæans we reach the limits of Oriental Gnosticism. Mani made the faith of Zoroaster the basis of his system, but added a superstructure of Buddhism and Christianity. Fatalism pervaded the whole structure. The sect continued down to the end of the third century, when Diocletian issued an edict for its suppression. The Ophites elevated man to supreme importance. Their estimate has been characterized in the following lines:

> "O thou citizen of Heaven!
> Thou much-praised Man!
> From thee comes Father,
> Through thee comes Mother,—

Those two immortal names,
The parents of the Æons."

Saturninus, who died about A.D. 174, held that the supreme Father has produced, by intermediate archangels and powers, seven angels, who are the sovereigns of the material world. Among them is the God of the Jews. Man was created, but with infirmities. The Saviour came to aid him towards final development. Tatian was a native of Assyria, but emigrated to Rome. His chief tenet was antagonism to marriage. He died A.D. 174. The Encratites and Hydroparastatai were followers of Tatian. The tendency to decline was manifested in all the Gnostic schools. Marcion, who lived about A.D. 150, and his followers represented the reformatory movement. He avoided all the extremes of his predecessors, but leaned towards Christianity. He recognized Paul as the only veritable apostle, admitted one Gospel, a distortion of Luke, and rejected all tradition and esoteric doctrines. In his later years he is said to have regretted his Gnostic vagaries, and to have sought readmission to the Church. Of all Gnostics he was the nearest approach to the true Christian.

Independent Gnosticism

The service which Gnosticism rendered to the Church was to make the pagan mind acquainted with some fundamental Christian truths, to disintegrate the fabric of the pagan philosophy, and to prove, by its own fruitless endeavors, the impossibility of combining any system with Christianity. It also stimulated to theological investigation and to the study of the Scriptures. Basilides and Heracleon were the first to comment upon the whole Gospels. Gnosticism helped towards the elevation of the bishops, and to a higher regard for the rites and doctrines received from the apostles. The Gnostics were a proud class. They set out with claims to all knowledge, approached Christianity as they would any other faith, and proposed to weigh it in their own small balance. They made reason the test of religion, and were devoid of all appreciation of the spiritual life. The danger to Christianity of all the Gnostic systems was in winning Christians to the adoption of them. But the Christian teachers were prompt in giving warning of their dangerous nature, and no great secession to them ever occurred. The Christians, as a body, regarded the Gnostics with aversion, because of the claim of many of them that they believed in the best part of Christianity.

Place of Gnosticism

While Marcion was the nearest approach to the Christian, the interview of Polycarp with him one day, as the two met in a street in Rome, indicates the Christian hostility to all Gnostics. Polycarp was stopped by Marcion, who said : "Do you not recognize me?" The father replied promptly : "Certainly I do. I know the first-born of Satan!"

CHAPTER X

THE PAGAN LITERARY ATTACK

[Authorities.—Uhlhorn's Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism, book ii., ch. ii.; Dr. Donaldson's article on Celsus in Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th edition.]

The growing importance of Christianity, in the mind of the pagan world, became very apparent in the attempts now made in literature to destroy its very foundations. By the beginning of the second century it became evident to the cultivated Romans that something more than imperial opposition was necessary to arrest the new faith. Every persecution left Christianity more solid, aggressive, and hopeful than it found it. During the second and third centuries the two hostile forces proceeded together—the sword and the pen. Each pursued its own path, and each hoped to win by help from the other. The Christians met the imperial opposition by non-resistance but ceaseless evangelization. They met the antagonism of literature by such bold and masterful logic, and by such strong appeal to facts, that the whole structure of paganism was shaken by their arguments.

Growth of Christianity

The Greek and Roman writers saw in Christianity certain peculiarities well calculated to give them alarm. They had to deal with a new historical phenomenon. They saw, first, that the new religion was based upon certain writings, reaching back to the dawn of history, and culminating later in the life of the Founder and in the exposition of his doctrines ; second, that there was an historical basis for Christianity ; third, that it dealt with fundamental moral themes ; fourth, that the people professing faith

Grounds for Pagan Alarm

in the doctrines never grew weary of them; fifth, that the doctrines developed pure and heroic lives; sixth, that the Scriptural cosmogony was more reasonable and consistent than that of Hesiod; seventh, that the character of Christ was without a blemish; and, eighth, that his death had imparted to his followers a zeal which nothing had been able to arrest. To overcome such a system was a serious problem. But both Greek and Roman writers, with much self-consciousness, did not hesitate to undertake the task of demolition. The wise methods by which their work was met by Christian writers, and the fearless spirit in which the latter wrought, was a great surprise. It is one of the wonders of all literature.

The hostile attitude of even general historians can be seen in mere allusions. Tacitus dismisses the subject by saying that Christ was the founder of a new sect, that he had been crucified by Pontius Pilate, that his system was a deadly superstition, and that the Christians were obnoxious to the human race. Antoninus says that the soul must be ready to leave the body by a mere wilful rejection of the evils of existence. Juvenal sneered at the Christian adoration of the heavens. Arrian reports Epictetus as protesting against the Galilean fearlessness of danger, and the doctrine that God created all things. Lucian was as severe on Christianity as on the other religions, all of which he cast into a common vortex of worthlessness. He called Christ a magician, and parodied the career of Jonah, our Lord's walking on the Sea of Galilee, and John's description of the New Jerusalem. The literary men of the Roman Empire looked upon Christianity as a miserable superstition, too contemptible for candid consideration. When Tacitus called it a "pernicious superstition" (*exitiabilis superstitio*), he represented the sentiments of the haughty intellectualism of paganism.

Strongest Assailants of Christianity

Celsus, Porphyry, and Hierocles were the strongest assailants of Christianity. Celsus lived about A.D. 150. He held to a chief deity, a superintending providence, and the immortality of the soul. These views he derived from the Platonic philosophy. But when he examined Christianity, he lost sight of the parallel of these fundamental truths with the Christian system. His antagonism was bitter. He assailed the Old Testament, but levelled his attacks chiefly against the alleged weaknesses in the

career and character of Jesus. Porphyry, born about A.D. 233, aimed to show that the pagan world presented higher magical characters than Jesus, and that the gospel history abounds in hopeless contradictions. His "Candid Treatise against the Christians" was an attempt to show a parallel between the sorcery of Apollonius of Tyana and Jesus, with a large balance in favor of the former.

Obscurer writers followed willingly in the footprints of the leaders. Satire, fiction, poetry—indeed, all forms of literary effort—were employed to hold up Christianity to contempt. The principal grounds of hostility were:

General Charges against Christianity

1. The alleged contradictions in the Scriptures.
2. The uselessness of Christians to the existing state of society.
3. The philosophical absurdity of the Christian system.
4. The claim of the humanity of Jesus at the same time with that of divinity.
5. The immorality of Christians. This charge was based upon the secret meetings of Christians. It was never seriously believed. On the contrary, the moral life of believers stood out in beautiful contrast to the pagan immorality. That secrecy should be confounded with bad morals was natural to the pagan mind, familiar with the nameless licentiousness and wild communism connected with the Eleusinian and other mysteries. This and all the other charges were summed up by Tertullian in a single sentence, which he placed in the mouth of universal paganism, as its final argument against the Christians: "You have no right to exist!"

The most which the pagan writers could hope from their attack was to prevent new accessions to the Church. They wrote for the pagan mind, not with any view to disturbing the Christian's faith in his own religion. This they were not so foolish as to imagine possible. The Christian body was too firmly knit to give ground for such a delusive expectation. No serious defection ever occurred because of the pagan attack. On the contrary, the numbers steadily increased. But the main object also failed completely. Paganism was in process of disintegration; and while the assailants flattered themselves that they were achieving a literary success, the result was a total disappointment.

Christianity Triumphant

The pagan walls were falling too rapidly to be propped up. It was an effort for the impossible. Even the well-timed attack of Celsus owes its preservation to the pen of Origen.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHRISTIAN DEFENDERS

[AUTHORITIES.—George A. Jackson, The Apologists, in Patristic Primers (N. Y., 1880); Neander, vol. i., pp. 157–178. See also Frederick Watson, The Ante-Nicene Apologies: their Character and Value (Cambridge, 1870). The same writer has made an excellent survey of this literature in his Defenders of the Faith, or the Christian Apologists of the Second and Third Centuries (London, 1878), in series of Fathers for English Readers.]

WE now come to a brighter picture. The writing in defence of Christianity is called the *apology*, and the writer an *apologist*. It is from the Greek word *apologia*, which meant a work written for resistance. But the apologies of the early Church were more than this. They were not only counter-arguments, but aggressive weapons. It was a fierce warfare upon the enemy's camp, followed by a hot pursuit. There were two classes of apologists, the Greek and the Latin, according to the territory which they occupied, and the language in which they wrote. But there were further differences. The Greeks belonged mostly to the second century, and their writings exhibited a profound intimacy with the Greek philosophy. Some of them had studied in the Greek schools, and entered the Church only in mature life. They endeavored to prove that Christianity was the blossom of all that was valuable in every system. They stood largely on the defensive. The Latins, on the other hand, were aggressive. They lived mostly in the third century, were more argumentative, wrote in a clearer and more methodical style, and carried the warfare into the hostile ranks with an energy equal to the Roman soldier on foreign battle-fields. Their perspective of Christianity was that of universal conquest and permanent dominion.

Two Classes of Apologists

The principal Greek apologists were Aristo, Quadratus, Aristides, Justin, Melito, Miltiades, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Ta-

tian, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Origen. Aristo's dialogue between Papiskos and Jason was an attempt to prove the truth of Christianity and the messiahship of Jesus as the fulfilment of the Old Testament. Quadratus addressed an apology to Hadrian (A.D. 131), with a view to stop the persecutions of the Christians. Aristides proved Christianity the culmination of the best systems in the classic world, and the one which should supersede all else. Justin wrote two apologies (A.D. 136 and A.D. 162), showing that the Christians were not responsible for public calamities; that they were true Roman citizens; that pagan philosophy and mythology abound in falsehood and contradiction; and that the only source of truth is the Scriptures. Athenagoras, in his "Embassy of the Christians," applied a philosophical method to Christian defence. Tatian, who died about A.D. 176, wrote an Address to the Greeks, showing the ridiculous origin of the Greek religion and science. Clement, in his "Pedagogue," and the "Stromata," exposed the emptiness of the whole pagan fabric. Hippolytus wrote against the pagans, the Platonic philosophy, and the Jews. Origen, born A.D. 185, wrote a work consisting of eight books against Celsus, in which he exposed the weakness of the whole pagan structure.

Greek Apologists

Tertullian stands at the head. His "Apologeticus," written about A.D. 200, is the most brilliant piece of apologetic writing in the early Church. He showed that persecution was no final damage to the Christians. His other writings covered nearly every contested point. The supernatural element in Christianity was brought by him into great prominence, and defended with masterly skill. Cyprian wrote about the middle of the third century. His attack on pagan idolatry was merciless, and could not be answered. Arnobius (about A.D. 303) surpassed all the apologists in his use of the miracles of Jesus as a weapon of Christian attack. Lactantius, the Christian Cicero, wrote his "Divine Institutions" A.D. 320.* His strength lay less in the force of his argument than in the purity and beauty of his style.

Roman Apologists

The objection that Christians were disloyal to the State was met by the answer that they were true to the emperor; obeyed

* The date here, A.D. 320, is of the second edition, addressed to Constantine. It was written 307–310, or perhaps earlier.

all laws which did not interfere with Christianity; never conspired against the government; and never produced robbers, assassins, or traitors. Purity of life was proven as the outgrowth of pure doctrines. Tertullian said: "We live a life free from reproach. We live among you. You can see us every day." To the charge that national calamities were produced by the Christians, he replied: "Why do you suffer too? Why do your gods let you have these trials?" The inspiration of the Scriptures and purity of doctrine were fundamental arguments in all the apologetic writings. To these came the divine character of Jesus. When the assailants repelled the miraculous power of Jesus, the apologists replied: "Do you not say that your Æsculapius restores the lame and the halt; that your Orpheus, Zeno, and Kleanthes knew the Logos; and that Plato, in a letter to Hermeas and Koriskus, speaks of a son of God?" The purity of Christian morals was held up by the apologists in striking antagonism to the sensuality of paganism, which could produce only caricatures of good morals. The origin of the pagan gods was exposed with fearless skill. The apologists said, with Tatian, "What has become of your Juno, that she produces no more gods?" Arnobius said, defiantly: "Your gods abound in passion; some are drunkards, others are murderers, and multitudes are licentious."

Line of Defence

When this battle of three centuries was over it was easy to see that the victory of the Christian writers was complete. It began with the pagan expectation of destroying the logical basis of Christianity, but ended by the exposure of the corruption of the Greek and Roman faith and the weakness of the boasted philosophy. Every department of Christian truth was defended by the apologists. Their arguments broke down the opposition, while they constitute a storehouse of Christian defence to which all later Christian writers have appealed with success. The indirect service of the attacks to the Church was great, in that all Christians were compelled to study the groundwork of Christianity, on every side. The laity were driven to read their Bible. The private member, over all Christendom, could give a reason for the faith that was in him. By the end of the fifth century the conflict was over. The apologists were the last to leave the field. The Christian now lived in a larger place.

Triumph of the Apologists

He was marching on to universal conquest. The words of one of the apologists expressed the attitude of all believers: "Every country is the Christian's fatherland, and every father land is the Christian's country."

CHAPTER XII

THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

[Authorities.—A. T. Drane, in Christian Schools and Scholars (London, 1889), has made an exhaustive historical study of an interesting field. The discussion is carried from the earliest times to the Council of Trent. It is written, however, from the Roman Catholic standpoint.]

From whatever side the Christian convert came, he brought with him the love of the school. For ministerial training the Jews had, from distant times, the prophetic schools, under the care of their wisest teachers. In Athens, Tarsus, and Alexandria the Greeks possessed celebrated universities, which even Roman students attended, for the completion of studies pursued in Italy. The proper dealing with both Jewish and pagan thought made a thorough ministerial culture necessary. The preacher of the Early Church lived in an atmosphere of opposition, and, to succeed, he must be well acquainted with not only the truth he would defend, but with the false system he would combat. The life of St. Paul furnished a remarkable illustration of this. The whole tendency of his character, career, and acquisitions was on the side of careful training. Timothy and Titus represented a group of young men who were inducted into Christianity through the labors of that apostle, and, by personal attendance on his journeys, were prepared to succeed him and the other apostles. It was a beautiful legend of the whole period that the aged John stood at the head of a theological school in Ephesus, whither young men flocked from all quarters to gather from him *memorabilia* of our Lord's ministry and personality.

Early Attention to Christian Learning

By the middle of the second century there were three great Christian schools. The most important was that of Alexan-

dria. This city was the chief seat of philosophical culture in the world after the destruction of the literary prestige of Athens. All currents of thought, from both East and West, flowed thither for two centuries. Plato, because of the sway of Neo-Platonism, was a familiar name. Here Christianity and pagan learning came into close conflict, and finally the Christian school took the place of the pagan university. The catechetical, or Socratic, element prevailed at first. The most active period of this school covered two centuries, A.D. 200–400. Pantænus was the founder. He and Clement stood at its head in the second century; Origen, Heracles, and Dionysius, in the third; and Didymus the Blind, in the fourth. In addition to these, we may reckon Gregory Thaumaturgus, Petrus, Pamphilus, and Eusebius, who, though not formally connected with it, yet sympathized with its tendencies. The theological characteristics were sympathy with the better Greek philosophy, an emphasis on intuition and the subjective life, and a disposition to allegorize the Old-Testament narratives. Origen, though brilliant, was an unsafe guide, especially in his adoption of an indefinite series of creations, the soul's pre-existence, a pre-Adamite apostasy, and a final universal restoration.

Alexandrian School

The school of Asia Minor consisted less in a formal educational centre than in a group of theological writers and teachers. The whole region had been a scene of active theological thought since Paul's day. In the second century it leaned towards a literal and Judaistic type of Christianity, but in the third it assumed a broader character. It opposed Gnosticism and suppressed Montanism. Polycarp, Papias, Melito of Sardis, and Hegesippus were its leaders in its first period, and Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Julius Africanus in the second.

The chief pursuit of the school of Antioch, in Syria, was the criticism of the sacred text and the statement of doctrinal theology. Its founders were Dorotheus and Lukianus. At first it sympathized with the Alexandrian school, but was alienated on the rise of the Origenistic and Nestorian controversies. Its most prosperous period was A.D. 300–342. Theodorus, Eusebius of Emesa, Cyril, Apollinaris, Ephraem, Diodorus, John Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia belonged to it. The centre of the school of North Africa was Carthage. To this place, and not to Rome, Latin

School of Antioch

Christianity was indebted for its prevailing type. Cyprian, Tertullian, Minutius Felix, Commodianus, and Arnobius were its leading representatives. It was distinguished for its heroic zeal for the unity of the Church, for aversion to Gnosticism, for an exact and literal Biblical interpretation, for an abhorrence of theological speculation, and for energy in developing the practical and evangelistic side of the Church. Its period of greatest prosperity was A.D. 200–330.

School of North Africa

The general tendency of the schools was to lead the Church in its doctrinal and general literary development. They were rallying-points for Christian defence, and for broader plans of Christian work. Their influence extended throughout the Christian world. Many men were drawn towards them from the most distant regions, imbibed their spirit, and either went back as preachers and teachers into their own country, or far away, into new regions, to extend Christianity. Some of the teachers, as Origen, were of wonderfully magnetic spirit, and imparted both their energy and doctrines to younger minds.

General Tendency

CHAPTER XIII

LIBERATION UNDER CONSTANTINE

[AUTHORITIES.—E. L. Cutts has prepared a useful Life of Constantine (London, S. P. C. K., 1881). Milman has given a sound estimate of Constantine, and an excellent account of his work for the Church, in his History of Christianity (new ed., N. Y., 1881), book iii., chaps. i.–iv. Consult also Merivale's Conversion of the Roman Empire (N. Y., 1865).]

WE now come to consider the outward relations of the Church. What was the bearing of the empire upon Christianity? The period of persecution was passing away. The Church, meanwhile, was not despondent, but making full plans for future triumph. A revolution in the imperial policy was close at hand, and the forces were in full play which should soon bring about the liberation of all Christendom. This was effected by the military successes of Constantine, who, A.D. 306, was called from the command of the army in

Britain to succeed his father as Roman emperor. But, before getting securely in place, he had to conquer five competitors—three in the East and two in the West. It mattered not that some were blood relatives. Kinship was only a trifle in those days, and soon Constantine had disposed of all contestants to his claim to his father's crown.

Constantine declared himself a Christian, in sympathy, early in his reign. Before the decisive battle of the Rubra Saxa with Maxentius, which should secure his rule, he claimed to see in the sky the sign of the cross, with the words "*En touto nika*"—"By this conquer." He accepted the token as an argument in favor of Christianity, gained the battle for the crown of the Roman Empire, and henceforth avowed his belief in Christianity. His vision, though in the line of his sympathies, was probably only a shrewd method to attract the Christians to his support. He carried the labarum, a standard inscribed with the cross, in all his subsequent wars. His policy was at first to make all Christians the supporters of his rule, and, by granting concessions, to heal the alienation from the empire which the repressive policy of his predecessors had produced. He published (A.D. 313) an edict tolerating Christianity as one of the legal religions of the empire. But in the year 323 he enlarged the scope of his favor, and made Christianity the established faith of all his dominions. Among the chief special acts of Constantine in favor of the Church may be mentioned his ordering the civil observance of Sunday, his confiscation in the East of pagan temples for Christian churches, his emancipation of slaves, his exemption of the clergy from military and municipal duty, and his ardent promotion of Christian education among his subjects.

Constantine's Conversion

The good and the bad were employed in the imperial support. It was a happy day when the Christians could walk abroad without fear of persecution. But there were grounds for concern. Constantine left but little for the Church to do for its own government. He claimed the right to supervise religion, as the emperor had always done in the case of paganism. He accounted himself still the great high-priest, or Pontifex Maximus, and claimed the prerogative to compose differences, decide questions of religious policy, call ecclesiastical councils, and ap-

Constantine's Mixed Methods

point the leading officers. Then, again, he retained many pagan institutions. The heathen temples were supported out of the State treasury, certain respect was paid to the national divinities, and even soothsayers were still used for help in battle. Constantine was a mixed character, not willing to lose the sympathy of the pagan citizens, and yet clear-headed enough to see that further hostility to Christianity would be fatal to his rule. He had no faith in paganism, but would not suppress it. His line of conduct was, to allow it to go on as he found it, and yet to help the Christians to conquer it. He was, of all successful rulers, the most successful trimmer

The course of Constantine was attended with serious danger to the Church. This did not arise from the assumption of guardianship over its affairs, but from making the whole Christian body a part of the machinery of the State, and employing the State as the supreme judge of its inner and outward life. Hitherto the Church had been a grand moral unity, held together by ties of love and doctrine. But now it was absorbed by the State. Its framework was lost in the body politic. Freeman says: "The Church conquered the State." This is a great error. Constantine's adoption of Christianity as the State religion was the conquest of the Church by the State. All the moral forces of the Church were now impaired. The bondage of the Church to the State, thus early begun, produced the great evils of the following twelve centuries—superstition, the purchase of office, the angry controversy about theological trifles, the moral corruption of the clergy, and the ignorance of the masses. Milton, in his translation of a passage of Dante's "Inferno," thus characterizes the evil of Constantine's favor:

Danger to the Church

> "Ah, Constantine, of how much ill was cause,
> Not thy conversion, but those rich demains
> That the first wealthy pope received of thee!"

Pepin, and not Constantine, was the first to confer temporal power on the papacy. Dante was not far astray, however, for Constantine's patronage was the entering wedge for Pepin's donation. Neander says, with truth: "The reign of Constantine bears witness that the State which seeks to establish Christianity by the worldly means at its command may be the occasion of more injury to the holy cause than the

earthly power which opposes it, with whatever force." Constantine could have helped the Church greatly by simply removing all political disabilities, and permitting the Christians to develop their polity and spiritual forces as God might lead.

CHAPTER XIV

REACTION UNDER JULIAN

[AUTHORITIES.—On the character and career of Julian, nothing surpasses the masterly delineation of Gibbon (best edition by Dr. Wm. Smith, with notes by Milman and Guizot: Harper's Library Edition, 1880), chaps. xxii.–xxiv., vol. ii, pp. 377–424, 555–715. Gerald H. Rendall has given an exhaustive study of his philosophy, and of his attempted religious revolution, in his The Emperor Julian, Paganism and Christianity: Hulsean Essay for 1876 (Cambridge, 1879).]

THE three sons of Constantine divided their father's empire among themselves. Not one was his equal, on the battle-field or in government. But each pursued his father's policy of favoring the Christian religion. The Christians were uncertain as to what would be the result when Constantine's immediate family should have passed away. The outlook was far from flattering. When Julian came to the throne there were grave apprehensions that he would renew the old war upon the Christians. For a time he was silent, but after a while he exhibited a spirit of refined opposition to all Christian institutions and doctrines.

Julian's antecedents were calculated to prejudice his mind against Christianity. He was a nephew of Constantine, and was practically imprisoned in Cappadocia, because of supposed danger to the rule of Constantine's sons. He was educated in the languages and sciences, under the oversight of the Arian bishop Eusebius, and was prepared for clerical service as a lector. But he regarded himself a victim of Christian persecution. In time he acquired liberty, by his brother Gallus becoming emperor in the East. He visited Constantinople, became acquainted with the pagan philosophy, and studied and adopted divination. On the death of Gallus (A.D. 354), he was carried a prisoner to

Early History of Julian

Milan. On his release he went to Athens, and was initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis.

The reign of Julian began A.D. 355. At first he shared the empire with Constantius, but on the latter's death Julian was declared by his soldiers the supreme ruler of the Roman Empire, on the bank of the Seine, where the Hôtel Clugny, the heart of old Paris, now stands. He early developed great military skill, and was successful in war. He here disappointed every one, for he had been supposed to be only a recluse, and a man of books. He regarded Constantine's family as fair Christian representatives, and hence he rejected Christianity, and revolutionized the imperial policy. He took up his abode in Constantinople, and adopted immediate measures to convert it into a pagan city. His one great object was to suppress Christianity, and restore paganism to its old grandeur, but with such improvements as might be derived from Oriental or any other sources. He issued no formal edict against Christianity, but raised barriers on every hand. He claimed that his philosophy taught him toleration of all faiths. But this was a thin disguise. He was bitter towards the religion of Christ.

Julian's Reign

The principal measures by which Julian sought to suppress Christianity were: 1, His encouragement of schism and strife among Christians; 2, the prohibition of Christian schools of learning, and the study of classic authors by Christians, in the belief that Christianity could not exist without the classic basis; 3, his removal of disabilities from the Jews, and his proposed, but abortive, restoration of the temple at Jerusalem, that he might prove the falsity of Christ's prediction (Matt. xxiii. 38, xxiv. 2); 4, his requirement that the soldiers should attend pagan worship; 5, his withdrawal of existing immunities from the clergy; 6, his failure to punish his heathen subjects for deeds of violence against Christians; 7, his punishment of Christians for the slightest offences; his support of pagan services, and the rebuilding of the temples at public expense; and, 8, his authorship of a work, now lost, in defence of paganism.

Julian's Opposition

Julian's sole reign was short, lasting only twenty months. He died while on a campaign against the Persians (A.D. 363). It was currently believed by the Christians that his last words were: "*Tandem vicisti, Galilæa*"—"Thou, O Galilean, hast

conquered, after all."* He was a compound of elements not often found in one individual. He was fanatical in his treatment of the Christians, shrewd in political plans, brilliant as a military commander, cultivated in all the learning of his age, vain in the extreme, and wildly superstitious. He not only believed that Christianity was sure to die, but that he was the destined instrument to kill it. He had the egotism to believe that he excelled in literary work, an infirmity for which royal authors have generally been distinguished. Like Frederick the Great, he was never so weak as with pen in hand. His proposed new eclectic religion was heterogeneous beyond description. It was a mixture of Neo-Platonic speculation, the arts of jugglery, the moralizings of Rome's best Stoic thinkers, and the wild dreams of Persian fire-worshippers. Here and there a grain of the golden truth of the Bible was dropped in, but not enough to cover the glaring shallowness of the general scheme. His god was the Mithra, or sun-god of the East, beneath whom were numerous tutelary divinities, derived from Grecian paganism and Alexandrian Gnosticism. His methods of rehabilitating paganism were on the Christian plan. He re-established the priesthood on the basis of the Christian ministry; his pagan bishops preached to the people, and expounded the pagan mythologies; he foisted into pagan use the constitution of the Church; provided for penance, excommunication, absolution, and restoration; twisted Christian psalmody into the heathen rites, where choirs chanted and congregations responded after the most approved ecclesiastical mode; and provided hospitals for the sick, destitute, and orphans, and gave alms after the manner of the Christian diaconate. But all failed. Even an emperor could not mix Christianity and paganism. He was the last ruler on the Roman throne who was hostile to Christianity. He passed into history as Julian the Apostate. The epithet is probably a misapplication, as it is not likely that Julian was ever a real disciple of Christ. Two of his teachers, Mardonius and Ecebolius, were strongly tinged with the spirit of paganism, and he early imbibed a profound hatred to the religion of his persecutors.

Character of Julian

* Theod., Ec. Hist., iii, 25. This is a legend for which there is no foundation.

CHAPTER XV

THE MONTANISTIC REFORM

[Authorities.—John de Soyres has given us a useful book on Montanism and the Primitive Church (Cambridge, 1878). It belongs to the same series as Rendall's Julian, and reaches substantially the same conclusions as Bonwetsch's great work, Die Geschichte des Montanismus (Erlangen, 1881). In his Marcus Aurelius, chap. xiii., Renan has treated the subject with his usual brilliant suggestiveness and originality. Prof. A. H. Newman has some instructive remarks in the *Baptist Review*, 1884, pp. 527–530.]

During the persecutions of the first three centuries some of the Christians relapsed into paganism. A portion of these afterwards regretted their apostasy, and wished to return to the Church and be received as penitents. Within the Church there prevailed two sentiments concerning them—a lax view, which exacted but little more of the penitent than a pledge of future fidelity; and a severe view, which kept the applicant for readmission on a long probation, and, in many instances, would not receive him at all. These two views, however, took a wider range than the readmission of the lapsed into the Church. The imperial favor was already bringing in disorders of many kinds. Many Christians, both East and West, protested against them, while the more wealthy saw no real danger to vital Christianity by making certain social concessions. The former and stricter class found expression in the life and career of Montanus, a native Phrygian.

Reaction against Loose Discipline

Montanus, A.D. 156, like the people among whom he was reared, was fond of the marvellous and ecstatic. The old national worship was that of Cybele, who was here honored as nowhere else. Divination and clairvoyance were believed to be priestly endowments. Political disaster only fanned the flame of devotion to Cybele. In time, Christianity made its way among the people, and here grew up some of those churches of Asia, such as Laodicea and Co-

Plan of Montanus

losse, to which John addressed epistles. But the natural temperament remained undisturbed, and the people carried into Christianity the same firm fidelity to their new faith which they had entertained towards paganism. The followers of Montanus demanded a return to the apostolical life of the Church. He had been a priest of Cybele, and, when he became a Christian, he was as warm for his new faith as he had been for his old one. There was not a trace of idolatry left in him; but his nature was quite the same. He remained the visionary and the prophet. He proposed to regenerate the life of all Christendom. He saw departures from the old simplicity and purity, which he regarded himself as the chosen instrument for removing. His place, therefore, was that of the reformer. It was an obscure region to produce a man of such superior claims. But he stood out before the whole Christian world as the representative of the old and pure faith.

Montanus combined the practical and visionary to a remarkable degree. He claimed that there are three persons in the Godhead—Father, Son, and Spirit—and that, through the third person, the Paraclete, God prophesied to the world. The world will speedily end, and then the millennial reign of Christ will begin. The real Church is the pure Church. Nothing but absolute purity must be allowed in it. There is a universal priesthood of believers. Penitence must take place after sin, but sacrificing again to idols should exclude from total restoration to the Church. But God may still forgive.

Opinions

The expansion of Montanism went rapidly on. Communities sprang up, not in Phrygia alone, but in many other regions. They were small societies in the general Church —*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*— like the Pietistic organizations within the bosom of the German Protestant Church in the seventeenth century. The bishop, Julianus, tried to win them back, but, failing, adopted severer methods. Two councils were held, at both of which the Montanists were condemned.

Rome favored their cause at first, but afterwards settled down into a sentiment of firm opposition. The looser discipline of the Western Christians was not likely to harmonize with it. But in Gaul there was a close sympathy, where the bonds between the Christians and those of Asia Minor had always been very

Later Fortunes of Montanism

close. In North Africa the views of Montanus gained new favor and great prestige, through the support of Tertullian. He advocated the universal necessity of a stricter discipline, and eliminated some of the vagaries of original Montanism. His name gave it new respectability; but, with even this great advantage, the system was doomed. The condemnation by the councils; the visionary speculations of Montanus; and the prominence of ecstasy, vision, and chiliasm in the movement, were as millstones about its neck. Its stronger qualities were overlooked in the vigorous warfare upon it. The episcopacy found it an inconvenient thing, as its tendency was to curtail the episcopal prerogative. Montanism was bitterly opposed to all centralization of authority. The Roman emperors opposed it everywhere. At last it disappeared, even in Phrygia, and was found only in a sect in North Africa, bearing the name Tertullianists. Justinian issued two edicts against Montanism, A.D. 530–532, after which it sank beneath the waves of more exciting questions.

CHAPTER XVI

CONTROVERSIES ON CHRIST

[AUTHORITIES.—John Henry Newman was the first English writer to give a separate treatment of the Arians—The Arians of the Fourth Century (5th ed., London, 1883)—at once popular, sympathetic, and scholarly. It should, however, be read in connection with Gwatkin, Studies in Arianism (London, 1882), or the same writer's Arian Controversy, in Epochs of Church History Series (N. Y., 1890).]

THE principal scene of this important controversy was Alexandria, Palestine, and Constantinople. The question was concerning the divinity of Christ. Both Jews and pagans very early united in opposing this doctrine, believing that it was vital to the Christians. John's Gospel, the inspired apology, proves how early our Lord's divine character was assailed. Later, there came, as accessories towards a low Christological view, the vague teachings of the Antiochian school and the incongruities of the theology of Origen. The period during which the controversy lasted is divided into two parts—A.D. 318–361 and 361–381. Arius was

Rise of Arianism

a presbyter of Alexandria. He derived his theological ideas from the Antiochian school, which emphasized the unity of the divine nature, and looked with great alarm on any doctrine which would seem to destroy it.

The outbreak in Alexandria took place A.D. 318. Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, advocated the eternal Sonship of Christ, and his equality with the Father. Arius opposed him, holding that there was a time when the Son did not exist; that, having a beginning, he cannot be of the same essence with the Father; that he was a creature, and not Creator; that he was divinely illumined, and therefore the Logos; that he is subordinate to the Father, and that the Holy Ghost is subordinate to the Son. The issue was clearly defined. For a time Alexandria was the sole scene of the controversy, and the participants were the bishop and his presbyter. Alexander called a synod in Alexandria, when Arius was deposed. But violent opposition arose to this summary dealing with a man of the pure life of Arius. The scene now widened. Constantine, the emperor, ordered the contestants to stop the quarrel. But no attention was paid to the command. The strife raged with increased bitterness. When the emperor was informed by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, whom he had sent as a special messenger to Alexandria to inquire into the state of affairs, that the controversy was no trifling matter, and would not cease at a mere order, he convened a council.

Council of Nicæa

The Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, was the most important assembly of the early Church. It was attended by representatives from every part of Christendom. Even India sent its bishop. There were about three hundred bishops, besides many of the inferior clergy. Constantine arrived during the session, and presided over the deliberations. Athanasius stood at the head of the orthodox party. The result of the council was the condemnation of Arius and the passing of the celebrated Nicene Creed. Arius now became an exile in Illyria. Constantine, influenced by the persuasions of certain bishops, but particularly by the entreaties of Constantia, widow of the Emperor Licinius, invited Arius to his court, ordered Athanasius to receive him back into the Church, and threatened deposition and banishment in case of refusal. Athanasius replied that he could not acknowledge as Christian those whom the whole Church had condemned. The em-

peror then ceased his importunities. But the Arians made Constantine believe that Athanasius was a political enemy, charging him with preventing the sailing of the Egyptian fleet with supplies for Constantinople. He was thereupon banished to Treves, in Gaul, A.D. 336.

Later History of Arianism

The subsequent history of Arian opinions was checkered. Athanasius and Arius stood before the Christian world as the representatives of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The changes in imperial sympathy were frequent, the Arians enjoying quite as much the sunshine of the palace as their orthodox adversaries. The General Council of Sardica, in Illyria, A.D. 343, renewed the conclusions of Nicæa. But Arian opinions still gained ground in the East, while in the West the opposition was only tacit and negative. When Julian gained the throne he recalled Athanasius from exile, but afterwards banished him again. That ruler was ready for any measure by which Christians could be pitted against each other. The Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, condemned the Arians once more, and two years later the Emperor Theodosius issued an edict against them. In the remoter parts of the empire they gained strength. Some of the ruder tribes adopted their view. Ulfilas was a Gothic bishop of Arian views. The celebrated Codex Argenteus, now preserved in the University of Upsala, Sweden, was his translation of the four Gospels into the Mæso-Gothic language of the end of the fourth century. The Vandals and Moors of North Africa became Arians, but were conquered, because of a rebellion during the reign of Justinian. Gradually the heresy disappeared alike from the centres and the outlying provinces. By the end of the sixth century the only Arian people left were the Lombards, of Italy.

The Arian controversy was remarkable for its wide extent, and the number and character of the men engaged in it. Some laughed at it as a fight over a Greek letter, but it involved the very heart of Christianity. It prevented Christianity from ever dwindling away into a mere religion of culture, a philosophy without saving power, by bringing it into the full consciousness of its divine origin. Many of the Arians were men in thorough sympathy with the Christian faith, but they did not, and probably could not, see the full logical result of their views.

CHAPTER XVII

THE LATER CONTROVERSIES

[AUTHORITIES.—On Nestorius, Pelagius, and their heresies, Milman, Latin Christianity, vol. i., chaps. ii. and iii., may be consulted. Many interesting particulars concerning the Nestorians are given in Anderson, History of American Missions to the Oriental Churches (Boston, 1872). For Augustine, let his inimitable Confessions be read (Andover, 1860, with an Introductory Essay by Shedd), and Schaff's admirable little book, Augustine and Chrysostom (N. Y., Whittaker, 1890). In his Church History, vol. iii. (rev. ed., 1884), §§ 152–160, 178–180, Schaff is particularly happy in his treatment of Augustine and his system.]

THE new issues were largely related to the person of Christ. The Arian strife turned entirely upon his divine nature, but questions connected directly with this doctrine arose which absorbed universal attention, and continued long after the Arian controversy had ceased to divide the Christian world. These new issues related to the person of Christ in his incarnate existence. The singular characteristics of these collateral controversies, which were separate currents flowing out of the Arian fountain, lie in the fact that they became permanent factors in the Church. For, from them have come the present Coptic and Nestorian churches, with some smaller subdivisions of Oriental Christianity.

Apollinaris believed that the prevalent Christian view of the two natures in Christ savored of both Judaism and paganism. He held that the divine Logos first attained a personal existence in the man Jesus; that full divinity and humanity in one were impossible; and that the human is only the organ for revealing the divine. By ignoring the essential features of our Lord's humanity, and involving it with the divine to such an extent that it became a mixed essence, Apollinaris subjected himself to the charge of heresy. His opinions were condemned by the synods of Rome, A.D. 375 and 378; by the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381; and by the imperial de-

crees, A.D. 388, 397, and 428. Apollinaris withdrew from the Church in A.D. 375, and died A.D. 390.

Nestorianism

The Nestorian controversy raged over a broad territory, and excelled all others of the time in its vigorous vitality, and its power to project itself into the later ages. It was another product of the restless and inventive Antioch. Nestorius became Bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 428. He saw the danger of Arianism, and, in his zeal to defend the full divinity of our Lord, went so far as to do injustice to his humanity. He went beyond Apollinaris, and yet was in a measure of sympathy with the Pelagians, because of the total absence of fatalism in their system and the large place which they gave to the freedom of the will. His opinions were, that Christ possessed two natures, the divine and human; that there are not two persons, however, but only one; that there is a perfect union between the perfect God, the Word, and man, which is expressed by the word *sunapheia* (conjunction); that the divine so far transcends the human as largely to absorb it; and that God the Son did not endure human suffering, or go through human experiences. Instead of regarding Christ as the God-man, Nestorius held that he was the God-bearing man. The body of our Lord was simply the vehicle of the divine, the temple of the Logos. These views attracted profound attention. They were advocated with so much warmth and ability, not only by Nestorius, but by many who rallied to his support, that they spread with marvellous rapidity, and extended from the shores of the Ægean Sea to the boundaries of India. They were condemned by several councils. The Emperor Zeno (A.D. 489) dissolved the Nestorian school of Edessa, and hoped in this way to arrest the heresy. But here he failed. It was a system which could live without a theology. The Nestorians can still be found, even in name as well as doctrines, in Koordistan and the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. Humboldt bears witness to their contributions to the arts and sciences in the East, while their schools and hospitals have been of benign influence during all the intervening centuries.

Augustine, born in Tagaste, Numidia, A.D. 354, was led to adopt Christianity while young through the example of his devout mother, Monica. He afterwards became worldly, and wandered far from the principles and example of his early

life. When thirty-three years of age he was restored to a pure and happy state, and was baptized by the aged Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. His mother, who never lost faith in him, and who had followed him in all his wanderings over many lands, had the great joy of witnessing his restoration to the Church. He became a presbyter in Africa, A.D. 391, was appointed Bishop of Hippo Regius, in Numidia, A.D. 395, and died there A.D. 430. The theology of Augustine was as follows: Man was created pure, in God's image, and possessed of a free will. He was tempted and fell, and in him all humanity sinned. But man was capable of restoration, not of himself, but of God's grace. This grace comes not because man believes, but precedes faith, and is given that he may believe. From this grace all the stages of repentance, conversion, and final perseverance are reached and passed through. Now, as grace is a free gift of God, and precedes all acts of faith on man's part, and as experience shows that not all men become converted and are saved, it must follow that God absolutely predestinates a certain number to salvation (*decretum absolutum*), and that the rest are left to their merited damnation. There were many departments of this new system, and Augustine defended them all with fervor and logical skill. His purity of life and noble character added great force to his theology.

Augustine

Out of the Augustinian theology sprang the Pelagian controversy. It marked the entrance of the Anglo-Saxon into the broad domain of the general theology of the Christian Church. Pelagius was a monk of Britain, who resided in Rome, and about A.D. 409 began to propagate his doctrines. He attacked the Augustinian system on every side. He controverted the innate depravity of man, and held that man was created mortal; that Adam's fall has made no change in human nature, and has exerted no influence on his posterity; that the heart is a *tabula rasa*, or blank, and has no inclination to virtue or vice; that man's will is perfectly free to choose virtue or vice; that Christ became man, not to save by his atoning blood, but to aid us by his doctrine and example to attain to everlasting life; that baptism is a necessity; and that children dying unbaptized reach a lower grade of salvation than the baptized.

Pelagianism

Pelagius succeeded while in Rome in winning to his doc-

trines the acute and learned Cœlestius. Both were of pure life and ascetic tastes. They went to Africa, A.D. 411, and afterwards Pelagius proceeded to Palestine, while Cœlestius remained in Africa and became a presbyter. The deacon Paulinus opposed the Pelagian system, and became a strong aid to Augustine. In Palestine it encountered a strong opponent in Jerome, but the Synod of Jerusalem (A.D. 415) declined to condemn the doctrines of Pelagius, and intimated that the whole controversy was a Western affair, and was of no special concern to Eastern Christians. The African Church, however, took up the question, and the two synods of Mileve and Carthage (A.D. 416) condemned the Pelagians. An appeal was made by Pelagius to the Roman bishop, Innocent I., but the latter died before it reached him. His successor, Zosimus, espoused the Pelagian cause, and wrote an endorsement to Africa. But a new synod was called in Carthage (A.D. 417), which confirmed the former action against Pelagius. The Roman emperor, Honorius, now took part in the strife, and banished the Pelagians from Rome. This brought Zosimus to drop his Pelagianism, and he wrote a circular letter against it. Suddenly the scene of controversy was shifted to the East, with Constantinople as the centre. The third general council of the Church was held in Ephesus, A.D. 431, and Pelagius and Cœlestius were condemned, at the same time with Nestorius. The controversy assumed a milder type, later, in the West, under the name of semi-Pelagianism. The sharpness of both Augustinism and Pelagianism was toned down. The result was the triumph of a mild type of the Augustinian theology, adopted by the Synod of Aranico (Orange), A.D. 529.

Spread of the Pelagian Controversy

Other controversies grew out of these larger ones. Each district had its own views, while individual communities were distinguished for their espousal of some leader, which meant bitter hostility against his competitor. There was no want of hair-splitting. The philosophical terms of the Greek schools, which it was thought were dead, again came to life, and were hurled with energy from men to men and land to land. "*Theotokos*"—"God-born"—a word used by Nestorius, was heard from Gaul and Italy to the borders of modern Thibet and India. All Christendom was divided by a single letter of the alphabet,

Other Controversies

one half crying "Homoiousia" (like essence), and the other half responding with equal fervor, "Homoousia" (same essence). Gregory of Nazianzus bears the following witness to the extent to which the theological discussions pervaded all classes: "The city (Constantinople) is full of people, who dogmatize on incomprehensible questions. The streets and market-places are the scenes of discussions of the old-clothes dealers, the money-changers, and the venders of green-groceries. If you ask how many *oboli* he asks for his produce, he will respond by dogmatizing on the Begotten and the Unbegotten. If you inquire the price of bread, you will get for answer, 'The Father is greater than the Son, and the Son is subordinate to the Father.' If you inquire, 'Is the bath ready?' you will hear, 'The Son was created from nothing.'"

The results of the agitations were, on the whole, favorable to Christianity. At the moment they must have seemed not only fruitless, but of infinite damage. This is always the judgment of the age which produces theological discussions. Controversy seems only evil when in progress. But, judged by later generations, one sees the good results. The agitations of the apostolic period, and of the four centuries succeeding it, aroused the Christians to a sense of the importance of formulating their doctrines. They were led to meet in great councils, to compare views, and lay down those creeds, one by one, which have served the purpose of doctrinal statement for all later ages. The masses were brought to examine the Scriptures with great care, and to see how far the prevailing doctrines were supported by them. The average Christian was led to distinguish between truth and error, and to perceive the vast danger which came, in a rude age, from propagating falsehood. It was a time of test. The furnace was at a white heat. Every truth which lay at the foundation of Christianity was subjected to the flames. The pagans from without had attempted, by their attacks, to destroy Christianity. But, in the period of controversy, the Christians examined their whole body of truth with their own hands. They now gave proof that they could discuss together with as much animation as against their common foe. The Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, which determined the divinity of Christ, and that of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, which determined the union of the two

natures in him, undisturbed and unmixed, made immortal statements. Hence, even in the midst of the controversial period, we can easily see positive advances of the cause of Christianity.

CHAPTER XVIII

ECCLESIASTICAL SCHISMS

[Authorities.—The doctrinal movements of the Ancient Church are portrayed succinctly by Rev. T. G. Crippen in his Popular Introduction to the History of Christian Doctrine (Edinb., 1883).]

Division in the Church was intimately connected with the controversies. But the formal secessions did not arise so much from differences of opinions in theological speculation as in practical life. Felicissimus was the originator of an important schism, A.D. 251, which extended from Carthage to the shores of the Atlantic. He opposed the monarchical system of the episcopacy advocated by Cyprian, the Bishop of Carthage; and when the latter fled from Carthage at the breaking-out of the Decian persecution, Felicissimus denounced him for cowardice and led a revolt against him. With his fellow-presbyters, he at once began to receive the lapsed into the Church on the strength of the certificates which they obtained from the confessors and martyrs. Cyprian denounced this course, and when he returned he was excommunicated by the party of Felicissimus, who chose Fortunatus for their bishop. The discontented presbyter went to Rome to try to win over its bishop, Cornelius, but failed. The schism caused Cyprian much trouble.

Schism of Felicissimus

The Novatian schism, A.D. 251, was produced by Novatianus, with Rome as the scene. The origin lay in the corrupt measures by which Callistus, after many adventures, arrived in Rome, and secured election to the episcopacy. He granted absolution to all the excommunicated alike. He permitted a second marriage, and even a third, to his clergy. After his death the lax party continued in force. In A.D. 251 the presbyter Cornelius was chosen bishop,

Novatian Schism

and his methods were similar to those of his predecessor. Novatianus, a presbyter, opposed him with great spirit. He claimed that the Church consisted of the pure only; that there could be no chaff among the good wheat. An important secession was the outcome, with Novatianus as leader. It extended into the East, and in Phrygia received strong support. It lost strength, however, with the death of its leader, and in time went into decay.

Donatist Schism

The Donatist schism arose from the same general cause as the other separatistic movements. But it involved more serious questions, assumed larger proportions, continued longer, and made a more thorough encroachment on the life and organization of the Church than any previous schism. It began with the question of the practical religious life, but soon extended into the domain of ecclesiastical discipline, and then entered the larger sphere of the relation of the Church to the State. In North Africa, the spirit of martyrdom during the persecutions assumed, in many cases, the form of a monomania. Christians, in large numbers, thought that by voluntary death they could atone for all former errors. Fanaticism took the place of a calm and resigned submission to the inevitable. Then came reverence for the bones of the martyrs, and for the places of their death. Many Christians thought they saw in special places and relics the abode of sanctity and the source of blessings. The question now became of such interest that elections to the episcopal office turned upon fancies arising out of this fanatical spirit. Donatus, a Numidian bishop, appeared at Carthage A.D. 311, opposed the election of Cæcilian as bishop on the ground that he had been consecrated by Felix, a *traditor*, or renouncer of the Scriptures, in the time of persecution. Donatus stood at the head of the stricter party, and would surrender nothing to the more lax Christians. The entire Church of North Africa was involved in the strife. From words the difference went so far as secession. A council at Arles, in France, condemned the Donatists. But they had warm supporters, and bore persecution firmly. Though Constantine never favored the Donatists, and always decided against them, yet he did not persecute them. He ignored them. Julian favored them, and reinstated them in full power. For twenty years they had peace, during which time they

built churches, organized societies, built up a vast ecclesiastical system, and were represented by their own bishop in the Nicene council. After the death of Donatus the sect divided into extremists and moderates. In course of time the schism lost its hold upon the favor of the people, and disappeared.

Meletian Schism

The Meletian schism arose A.D. 305–311. During the Diocletian persecution, when Peter was metropolitan of Alexandria and Meletius was bishop of Lycopolis, in the Thebaid, the latter took advantage of the imprisonment of the former to ordain ministers in dioceses outside his own. He complained that, as many bishops were absent, the Church was suffering for want of their services. The bishops who were in captivity remonstrated against his course. Meletius held to the stricter view, and Epiphanius reports that Meletius was the representative of the stricter party in the Church. An Egyptian synod took measures against Meletius, and condemned him for assuming functions not belonging to him. The schism extended over all Egypt, and was not without powerful support in other regions. Twenty-nine Meletian bishops were present at the Council of Nicæa. Their ordinations were recognized as valid, and they long continued in office. But the schism itself was condemned, though in mild terms. After the council, Meletius continued his schismatic course, but without real success. He afterwards combined with the Arians. After the middle of the fifth century the Meletians disappeared from history.

CHAPTER XIX

THE SCRIPTURES AND TRADITION

[AUTHORITIES.—Bishop Westcott's learned work on the History of the Canon of the New Testament (6th ed., London and N.Y., 1889) is strongly commended. He gives some of the results in more popular form in The Bible in the Church (new ed., 1885, London and N. Y.). Prof. Edward Reuss's History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church (N. Y., 1884) should be read for its clear conception and unfolding of historical growth in the canon. On Tradition, see the article by Holtzmann in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, s. v. (4th ed., revised and enlarged, N. Y., 1891), and Essay iii. in Newman's Essays, Critical and Historical (8th ed., London, 1888).]

THE need of a fixed and complete canon of revealed truth was felt by the Church in its earliest period. As to just what writings were canonical, the authority rested first with the Jews. Of these there were two classes —the more exact and literal, who lived in Palestine, and preserved most fully the traditions of their ancestors; and the more free and inexact, who lived in Alexandria, and were inclined to permit doubtful books to enter the recognized canon. The Christians looked to the Palestinian Jews as the safer guides, and hence modelled their canon on the more conservative plan. The need of the Scriptures, and of knowing precisely what constituted the canon, was pressed upon the early Church with great force. The apologists heard from all sides the bitter lament, "You are divided as to your sacred books! Tell us what they are!" Hence, every safe means was employed to get at uniformity. Some Christian teachers were inclined to admit doubtful books. For example: Origen defended the narrative of Susanna, against the attack of Julius Africanus; he was equally energetic in his plea for Tobit and Judith. Barnabas declared the four books of Ezra to be inspired. Tertullian attached the same value to the Book of Enoch. Hermas elevated to similar honor the Book of Eldam

Old-Testament Canon

and Modal, two men whom tradition alleged to have written a prophecy in the wilderness. Melito, Bishop of Sardis, visited Palestine (A.D. 170) with a view to getting at the best understanding concerning the Jewish view of the real canon. He gives the Old-Testament canon in his commentary. He rejected Esther, Nehemiah, and the Apocrypha. It may be said that, by the beginning of the second century, there was a general understanding among Christians as to the more important books of the Old-Testament canon. They are the same which the evangelical Protestant Church of our times regards as inspired.

New Testament

There was more hesitation and uncertainty in arriving at agreement on the New-Testament canon. The whole period of the early Church was one of intense literary fertility. Many books were written by Christians which the average believer had loved so dearly, and which had been so helpful, that it is not surprising he should place them close beside the works of Paul and John. The Epistle of Barnabas, Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Gospel of the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse of Peter had each its friends. The Muratori fragment, which proceeded from the Roman or North African Church, gives the first list of canonical books: —the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles by Paul, the First Epistle of John, and the First Epistle of Peter. As early as A.D. 170 these were accepted as the canon, but with a general belief that time would show it necessary to make the list larger. There was a difference of sentiment, according to the country, and even the community. The Second and Third Epistles of John and the Apocalypse were in general, but not universal, use, for the Peshito is the only version omitting them. Jude was accepted by the great body of the Church, but James was admitted by the Syrians only. Greek and Syrian Christians admitted the Epistle to the Hebrews, but the Western Church for a time rejected it. Second Peter was longer in dispute than any of the New-Testament writings. Origen and Eusebius declared against it; but other teachers were equally warm in their advocacy.

The Christian scholars were not inclined to hasten towards a conclusion. They were not willing to decide in one century what a more thorough scholarship in the next would make it

necessary to revoke. But in time they reached a general understanding. The Synod of Hippo, in North Africa, A.D. 393, under the leadership of Augustine, gave a list of the inspired books, which is the same as that of our present twenty-seven books of the New Testament. It also put the seal of its approval on the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. The ancient Church and the Church of the Middle Ages, with occasional dissent of individuals, held to the Apocrypha. The Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, adopted the same resolution as that of Hippo. Shortly afterwards, Innocent, Bishop of Rome, gave his approval to the conclusions of the councils of Hippo and Carthage. From this time forth, for eleven centuries, there was no change in the sentiment of the Church as to its canonical Scriptures. The Council of Trent, which met A.D. 1545, to promote the interests of the Roman Catholic Church against the new and vigorous Protestantism, in elevating the Apocrypha to an equal honor with the other sacred books, simply reaffirmed the decisions of Hippo and Carthage.

Settlement of the Canon

In a time when the copies of the Scriptures were only in manuscript, and of great cost, much value was attached to the personal recollections of the apostles and their immediate successors. Tradition, or matter handed down from father to son, was rich in reminiscence, and not likely, for two or three centuries, to go very far astray from exact history. That the narratives of aged Christians, which they had heard many years before from their seniors, should possess great interest and permanent value to the societies where they belonged, is not surprising. There is a rich glow and delightful fragrance in the words of Irenæus to Florin, in which he repeats what he had heard, when very young, from the lips of the aged Polycarp, who had been taught when young by John, and who had told him much of what the beloved disciple had repeated concerning the miracles, doctrines, and life of our Lord. Irenæus thus continues : " This I, Irenæus, too, heard at that time with all eagerness, and wrote down, not on parchment, but in my heart, and, by God's grace, I constantly bring it up again to remembrance."

Tradition

The later tradition, as understood many centuries afterwards, and playing an important part in the faith of Christian people, carried with it three elements: Apostolic origin, cath-

olicity, and communication by the bishops. But the early tradition was simply the unwritten truth, and orally communicated from one generation to another. Origen and Irenæus went further than most teachers in the large place they gave to tradition. Tradition was regarded as a treasure of priceless value, because preserving the golden links by which the *memorabilia* of the apostles and companions of our Lord were treasured.

In the earliest period, tradition was the only available source of Christian faith and knowledge. With the close of the New-Testament canon, the apostolic writings began to assume prominence, and threatened to become the only standard. But the Gnostics and other heretics could, and did, appeal also to Scripture. This again brought tradition to the foreground as the test of what the Scriptures taught. The great Fathers of the second and third centuries constantly appealed to it with triumphant force. The Arian controversy also made much of this form of teaching. By appealing to the true ancient interpretation of certain passages of Scripture, the Catholics overthrew the Arians at Nicæa. It was an appeal to exegetical tradition. Tradition thus maintained its supremacy alongside of Scripture until it came to be petrified in the creeds and decisions of councils. The ancient Church never attained to the grand conception of the Scriptures as the sole rule of faith.

CHAPTER XX

APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS

[Authorities.—Two recent books in this department are worthy of high praise for their careful and scholarly treatment: Books which Influenced our Lord and His Apostles, by John E. H. Thomson, B.D. (Edinb., 1891), and Pseudepigrapha: an Account of the Apocryphal Writings of the Jews and Early Christians, by Wm. J. Deane, M.A. (Edinb., 1891). These works will furnish an excellent introduction to this marvellous group of writings.]

The inventive spirit of the early Church can be fully seen in the large mass of apocryphal works. While the close of the Scriptural canon sealed the fate of all such writings, there

was still a strong local attachment to some of them. One of the chief sources of these apocryphal productions was the Ebionitic and Gnostic heresies. The great body of the Church was busied in resisting these heresies, and yet the Ebionites and Gnostics themselves produced many such works, and to the great outlying world the Christian Church had to bear the responsibility for the authorship of works produced by its own heretics.

Spurious Writings

The authors of the spurious writings confined themselves to no narrow territory. The whole realm of thought lay open to them, and they roamed at large. They were as much at home in the patriarchal times as in later periods, and were as skilful in writing works in the name of the Roman Clement as of Paul or Isaiah. The five favorite fields were: 1. Old-Testament history; 2. The life of Jesus; 3. The life and labors of the apostles; 4. The Epistles; and 5. Ecclesiastical polity and discipline.

The Book of Enoch enjoyed large popularity. It was a product of the century immediately preceding Christ, but in the second century it underwent adaptations to the new Christian conditions. It has been preserved in a translation from the Ethiopic MS. The Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs, written by a Jewish Christian, contains prophecy and admonition. It claims to have been written by the twelve sons of Jacob, who instruct their posterity on various duties, and foretell our Lord's incarnation and the downfall of Judaism. The Apocalypse of Moses, Isaiah's Ascension to Heaven, the Fourth Book of Ezra, and the Prophecies of Hystaspes belong in the same prophetic category.

Sibylline Oracles

The Sibylline Oracles were in fourteen books, and were an imitation of the Roman Sibyllines, which enjoyed wide popularity. The Christian Sibyllines were designed to promote Christian interests. They were prophecies concerning the second coming of Christ, the destruction of Rome, the coming of Nero as Antichrist, and the final triumph of Christianity. The Christian apologists made frequent appeals to them, though with varying confidence. They claim, in the text, to have been written by a daughter-in-law of Noah. This was certainly far enough back to satisfy the most antiquarian taste of the times.

The apocryphal accounts of our Lord were abundant. The

Apocryphal Accounts of Jesus

First Gospel of St. James the Less was a minute description of the alleged early life of Christ, and of the personal history of Mary. The Gospel of the Nativity of St. Mary, the History of Joachim and Anna and of the Birth of Mary and the Infant Saviour, the History of Joseph the Carpenter, the Gospel of the Infant Saviour, and the Gospel of Thomas furnished a vast mass of legendary matter, which, though worse than valueless, shows at least how profoundly the thought of the Church was centred in the life and person of Jesus. The Gospel of Nicodemus, the Acts of Pilate, and the Epistles of Lentulus bear on the Passion of our Lord, and are very minute in legendary details. To the spurious apostolical correspondence belong the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistle to the Laodiceans, an Epistle to the Corinthians (in the Armenian language), the correspondence of Paul with Seneca, the Epistle of Ignatius to the Mother of Jesus, and the Epistles of the Holy Virgin to the inhabitants of Messina, Florence, and other cities. The Apocalypse of Peter, the Ascension of Paul, and an Apocalypse, each, by Thomas and Stephen, and a second Apocalypse by John, are only a small portion of this luxuriant department of spurious Christian literature.

Apostolical Constitutions

The Apostolical Constitutions was the most important writing on discipline and order proceeding from the early Church. It is a collection of eight books of instruction for both the clergy and laity on practical duties and ecclesiastical usages and polity. They claim to have been written by the apostles, but really arose at different times, no part having existed earlier than the third century. The first six books bear internal evidence of having been written in the last quarter of the third century, while the seventh and eighth indicate an origin not earlier than the fourth century. The Apostolic Canons are brief rules for ecclesiastical discipline and law. They were issued in the name of the Roman Clement as an authentic work of the apostles, but were afterwards declared by the Roman bishop Hormisdas, in the sixth century, to be apocryphal. The second Trullan Council, A.D. 692, rejected them as authority for the Eastern Church. They were never recognized by the Western Church.

CHAPTER XXI

THEOLOGY DURING THE EARLY PERIOD

AUTHORITIES.—See Prof. Sheldon's History of Christian Doctrines (N. Y., 1887), a piece of work thoroughly well done. The course of theology in the ancient Church has been set forth and interpreted with admirable discrimination, fulness, and breadth of view by Prof. Allen in the first two chapters (The Greek Theology and The Latin Theology) of his Continuity of Christian Thought (4th ed., Boston, 1887). This noble work ought to be read by all who wish to understand the theological attainments of the Church in the progress of her history. The more elaborate Histories of Doctrine, by Hagenbach (Edinb., 1880) and Shedd (N. Y., 8th ed., 1884), should be consulted for a fuller view.

General Agreement

ON the fundamental Christian doctrines there was a general agreement among Christians, both East and West, even before the first formula of truth was established—namely, by the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325. There was a bold discussion of great themes. The daring of those first heroes for the truth is astounding. With only a brief history, and writhing in the agonies of martyrdom, they nevertheless wrote on themes of the broadest character. There was a difference between the Greek and the Roman Christian. The Greek was speculative. He caught up the terminology of Aristotle and the rest, and thrust it boldly into his argument on the eternal generation of our Lord. There was no subject on which he did not enter with boundless enthusiasm. The Roman was more careful. He had less to say, but more to do. He went beyond his pile of manuscripts, and thought of a stronger organization of the Church, a firmer body of believers, a more solid Christian phalanx for the conquest of the world. But beneath the speculation of the Greek and the practical aggressiveness of the Roman, there was one faith. With all the differences in the schools, there was but little difference in the ruling theology.

The divine character lay at the foundation of all doctrine.

Here the Christian mind came into severest antagonism to the Greek polytheism and the Oriental dualism. The Christian believer regarded God as Creator and Preserver of the universe. No attribute in modern evangelical theology was denied him in the patristic period. Only when the Christians began to consider the relations of the three persons in the Godhead, and God's revelation of himself to the world, do we observe variety. But even here there was essential unity. Tertullian varied from the general view in supposing God must have a body. This he did because of the misfortune of his philosophy, which was borrowed from paganism, that corporeity is a necessity of all existence. Origen and the school of Alexandria controlled the Church in avoiding all corporeal representations of deity. The whole patristic Church said, "We accept the divine character. We do not need to prove it. Its proof is in us and beyond us." Arnobius said, "To attempt to prove God's existence is not much better than to deny it." Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and Athanasius agreed in saying that the only possible knowledge we can have of God is based on grace and the Logos.

Divinity of Christ

The methods of proving the unity and trinity of the Godhead were not fortunate. Instead of adhering to the language of the Scriptures, the theologians made use, as well, of the dialectics of Aristotle, and of the example of the elder faiths of India and of Persia, to show a parallelism. Yet there was no compromise; no disposition to reduce the Christian doctrine to the plane of any other faith. The term *triad* was first used by Theophilus of Antioch, while Tertullian was the first to introduce the word *trinity* into Christian theology. While all the Fathers accepted the three persons, there was a difference of opinion in regard to the equality of essence. Justin's view expressed, however, the general and final belief of the Church: The three persons exist; they are of equal quality; beneath all the variety in the universe there is a unity of operation by the one God.

Unity and Trinity

Christology was the most fully developed of all departments of theology. The Logos of Alexandria became the Logos of the Christian world. Some teachers proved the incarnation of our Lord by a process of necessity; that to reveal is a divine necessity, just as the gem must shine. But this was a low plane of logic. The prevailing method was:

Christology

God is all-loving and all-wise, and he willed the salvation of man, and by the only means possible. God's nature is to bless. He is not an introspective character. His goodness is operative when it is needed. It was the Father's good pleasure to reveal himself. His will absorbed all necessity. Our Lord was generated by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, and led a human life. This life was sinless. Justin, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, and the pseudo-Ignatius held that the Son existed from all eternity coequally with the Father, but that, before creation, he proceeded from the Father, and began to lead a separate personal existence. Irenæus taught Christ's separate and personal Sonship with the Father; Tertullian, that the members of the Trinity are of the same substance, but constitute a succession; and Origen, that the Logos was of eternal generation. The differences of view were sought to be settled by the Council of Nicæa, A. D. 325. The Christian thinkers had been in danger, on the one hand, of emphasizing the humanity of our Lord to the detriment of his divinity; and, on the other, of allowing his divinity to absorb his humanity. But the perfection of each nature finally entered into the permanent faith of the Church. The final Christology of the period reduces itself to this: Christ was eternally coexistent and co-operative with the Father; he permitted the full penalty of sin to be visited upon himself; his death was voluntary, and achieved our redemption; he rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, became our High Priest; in the fulness of time he will come to judge the world, when he will reward the righteous and punish the guilty.

The discussions on the Logos threw the consideration of the Holy Ghost into the background. The adversaries of Christianity knew that Christianity must stand or fall with the divinity of Christ. There was no emphatic and general discussion of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost before the fourth century. The views concerning the Holy Ghost were quite vague. By some he was identified with the Word, and by others with wisdom. Tertullian was the first to distinctly assert the personality of the Spirit, though he subordinated him to the Father and the Son. Origen followed him in this, but was undecided as to his nature. The General Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, formally laid down the doctrine

The Holy Ghost

of the divinity of the Holy Ghost which has ever since been maintained by the Church.

Cosmology was a fruitful field of speculation. "Is matter eternal?" was a question which Persia had hurled at the Western mind, and because Christianity answered "No," the whole Oriental philosophy opposed the new religion. The Christian claimed that his sacred books taught that only an eternal God could create matter. Tertullian spoke for the whole Church when he said that God did not need the world for his own glory, but that creation was for man. The pagan believed in a past golden age. The Christian looked back upon lost Paradise, but his eye was keen to foresee a perfect restoration. He studied man in relation to the future. Sin passed from our first parents upon all humanity. Theophilus of Antioch and Tertullian taught that man can arrive at spiritual excellence by the development of his spiritual faculties, through his own choice and the quickening power of the Spirit. Three views on the union of soul and body were advocated: 1. Pre-existence of the soul before union with the body. 2. The soul is transmitted through Adam to all generations. 3. Each soul is created with the body at birth. Each of these views had its advocates. But the third became the prevailing opinion.

Cosmology

Anthropology

The world's social life is impure. Against this stands the Church—organized purity, God's children, his bride, the foreshadowing of his everlasting kingdom. It is a living body of believers. There may be unbelievers in the body, but, in the main, the Church is pure, and God will take care to preserve its character. The object of the Church is the culture of the soul, until released from its bondage. It is the depository of the divine truth. God has furnished in the Church, according to Cyprian and Irenæus, the universal operation of the Spirit.

Doctrine of the Church

There was a disposition on the part of some teachers to associate a sacrificial union of the Holy Ghost with the water in baptism. Origen says that baptism is the beginning and the source of the gifts of the Spirit. Baptismal regeneration was thus taught by many of both the early and later Fathers. Gregory of Nazianzus called baptism "the sacrament of the new birth;" Cyprian spoke of the "regenerating water," and Augustine of "the sacrament of birth

The Sacraments

and regeneration." The Greeks were much inclined to emphasize the spiritual gifts, while the Latins were more cautious, and attached great importance to the previous spiritual state of the baptized. In the general faith of the Church there was not only a belief in baptismal regeneration, but a disposition to assign to baptism an effect so important that it became the custom to postpone its reception till the close of life, for fear of losing its precious effect. Some writers emphasized the ethical disposition of the soul, but the universal tendency was to exaggerate the effect of the baptismal waters. The act of baptism, in the adult, was the human sign of a divine act of grace performed upon the soul. Tertullian disapproved of infant baptism ; Origen favored it, and described it as an existing usage ; Cyprian, speaking for the Western Church, did the same. The usage was universally acknowledged by the middle of the third century. The Lord's Supper was the human sign, divinely appointed to keep in mind the death of Christ. Ordinary bread, and wine mixed with water, were employed as symbols. After the second century none but baptized persons could partake of the Lord's Supper. During the patristic period there are occasional traces of the doctrine of transubstantiation, as in a theory stated by the fertile Irenæus, that the elements, after consecration, have the effective power of the body and blood of Christ. Transubstantiation seems to have been taught in the highly rhetorical language of Ambrose, Chrysostom, and others, and to have had considerable advocacy in private circles. But many of the Fathers made more or less distinction between the sign and the thing signified. The words "This is my body" were sometimes construed as a liturgical accommodation, meaning the representation of the body and blood by the bread and wine, and not literally a substantial transformation.

Eschatology

The Church loved to think of a peaceful and happy future. The early coming of Christ was expected by many, while some of the more serious teachers and scholars thought they saw in the New Testament abundant warrant for the speedy introduction of the millennium. But all such hopes were soon eclipsed in the Christian mind by the broad and white harvest-field to be reaped before his coming. In the Alexandrian theology, we find the first traces of a purgatorial fire. Origen made the final fire, which should destroy

the world, as the same fire which should purify all souls. During the first three centuries the general Church believed that all who die enter an intermediate state; but after the fourth century the opinion prevailed that imperfect Christians await in Hades their final deliverance after the discipline of suffering has cleansed them from all impurities, while the righteous will immediately enter into the presence of God. The present life was regarded as the only probationary possibility. The final restoration of the wicked was advocated by Origen, who even admitted the devil to its benefits. But here, as in other fields, the Church was slow to be guided by the warm fancy and generous sympathy of the imaginative African.

The process of theological adjustment was slow, and attended with great difficulty. The differences in race, climate, and intelligence were serious, and, before a theological consensus was arrived at, there was the appearance of hopeless diversity. This diversity continued long after the Council of Nicæa. One council would establish Arianism, another would overthrow it. But the Council of Nicæa had the great effect of placing the doctrine of the divinity of Christ beyond doubt as a fundamental doctrine, and of teaching the Church that there was to be a written standard of universal faith, determined by the Church in its representative capacity; that the doctrines of the Church would not be left to the temporary triumph of some acute dialectician; that an emperor could not make and ordain a Christian creed with any hope of success; and that theology is not a stagnant science, which admits of no enlargement with the flight of centuries and with the growth of the general domain of knowledge. It is not likely that, notwithstanding the controversies on theological questions, the faith of the Christians was seriously agitated. The hair-splitting sophistries of Christian debaters, who had brought their pagan dialectics with them into the Christian fold, did not disturb the average Christian. Those men had little to do with the determination of doctrine. The general body of plodding and fervent members, who knew no logic but the facts of the Gospels, were the principal agents who kept the Church close to its original moorings. Although the most abstruse doctrines were discussed with great intensity among the people, the mass of the faithful re-

Effect of Nicene Council

mained true to the orthodox Church.* The theology of the matter-of-fact believer was exact and closely knit. He was not disconcerted by the jargon on the *process* of the Logos towards manifestation, or the *procession* of the Holy Ghost also from the Son, or whether only the wicked enter Hades. He knew that Jesus was born in Bethlehem, that the Holy Ghost was the divine Comforter, and that the believer's Lord would not inflict on him a long suspense after martyrdom before permitting him to behold his face.

The Nicene conclusions, far from being the mere fruit of theologians, were the faith of the great commonwealth of believers throughout Christendom. The real master at Nicæa was neither Athanasius nor Constantine, but the humble believer, who might be keeping his flocks beside the Euphrates, or cultivating his patch of lentils in the Thebaid, or singing his psalms beneath his thatched roof on the outskirt of a dark forest of the Germania of Trajan's day.

CHAPTER XXII

ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT AND THE ROMAN PRIMACY

[Authorities.—The subject of ancient Church polity is ably handled by Dr. John Cunningham's Croall Lectures for 1886, on The Growth of the Church in its Organization and Institutions (London, 1886), lects. i., ii., and Dean Stanley in his Christian Institutions (N. Y., 1881), chap. x. On the Growth of the Papal Power, see chap. xi. of this book of Stanley's, and Littledale's Petrine Claims (London and N. Y., 1890). The Roman Catholic side finds an able exponent in Manning's Petri Privilegium (London, 1871) and Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost (3d ed., 1877).]

The early period of the Church was marked by a simple government. The offices and orders were few, derived from the Scriptures, and administered without ostentation and formality. But the enlargement of territory, the multiplication of societies, the dealing with the lapsed and other classes requiring special dealing,

Revolution in Church Government

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* This valuable and interesting fact is shown in one of the most important chapters in Newman's History of the Arians in the Fourth Century, viz. note v. in Appendix, pp. 445–468, 5th edition.

and, above all, the bringing of the Church into union with the State, increased the offices to an alarming extent. The political system of Rome entered more and more into the Christian mind as a model for government. The metropolitan centre and the synodal bond were derived directly from the imperial arrangement for the government of provinces. Under Constantine the Church became only the smaller within the larger empire. Simplicity of government continued until about the end of the second century, but after that the tendency was towards a complex polity. For at least three quarters of a century before Constantine the new taste had exhibited itself; but when he converted Christianity into the State religion, all obstacles were removed, and offices multiplied.

Minor Clergy

Of the minor clergy the subdeacons came first. They assisted the deacons in subordinate services. The acolyths were assistants to the bishops in many subordinate relations. At the communion service they filled the cup with wine and water, and helped in the manual duties of the communion. The lectors, or readers, appear as a clerical order early in the third century. They had charge of the sacred books of the society, read prescribed passages to the congregation, and usually consisted of ministerial candidates. The catechists were only occasionally a special order, their duties being performed by presbyters, deacons, and lectors. When the congregation was very large they were called into exercise, to propose candidates for admission to the Church. The *hermeneutæ*, or interpreters, interpreted the sermon and Scriptural selections into the language of the people, when the language was not Greek or Latin. This was the case in the Carthaginian Church, where the language was Punic. Singers, or precentors, were used in the larger churches to aid in music. The lowest official rank was the *ostiarii*, or doorkeepers, who served as ushers, preserved order, and had charge of the sacred buildings. Some of these offices were in force by the beginning of the third century, others not until the middle of the century. During the following century we find the other subordinate officers: the *economos*, or trustee of church property; the *defensor*, or attorney; the *notarius*, or secretary, who recorded and preserved official records; the *parabolani*, or nurses of the sick; and the *fossores*, or grave-diggers.

The chief clerical work of the greater clergy devolved upon

the deacons and presbyters, whose functions remained the same as at the beginning. When the Roman Clement wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians, A.D. 95, there was no difference between bishop and presbyter. The presbyter was the pastor, with all the sacred ministerial functions. The bishop was, at the beginning, the same. During all the early centuries he was only the presbyter, but with a larger government, embracing a group or territory of separate societies. Originally, the Church or congregation elected the bishop, and invited neighboring bishops to consecrate him to his new office. Then, in the third century, the bishop was elected by brother bishops in adjoining territory, after the manner of the election of an apostle. By the middle of the third century, the election of a bishop was confirmed by the votes of all the bishops of the province, in presence of the laity, and by their consent. The Council of Nicæa gave the bishops of the province the right to elect without lay participation—a mode very popular in the West, but not in the East, where the laity continued to exercise the right of both veto and direct election. The bishops were elected sometimes by acclamation of the multitude, as in the case of Cyprian, and the bishops, presbyters, and other clergy were compelled to submit. It is historically true that in such cases the choice was generally a wise one. The people knew their man.

Greater Clergy

With time the prerogatives of the bishop enlarged. At first his power was limited by dependence on the co-operation of the presbyters. He could nominate the clergy, but could not advance to orders without the vote of the presbyters. He could not determine doctrinal questions, or discipline, or general administration. He had to summon the clergy of the diocese and submit the questions, and abide by their vote. The government of the local society was vested in the hands of the laity, and the presbyter was only the spiritual guide. The process by which the bishop became the chief officer was this: From the first society another radiated, and still others from them, until there was a group of churches, which extended even into the suburban parts. The parent church was held in highest esteem. The bishop's residence was supposed to be in connection with it, but over each church there was a presbyter, and over all the bishop, whose spiritual functions were no greater than those

Powers of the Bishop

of the humblest presbyter in the diocese. There was some variation, according to place, in the independence of the individual society. In Constantinople, for example, the presbyters of the mother Church served the three filial churches in order. There was a tendency of the richer suburban churches towards independence. In time they were grouped, and had their bishop, who was called a *chorepiscopos*, or rural bishop. This office became a source of serious disorder. The rural bishop was not acknowledged to be equal to his brother in office in the city. Several of the provincial synods of the fourth century took from the rural bishops the right of nominating the clergy. Finally, the *chorepiscopos* was abolished by the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 360, and of Sardica, A.D. 347, though his office continued for a long time afterwards. Its functions gradually became merged into the order of presbyters.

Metropolitan Authority

The metropolitan authority was closely related to the diocese. The word *metropolitan* does not appear before the Council of Nicæa. But the idea had been in force from the earlier period of the expansion of the Church. The city where the gospel was planted, and from which it extended into other regions of the province, was the maternal city of the Church of the whole territory. In due time other societies, remote from the centre, were formed, which grew in number and importance, and were grouped into dioceses. But the connections were kept up with the central authority. Rome, for example, was the original Italian Church. But other cities in due time received the gospel, such as Tusculum, Tibur, Velitræ, Ostia, and Portus, each of which became a diocese, with a separate bishop. Now, the bishop living in the original society was the metropolitan. He was always regarded with peculiar reverence, because of his supposed attachment to the doctrines and usages of the Church. The metropolitan had important rights. He could convene provincial synods, preside over them, and see that the conclusions were enforced. There were six metropolitans —those of Rome, Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Corinth.

The patriarchate was a higher office than the metropolitanate. The number of metropolitanates was reduced to four general patriarchates — Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople. This was an imitation of the political division by

Constantine of the whole Roman Empire into four prefectures.

Patriarchate

The patriarchs consecrated the metropolitans and the bishops of the diocese, summoned the synods of the whole patriarchate, had supervision of all general ecclesiastical affairs, even the court of final appeal, and could have legates at foreign courts. The patriarchate of Alexandria comprised six provinces; Antioch, fifteen; Constantinople, twenty-eight; and Jerusalem, three.

Many things contributed to give pre-eminence to the Roman bishop. The Church of Rome was distinguished for its conservatism. It was firm in the midst of many heresies. After the overthrow of Jerusalem it was believed to be the oldest apostolic Church. Its good quality of faith was well known, or, as Paul says, had been "spoken of throughout the whole world." In the giving of alms, in missionary zeal, and in doctrinal purity, the Roman Christians had no superiors. The certain residence of Paul in Rome, and the already growing impression of Peter's sojourn there, were important apostolical associations, which clothed the Roman society with great sanctity. By the middle of the second century there was frequent mention of the primacy of Rome. In the early part of the third century there was a revision of the Recognitions, in which the idea of a Roman primacy was made very prominent. So soon as this intimation was expressed, there were strong views against it. Cyprian declared that each bishop is equal, and that the Church is a unit. "Be it so," cried Origen, when he heard of the new Roman claim to foundation by Peter, and therefore pre-eminence; "but if Peter is the only one on whom the Church is built, what becomes of John and the other apostles? Is Peter, forsooth, the only one against whom the gates of hell should not prevail?" Irenæus spoke in a similar strain. And yet the trend of the general policy was towards Roman centralization. Each new Roman bishop advanced beyond the claims of his predecessor. Zephyrinus held that he alone should be arbiter on the discipline of penitents; Victor assumed the same right on the Easter controversy; and Stephen asserted a similar claim on the baptism of heretics. The resisting force lay in the Eastern Church, where Antioch was leader. But there was little cohesion in the East. It was regarded as provincial, while in spiritual affairs Rome came constantly into more

The Roman Bishop

prominent leadership. In due time little or no attention was paid to the Eastern protests. When Firmilian, the obscure bishop of Cappadocian Cæsarea, dared to charge Stephen of Rome with boasting of episcopal superiority, he was only laughed at in the Western metropolis.

Constantinople

Constantinople was called New Rome. When Constantine made the obscure Byzantium, which had been subordinate to Heraclea, the capital of Thrace, his vast capital and the centre of imperial authority, much advantage to the Church was expected. But the result was not satisfactory. When he passed away there was little purity left. The palace became a nest of intrigue and revolution. The Turkey of our times, with its plots and counter-plots and its nameless corruptions, is only the modern reflection of the depravity which dwelt in the imperial home of the successors of Constantine. The members of the court frequently hurled theological terms at each other; while the wrangles of schismatics were transferred to the homes of the nobility, with little loss of bitterness. As in the Bosphorus one sees the tumultuous flow of northern and southern waters, so, beside its beautiful and historic banks, in the fourth century, one could see the meeting of all the conflicting thoughts which agitated the whole Eastern Church. Each new party hoped for success from imperial favor. The agitations around the eastern half of the Mediterranean became so serious as to retard missionary operations, to threaten unity, and to promote spiritual decline. In the West the life was more steady. There was no emperor to lean upon. When an Eastern heresy reached Rome, it was generally throttled, or vivisected, without much ado. The Roman Church life had the equipoise of power, and of faith in its high destiny. It was willing to hear any new thing which came to it, but not to go out in quest of novel ideas. It possessed neither the wish nor the talent for theological invention. It was willing to wait, and to profit by blunders elsewhere, but not to look backward, except to gather up supporting traditions for a steadier and farther march into the future.

CHAPTER XXIII

SACRED SEASONS AND PUBLIC WORSHIP

[Authorities.—The best book on the Observance of Sunday in the Early Church is Hessey's Bampton Lectures, 5th ed., with new excursus, etc. (London and N. Y., 1889). See also the essay by Prof. E. G. Smyth, in Sabbath Essays, edited by W. C. Wood (Boston, 1879). For church architecture, consult Bennett's Christian Archæology (N. Y., 1888). Prof. Schaff has an excellent chapter on Christian Art (Church History, revised ed., vol. ii., ch. vi.).]

Weekly Festivals

The festal cycle of the Christian world gradually assumed fixed form. The tendency was towards an enlargement upon the apostolic limitation. But each addition was achieved after heated discussion. The Jewish Christian, after losing the traces of the Jewish calendar, was slow to add any new day which might be suggested by the Gentile Christian. The first day of the week for sacred services came constantly into more frequent use than the seventh. But the Jewish Christians continued to use both the first and seventh days, until the first generation had disappeared, when the influence of Gentile Christianity became predominant. Barnabas, Ignatius, and Justin furnish positive proof of the early substitution of the first for the seventh day. That it was called Sunday because of a Saxon god is an old error, for which there is no foundation. The first day, however, was associated with the sun in the oldest mythologies. George Smith found on a tablet at Nineveh mention of Sunday as a day of rest. It was a day of gladness, because of the great gift of our Lord's resurrection, the day of new light, the day of the sun (ἡ ἡλιου ἡμερα). Wednesday and Friday were also used as days of service, but never in the high sense of the Sunday service. The Wednesday service was designed to commemorate our Lord's arrest by the Jewish council, and Friday to commemorate his death. Those days, the fourth and sixth of the week, were called the *stations*—a military

term, as a reminder that the Christian is a soldier, and must be on his guard against the enemies of Christ.*

Yearly Festivals

Of the yearly festivals the Passover was the most important. It signified the festal commemoration of the sparing of the first-born in Egypt, and, in a Christian sense, the memorial celebration of the death of Christ. The great Easter controversy arose on the duration of the Easter fast. It was only a question of a few hours, but the whole Church was divided on the trivial matter, the Western Christians contending for the longer time, and the Eastern for the shorter. From Gaul to Pontus the discussion swept. Synods were called, and the strife became bitter. But the Western view prevailed; and those who held to the Eastern opinion either withdrew their opposition or concentrated into a little sect, the Quartodecimanians, whose home was confined to Asia Minor and proconsular Africa. They had but a short existence. The Roman bishop Victor refused to acknowledge as Christians all who sympathized with the Eastern view, and excommunicated them. Pentecost gained additional strength in the Christian mind. While the Jew celebrated it in thankful commemoration of the harvest, and the gift of the Law on Sinai, the Christian revered it, and placed it very high in his calendar, in commemoration of the outpouring of the Spirit after our Lord's ascension. Epiphany was observed in the East towards the close of the second century. A commemoration of the nativity was prefixed to it, but became an independent feature about A.D. 386. After that Christmas was observed with greater or less attention in both the East and the West.

Martyr Days

The growing reverence for the martyrs led to special services on the anniversary of their death. By a happy thought, the day of the martyr's death was called his "birthday." Processions were made on these days to the scene of the martyrdom, churches were erected over the remains of the martyrs, memorial sermons were preached on the anniversary, and the special day was added to the calendar. This tendency, innocent and natural in the first four centuries, afterwards became a superstition, and brought many evils into the Church. On the memorial martyr days the Lord's Supper

* Tertullian says: "Statio de militari nomen accepit, nam et militaria Dei sumus."—De Orat., cap. 19.

was celebrated, with a view to continued fellowship with the martyrs. It was called an oblation or sacrifice for martyrs—*sacrificium pro martyribus*. It must be remembered, however, that during the entire patristic period these memorial days for martyrs were no part of the order of the Church. They grew out of the fame and merit of Christians, who died sooner than renounce their faith in Christ. The martyrology of the Roman Catholic Church, the large use of images, and the realistic services, were all of much later and less spiritual origin.

Church Buildings

No mention is made of special buildings for Christian worship till the close of the second century. Tertullian (*De Idol.*, cap. 7; *De Cor.*, cap. 3), who died about 230, speaks of "Going to church," and of "going to the house of God." The church was on the plan of the Jewish temple and the synagogue. It was called the Lord's house, the house of prayer, the house of the Church. The architecture of the first churches was simple, and gave no promise of the subsequent splendor of the basilica and the cathedral. The interior of the church consisted of three parts—the vestibule, the nave, and the choir. The congregation assembled in the nave, and here the pulpit was erected, the Scriptures read, and the sermon delivered. The choir was used alone for the clergy, and for the readers and the singers. It corresponded to the holy of holies of the Jewish temple. It was separated from the nave by a lattice or railing, and curtains, and was elevated above the nave. In the centre of the choir was the wooden table bearing the symbols of our Lord's death. In the rear, following the semicircular wall, the higher clergy sat, while the bishop sat on a cathedra, or raised seat.

Images

Even before the time of Constantine (reigned 306–337), pictures of Scripture events had been set up in the churches. The early Church was familiar with such representations, and with symbolic images, as the Roman Catacombs testify. There was very early, however, a distaste for all representations of deity or sacred characters. Clement of Alexandria expressed the sentiment of his age: "The custom of daily looking on the representation of the Divine Being desecrates his dignity." The time had not, as yet, arrived when Christian art was employed to clothe our Lord's person with ethereal beauty and sweetness. The theology of the times attributed to him the sad and homely visage of proph-

ecy,* and it is a quaint fancy of Tertullian that he could never have been despised of men, and have suffered death for them, if in his person he had manifested his heavenly glory. Origen held that his whole person was repulsive. The Eastern Church has never deviated from this view. In the Græco-Russian Church of to-day, whether amidst the barbaric splendor of the Cathedral of St. Isaac in St. Petersburg, or in the more ancient Church of the Transfiguration on the Kremlin, it is the same sad and austere countenance which we discover in the ancient frescos of Ravenna. The Council of Elvira, A.D. 305, declared against the use of all images in sacred buildings, though its decisions were never respected out of Spain. The Western Church was inclined, early, to the use of images, and this preference was one of the causes which finally led to the division of the East and the West.

CHAPTER XXIV

ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

[Authorities.—See the articles "Arcani," "Disciplina," and "Discipline" in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, and the chapters in the Church Histories and books on Christian antiquities.]

Careful training was early observed in the spiritual life of the Church. No sooner was a society organized than the closest attention was paid to the religious instruction of the young. The converts of Pentecost were immediately received into the fellowship of believers. But the work was only just begun. There must be edification. Each believer was regarded as a temple, not finished, but susceptible of all beautiful and symmetrical forms. He must be built up. Hence, full provision was made for instruction and training. Paul's epistles abound in intimations that constant attention was paid to the domestic training for Christian life and for careful instruction in Biblical knowledge. The new adult convert had everything

Training of the Young

* Isa. liii. 2, 3. Cf. Tertullian, Adv. Judæos, cap. 14.

to learn. He had just come in from paganism. No miracle could compensate for the previous absence of religious truth. When one embraced the new faith, or, as the phrase of the time went, "laid off the toga for the pallium," he was a blank.

The catechumens were required to pass through a severe discipline. There was no fixed time for terminating the catechumenate. While the apostles baptized immediately on profession of faith, the patristic Church moved more slowly, for experience taught them that nothing was lost by a longer process before full membership. There were three classes of catechumens—the hearers, the kneelers, and the petitioners. The hearers could come to the general service, and hear the sermon and the lessons, but could not remain for prayers. The kneelers could hear also the prayers, and even the prayer of the imposition of hands. The petitioners could hear the entire service, and petition for baptism at the next public appointing, which was usually Easter Sunday. When the petition was accepted, the names of the candidate and his sponsors were recorded in the diptych, or register. Then came a close examination, or "scrutiny," which lasted twenty days. When public baptism and reception took place the new member was admitted to the Eucharist. After the period of persecution had closed, the time for the duration of the catechumenate became briefer than before. The Apostolical Constitutions favored three years. The Synod of Elvira laid down two. But the Synod of Agde shortened the time to eight months.

The apostates were the more difficult class to manage. The temptations to apostasy were numerous. In some regions the process of restoration continued for years. In others, when penitents were ready to suffer martyrdom, the ordeal was brief. In the African Church many apostates secured letters of peace from men just before suffering martyrdom, and with these as authority they boldly demanded admission again into the Church. One man, Lucian, boldly declared that he had granted peace to all apostates in North Africa, and had declared their sins absolved ; and Cyprian, in a gentle mood, cried aloud that the Church must keep peace with its martyrs. There were two classes of sins—the venial and the mortal. But martyrdom was regarded as the completion of any penitential experience. In the latter part of the third century the penitents were more largely classified : mourners,

hearers, kneelers, and bystanders. A bystander was the most advanced. He could advance up the nave of the church, join in all the prayers of the Church, and witness the celebration of the Lord's Supper, but not participate in it. During all the stages towards restoration, the penitent must give practical proof of sincerity by abstaining from all diversions, by observing all the public fasts, by giving liberally towards the support of the poor, and by assisting in burying the dead. Restoration was completed by admitting the penitent to the Lord's Supper, by the prayer of absolution and reconciliation, and by the imposition of hands by the bishop.

The penitential presbyter was the special officer who supervised the penitents during all the stages of restoration. It was his duty to see that all requirements were met, that the bishop was duly notified of the progress made by the penitent, and that the time was fixed for final restoration. But his chief duty was to hear under oath of secrecy the private confession of penitents. He also laid upon them the necessary penances. But this officer, though a forerunner of the priestly confessor, was appointed simply for convenience in the service of Church discipline. The confessional, as a prerequisite for communion in the case of all Christians, came in several centuries afterwards. The office of the penitential presbyter was abolished A.D. 390 on account of a scandal occasioned by a deacon, the facts of which were revealed in the confession of a prominent woman of Constantinople.

CHAPTER XXV

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND USAGES

[AUTHORITIES.—See Literature to Chap. VII. Dr. Lyman Coleman made a conscientious study of this theme, and his work, Ancient Christianity, Exemplified in the Private, Domestic, Social, and Civil Life of the Primitive Christians (Phil., 1853), is still valuable. The Relation of the Fathers and of the Early Church and Literary Culture is the subject of the second chapter of Laurie's Rise and Early Constitution of Universities (N. Y., 1887).]

THE charitable spirit of the Church in the apostolic time took larger form in the patristic period. There was no need

of Christians in one place which did not awaken sympathy everywhere. When Cyprian saw that the Numidian Christians could not pay the required ransom of their captive brethren, he took a large collection in Carthage for that purpose, and sent it to them, with a letter full of fraternal expressions. Dionysius of Corinth lauded the Roman society as the helper of Christians, without distinction, from its very origin. Dionysius of Alexandria, in a letter to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, paid the same tribute. Basil of Cappadocia wrote a letter of thanks to Rome for money sent him to redeem captive Christians from their barbarous foes. Demetrius drew a striking picture of the sacrifice of Christians during the pestilence in Alexandria. Gifts for the support of the Church were made at each service ; often these consisted in wares, or produce of the soil, according to the pursuits of the people. In the East a fixed sum, or the tithes, was held to be the proper standard of annual beneficence. But in the West there was no rule. The great teachers opposed any defined measure, saying that the Lord required all that could be spared. A careful record, the *matricula*, was preserved of all the details of the benefactions.

Charity

The incentives to knowledge were very great. The transition from paganism to Christianity was a thorough revolution. The field of Christian knowledge was a new world. In the schools, catechetical exercises prevailed. The secular sciences were subordinated to religion. Christianity had not built up its great libraries, but the books written by the leading Christian thinkers were already read with profound interest. Each Church was the centre of knowledge. Copies of the Scriptures were expensive, but were multiplied, and each Church possessed several copies, together with expository and other works. All these were for the benefit of the congregation in the intervals of service and during the week. There was a special room for the use of books, which was called the *Phrontisterion*, or thinking-shop. One of the first impulses of the new Christian who was possessed of means was to employ copyists and have the entire Scriptures transcribed, for loaning or presenting to either churches or private circles. Even during the time of persecution so many copies of the Scriptures had found their way into private hands that the pagan wrath was aroused. Dur-

Incentives to Knowledge

ing the Diocletian persecution, especially, their possessors were ordered to deliver up vast numbers of them. Even the pagan enemies secured copies, for the works of Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, and others give abundant proof that the authors must have had a personal inspection of some portions of the Bible.

Domestic Life

The domestic life was in direct contrast with everything pagan. There were, therefore, no reminders of the old idolatry. The typical Greek and Roman houses had been profusely adorned with figures, busts, and monograms of favorite divinities. But even this was a decline from the early Roman austerity. For nearly two centuries after the founding of Rome no citizen had so far accommodated himself to the superstition of Greece or Egypt as to erect a statue to any deity. But the times brought sad changes. The excavations in Pompeii, and the many memorials of art from the Roman ruins, show how thoroughly the later art was superseded by a gross idolatry. The Christian's first impulse was to put away all such things. He lost no time in blotting out every trace of the obedient Mercury, the majestic Apollo, the generous Ceres, and even the omnipotent Jove, from doorway, court, and hall. But he was not satisfied with this severe absence of all symbolism. Even the more cautious Christian writers encouraged a safe and proper counterpart to the polytheistic symbolism of their pagan adversaries. Clement of Alexandria urged the use of Christian symbols on seal rings, and named, as proper figures, the dove, as an image of the Holy Ghost; the fish, with reference to the call of Zebedee's sons to be fishers of men; the ship, as an emblem of the advancing Church; the lyre, as the type of Christian joy; and the anchor, as an expression of hope. The crucifix was never used.

Epistolary Writings

Every great teacher was an industrious correspondent. Paul had set the example, and it was diligently followed by his successors in evangelization. Epistolary writings had long been a favorite Roman fashion. Cicero, Seneca, Pliny, and many other authors chose the form of the letter to an individual, in order to inform the public of their views on many special subjects. The fathers in the Church chose, therefore, a means of information which they found in use already, both from apostolic and pagan ex-

ample. The letters of Polycarp and Origen, and the eighty-six warm and nervous epistles of Cyprian, are only a small part of the epistolary benefaction of those times to the later Church. A number of the apologists addressed their works to Roman emperors. The Christians were largely represented among the commercial and laboring classes, and often changed their abodes. They followed the lines of commerce. As in the United States many Christian people from the Atlantic seaboard have gone into the far western regions and taken with them their religious spirit, and built churches, so, in the third and fourth centuries, the Christians observed the new openings of business and planted Christian societies in the places where they settled. Between the old and new societies a frequent correspondence was maintained. Christians who went upon a journey, for any purpose, were often the bearers of letters, to be delivered on the way or on reaching the place of destination. When these letters arrived, being on a durable fabric, either papyrus or parchment, they became the permanent possessions of the society or the individual receiving them. The synodical letters, which were written after each session of the provincial synod to similar bodies in other provinces, will convey some idea of the extent to which official relationship was carried. When action was taken on a schism, or on any special subject, the utmost promptness was employed to communicate the fact far and wide; while a bishop, on being chosen to the office, was equally prompt in sending notifications of his election to his colleagues in every part of Christendom.

Travels of the Fathers

The most distant parts of the Church were brought into close relationship, also, by personal visitation. The Fathers were busy travellers. Many parts of the East were even safer then for the stranger than they are today. The Christians followed classic examples. The Greek and Roman authors had been in the habit of visiting places which they described. Homer certainly saw the Troad, for the Iliad bears internal evidence of a personal examination. Herodotus journeyed in many lands, now among the priests of the Upper Nile, and now in Asia Minor, endeavoring to verify the country by contact with the people and their land. Sallust visited Africa, in order to be faithful in his picture of Jugurtha. Jerome lingered long in Palestine, in order to make sure work

in his exegetical studies. Papias, Bishop of Hieropolis, conceived the happy thought of visiting Palestine, and trying to find among the most aged people of different countries some who had seen our Lord in the flesh, "for," said he, "I did not think that I could get so much aid from the books as from the words of those living and remaining." Out of this tour grew his Explanation of the Discourses of our Lord.

Polycarp, in his extreme age, or about A.D. 158, visited Rome, to come to an understanding with the bishop, Anicetus, concerning the baptism of heretics and the observance of Easter. Irenæus labored in Asia Minor, Gaul, and Rome. From the journey of Hegesippus from the East to Rome came many interesting facts concerning early Church history. Among these was the finding of Manetho's catalogue of the kings of Egypt. In these days we regard the journey to Ararat as an undertaking of remarkable difficulty, but Julius made it in the interest of sacred science, and identified it as the mountain on which the ark had rested. He also visited the Dead Sea, and located the site of Sodom and Gomorrah. Clement of Alexandria was a diligent traveller over three continents. Origen appears to have visited every part of the Christian world, including far-off Persia. Rufinus studied the monastic life by personal observation among the monks of the Nitrian desert. Jerome was an ideal traveller in the interest of sacred learning. He located himself in Palestine, in order to learn the idiomatic construction of the Biblical text from contact with the people. He employed, as a special teacher in Hebrew, a Jew, who instructed him by night, lest the Christians might learn of it and take offence. He even visited Cilicia, in order to learn the deep force and subtle meaning of Paul's epistles. It need not occasion surprise that, with such pains, Jerome should easily stand at the head of the Latin Church, and that to his patient and thorough scholarship the world should be indebted for the Vulgate version. This is the beautiful justification which he gave for his sojourn in Palestine :

"As the history of the Greeks is better understood by him who has seen Athens, and Virgil's third book by him who has sailed from the Troad to Sicily, and from there to the mouth of the Tiber, so do the Holy Scriptures become clearer to him who has seen Judea with his own eyes, and has made himself

acquainted with the recollections of the old cities and the names of the places, whether they are the same or have been changed. Therefore I had it in heart to undertake this work, in connection with the most learned Jews, so that I have wandered through the country from which all the churches of Christ take their tone."

CHAPTER XXVI

THE CHURCH IN THE CATACOMBS

[Authorities.—Bennett, Christian Archæology (N. Y., 1888), furnishes rich material on the catacombs. Withrow, of Toronto, on the basis of the researches of De Rossi, Northcote, and Brownlow, and others, has given us an excellent book, in handy form, on the Catacombs (N. Y., 1874). For still briefer expositions of this interesting topic, see Prof. E. C. Smyth's Recent Excavations in Ancient Christian Cemeteries (Worcester, Mass., 1882); Stanley's Christian Institutions, chap. xii.; Dr. Schaff's article in the *Century Magazine* (with illustrations), January, 1888; and Lanciani's article, "Underground Christian Ruins," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1891.]

The Roman catacombs are excavations, often at great depth, made by the Christians for the burial of the dead. The Roman never continued his warfare with other faiths after death. He allowed the Christians every liberty in the disposition of their dead. The catacombs had been already in use by the Jewish residents of Rome. At first they probably made a mere opening in the hillside, or a hollow beneath a shelving wall, as their fathers had done in Palestine from remote times. But, later, the Jewish burial-place became an approach to the Christian catacomb. Some of these Jewish wall catacombs are still in existence; as, for example, one opposite the catacomb of San Sebastiano, and another nearer Rome, in the Randaniani vineyard. The galleries are the same as those of the Christian catacombs, only less ornate and regular. The Jewish type is everywhere recorded by the seven-branched candlestick or other Hebrew symbols.

In the earlier Roman times, burial was the method in use. But cremation came into use later, probably as a result of the importation of the Persian idea of the evil in matter. But

burial was still preferred by many of the older Roman families, as can be seen in the monument of the Scipios, before the Porta Capena, of Rome, now within the walls. The graves of the Nasos, four Italian miles from Rome, on the Via Flaminia, consist of chambers hewn in the tufa, with horizontal niches for the bodies, in precisely the same way as the Christian catacomb. There was one difference, however, between the pagan and the Christian burial-place. The pagan catacomb was exclusive, like the palace, being confined to the family. But the Christian catacomb was for the whole brotherhood of faith. The ties of life were to continue after death. The poor and rich should be together in death, as they had worshipped and suffered side by side in life. No private burial-place in Rome could be alienated by sale. In all deeds the burial-place was exempted in the sale of a villa and grounds.

Roman Burial and Cremation

The catacombs were all along known in Rome and in the Christian world. The barbarian invasions from the sixth to the eighth century ruthlessly desecrated them, but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were still visited by pilgrims. A new discovery, however, took place in May, 1578. Some workmen in a field along the Via Salaria came across a mysterious opening in the earth, which led to the finding of passages, frescos of infinite variety, Greek and Latin inscriptions, and several sarcophagi. From that hour subterranean Rome took its place as a priceless storehouse of Christian science. Until then the burial-places of the early Christians had awakened but little interest. Jerome relates that, when a schoolboy in Rome, he and some of his companions frequently went down into the graves and looked at the dust of the martyrs, and that they wandered through the long passages and caverns, and saw the bodies on either side, and that the darkness was so profound that his boyish imagination was strongly excited by the scene, so that he could not help thinking of the words of David, "Let them go down quick into hell," and of the words of Virgil, "Terror surrounds me; even the silence itself is horrible."

Discovery of the Catacombs

Antonio Bosio, born in 1575, was the first to reveal the rich treasures which had lain concealed for thirteen centuries. No difficulty was too great for his tireless spirit. One catacomb after another was opened by him. He created a new science.

He devoted thirty years to these explorations and to the preparation of his great work, "Roma Soterranea," and died in 1629. His book did not appear until after his death. John Evelyn, who visited Rome in 1645, and Bishop Burnet, who made a sojourn there forty years later, were the first writers to reveal to the English world the extent and significance of the Christian catacombs. During the time which has since elapsed the catacombs have been emptied of their greatest treasures, which have been deposited in the Museum of St. John Lateran, the Vatican, and other places in Rome. Some have found their way to other parts of Europe. The Christian Museum of the Berlin University contains the best collection of memorials from the catacombs to be found outside of Rome. These, with other objects illustrating Christian history, have been gathered through the energy and zeal of Professor Piper.

Bosio and Other Discoverers

The descent into a catacomb is through a church or chapel, which has been built over the entrance. The passages vary in size and length. The aggregate extent is a matter of conjecture. De Rossi, the greatest of all the later explorers and writers in this rich department, supposes the length of the passage of all the catacombs to be equal to the length of the entire Italian peninsula. Marchi reaches an estimate of a third larger. It is not likely that all the catacombs have been explored. As late as 1848 the magnificent catacomb of Prætextatus was discovered, while in 1874 De Rossi discovered the catacomb of St. Petronilla, a small but very rich storehouse of sepulchral Christian art. No safe approach to the probable number of fixed paintings, carvings, and inscriptions which have been taken from the catacombs can be made. In the Lateran Museum, in the sarcophagi alone, there are two hundred and seventy-six Scriptural carvings.

De Rossi

The catacombs were continued, in a gradually lessening degree, as places of burial down to about A.D. 410, when the West Goths plundered Rome. They tell the story of the faith and usages, and especially of the Scriptures, down to that date. Every part of the Old Testament was known to the Christians. The word-pictures of the Old Testament are everywhere reproduced in rude frescos. Noah in the ark, the offering of Isaac, Moses taking off his shoes, the translation of Elijah, Daniel in the lions' den,

Scriptures in the Catacombs

and the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, were favorite topics, as bearing on the tribulations of the Church of the time. The New Testament furnished many themes. No scene in our Lord's ministry remained unnoticed. Such subjects as indicated a brighter future, as the ever-growing vine, and the sower and the seed, were special favorites with the rude Christian artist of the earliest period. Many Scriptural citations were employed. The scroll, standing out of a cistus, or manuscript case, was frequent. Paul was represented in this way, with evident reference to his writings. Where two scrolls lay before a figure, the meaning was that the deceased made no difference between the Old and the New Testament, but accepted both as the equal and inspired word of God.

Doctrine in the Catacombs

Orthodoxy and Christian Defence are plainly taught in the symbolism of the catacombs. Christ was everywhere mentioned, either by name or rude figure. The humblest grave bore at least the fish, which, in Greek, constituted the monogram of Christ: ΙΧΘΥΣ (Iesus Christos, Theou Uios, Soter—Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour). But no word or picture has been found in these silent passages which calls up any of the violent controversies which swept over the Church. Neither has there been found a suggestion of an heretical vagary. Sometimes pagan pictures were given, but always to teach with greater force the Messiah's kingdom. Three representations of Christ as Orpheus have been found, two by Bosio, in the catacomb of Domitilla, and one by De' Rossi, in that of St. Callista. In the two former he sits between two trees, crowned with the Phrygian cap, and playing on a lyre. Beasts come thronging about him, and hear his notes, and are charmed and tamed by the melody. Doves, peafowl, horses, sheep, serpents, tortoises, a dog, and a hare at a lion's feet, hear the music, and mingle together in Edenic simplicity and peace. The whole is a symbol of our Lord's peaceful empire, and also an indication of the disposition of early Christians at Rome, as in the theology of Alexandria, to make paganism bring its offering to our Lord's altar. Theseus slaying the Minotaur was made a type of David slaying Goliath. One beautiful figure, gilt on glass, and dating from the end of the fourth century, represents our Lord with radiated head. He holds the globe of universal sovereignty in his hand, while at his feet stands the

cistus, containing the gospel scroll. The Trinity was always represented in such a way as to indicate an equality of persons. De Rossi furnishes examples of firm faith in this doctrine, where the monogram of Christ is combined with the triangle.

The representations of Christ were all of the cheerful, hopeful, and triumphant type. Only twice, among the sculptures of the Lateran Museum, is he represented during his Passion. He everywhere appears as the Good Shepherd. The catacombs received the bodies of martyrs in many a bitter persecution, but the relatives and friends of the departed uttered no syllable of sorrow. The word *death* is always avoided. "*In Pace*" was the universal legend. Rest and triumph were uppermost in the mind. The dead were, at last, at peace. The grave was surrounded with images of beauty, peace, and joy. It was only after the persecutions were over, and the authors had taken their places in oblivion, that any symbol of suffering was placed in a Roman catacomb. The record of martyrdom was studiously avoided, and not only that the Christian might give no indication of disputing the "divine pre-eminence of the Man of Sorrows," but that the Christian was not willing to show, even by figures on the wall of a tomb, that he remembered the agony which a persecuting hand had produced. Death had no terror to him, and the persecutor only hastened the day of peace. From the symbolism in the catacomb one would think that the Christians were living in palaces, and that kings were their servants. The hare feeding on grapes, the luxuriant palm-tree, the vase of flowers, the loaf of bread, and the dove with the olive-branch, are met with on tablets taken from all the catacombs.

Cheerful Representations

The historical suggestions are sometimes very rich. An epitaph in the cemetery of St. Domitilla, dating from the first century, shows the early entrance of Christianity into the imperial household. The clank of the slave's chain was never heard in a Christian home. So completely and promptly did slavery disappear that of the eleven thousand epigraphs from the catacombs, only six, and two of these doubtful, contain any allusion to the evil, and then only in brief and simple language. There is not a trace of Mariolatry in any early inscription or symbol of a

Historical Suggestions

catacomb. The word Maria never occurs until A.D. 381, and then only after the word Livia. The earlier inscriptions were brief, like the breathings of the stricken soul, such as, "To the dearest mother," "To the sweetest child," "God raise thy soul," or "Peace to thy spirit." Later, however, when the catacomb was used only as a cemetery, and not also as a place of refuge from the destroyer, the epigraphs were more fulsome and rhetorical. A beautiful epigraph, "Received to God," dating from A.D. 217, but frequently repeated afterwards, proves that the poor soul had passed through its ordeal here, and needed no purgatory. In De Rossi's compilation, comprising 1374 different epigraphs, there is no example of prayer for the dead. Clerical celibacy finds no support in the catacombs or any early tombs. An inscription, found on the Ostian Way, to the wife of a deacon, or subdeacon, ran thus:

> "Levitæ conjunx Petronia forma pudoris
> His mea deponens sedibus ossa loco.
> Pascite vos lacrimis dulces cum conjuge natæ."

The word "puer" occurred frequently in connection with mature men. It was an index of the association of perpetual youth with the life of the blessed. Hence the surviving daughter or widow or son could well call the deceased father or husband "boy," in view of the immortal youth on which he had now entered. The old Hebrew names had passed away, and the epitaphs show a transition, as in the Puritan depression in England, and in New England history, where a firm faith in God, and a recognition of his special deliverances in sore need, blossomed out beautifully in the names which rejoicing parents gave their children. Hence, in the epigraphs of the catacombs we find such names as the following: Diodorus (God's gift); Fructuosus (Fruit-bringing); Renovatus (Renewed); Anastasia (Risen); Irene (Peace); Sabbatia (Holyday); and Concordia (Harmony). But all words in the catacombs abounded in hope and joy.

CHAPTER XXVII

MONASTICISM

[Authorities.—Dr. R. F. Littledale has given an elaborate and fair survey in the article "Monachism" in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed. Prof. J. H. Worman, in three articles, "Monastery," "Monasticism," and "Monk" (31 pp. in all), in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, has gone into the subject with much spirit and thoroughness, but with a strong partisan bias. Gibbon (chap. xxxvii.) writes in the spirit of lofty philosophical contempt.]

Early Monasticism

Traces of monasticism can be found in all the great Oriental lands. Long before Christianity, and even before the conquests of Alexander in India, the monastic idea had gained great strength. Buddhism and Brahminism made large use of it for extending their doctrines and holding their adherents. The idea of the inherent evil of matter lay at the basis of the monastic principle. It was supposed that contact with society diverted the mind from religious contemplation, and made it less worthy to be the abode of the worshipful spirit. Hence the only safety was to get far from men and their deeds. Nature must be found in her simplicity. The rude elements must be made familiar. Besides this, there must be scope for the exercise of self-denial and for the growth of Christian perfection, which it was thought could not be found in society. These were the thoughts which lay at the bottom of that Christian monasticism which played an important part in the early Church, and extended down to the Reformation, and still holds undisputed sway in the Roman Catholic Church.

Christian Use of Monasticism

Christianity found monasticism already prevalent in the Nazarites of Palestine and the Therapeutæ of Egypt, and it is not strange that, in an age of great social corruption, which overspread all pagan territory, many Christians should see in the separate life a relief from danger. Persecution favored the tendency towards

monasticism. Exile was only another name for a secluded life. Many Christians went voluntarily into remote regions; dwelt in caves or groves; spent the day in works of charity, and much of the night in vigils; and courted nature in her wildest moods. The first monastic stage was voluntary solitude, without any movement towards a separate order. It was the individual mind, looking for spiritual relief, but with no purpose to introduce a new departure in ecclesiastical practice. The next stage was a habit of removal to certain regions, where the monks lived within reach of each other. The third stage was the sanction and regular organization of orders, which took full shape in the Benedictines and similar fraternities. The monks took three vows upon themselves: perpetual fidelity to the life and order; obedience to the abbot or head of the monastery; and chastity and poverty. A number of the fathers and writers led a monastic life, but without advocacy of a separate order. The tendency grew with the times. The Old Testament was searched for support. Elijah and kindred spirits in Jewish history, and John the Baptist, were brought in to support the monastic tendency. Egypt became a favorite place for the monks. Rufinus declared that there were nearly as many monks in the deserts as people in the cities. Montalembert says: "It was a kind of emigration of towns to the desert, of civilization to simplicity, of noise to silence, of corruption to innocence. The current once begun, floods of men, women, and children threw themselves into it, and flowed thither during a century with irresistible force."

Paul of Thebes, in Upper Egypt, was the first Christian hermit. He lived during the persecution under Decius. He is said to have withdrawn to a distant Egyptian cave when twenty-two years of age, and to have lived there until A.D. 340. Anthony, who followed in Paul's footsteps, lived for a long time in extreme poverty in the Egyptian desert. The fame of the life of these two men went into distant lands, and their self-denial was imitated by many people in the countries lying around the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The Pillar Saints constituted a separate class. St. Simeon was the founder of the group. After spending ten years in a monastery and a short time in a hut as an anchoret, he mounted a pillar seventy-two feet high and four feet in diameter, where he is reported to have spent thirty years. He

Notable Examples

died at Telamessa, near Antioch, A.D. 459, and was buried with all possible ecclesiastical and military pomp. Tennyson puts in his mouth the following confession, after he had spent many years in this life of torture:

"O Lord, Lord,
Thou knowest I bore this better at the first,
For I was strong and hale of body then;
And though my teeth, which now are dropped away,
Would chatter with the cold, and all my beard
Was tagged with icy fringes in the moon,
I drowned the whoopings of the owl with sound
Of pious hymns and psalms, and sometimes saw
An angel stand and watch me, as I sang.
Now I am feeble grown; my end draws nigh—
I hope my end draws nigh: half deaf I am,
So that I scarce can hear the people hum
About the column's base; and I am almost blind,
And scarce can recognize the fields I know.
And both my thighs are rotted with the dew,
Yet cease I not to clamor and to cry,
While my stiff spine can hold my weary head,
Till all my limbs drop piecemeal from the stone:
Have mercy, mercy; take away my sin!"

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE AGE OF GREGORY THE GREAT

[AUTHORITIES.—For Leo the Great, see his Life by Charles Gore (London, 1880). For Gregory, see Barmby's Life (London, 1879) and F. W. Kellett, Gregory the Great and his Relation with Gaul (Cambridge, 1889). The development of the papal power can best be read in Milman's History of Latin Christianity, book ii.–iv., who has also an excellent chapter on Gregory (book iii, chap. vii.).]

THE march of the Roman bishop towards priority throughout the Christian world was steady. The divisions of the Eastern Empire, the decline of moral life, the universal spread of controversy, and, particularly, the pre-eminent ability of several of the bishops of Rome, were calculated to advance the claims of that patriarchate above all others. The bishop Leo I. (A.D. 440–461) was a man of strong intellect, and he did much to clothe himself

Growth of Roman Bishopric

with power and prestige. But the most eminent incumbent of the Roman episcopate was Gregory, who was called the Great, and ruled A.D. 590–604. Under him every department of the priesthood and the episcopacy advanced in strength. His claims, artfully disguised, were of the most lofty kind.

Gregory

Gregory's character was of a striking quality. He was versatile, and strong in everything he touched. In the development of the hierarchical idea, in theology, liturgical literature, pastoral oversight, monasticism, and missions, he was a master. His hand was felt in the whole field of the ecclesiastical life of his day. Born at Rome (A.D. 540) and descended from an ancient patrician family, he had all the advantages which wealth and education could bring. His parents designed him for service in the State. But he turned his attention to the Church, and advanced rapidly. Yet he showed no disposition to hasten matters. He possessed the virtue of patience in a high degree. Gregory, after his father's death, founded six cloisters, and occupied one himself. He dedicated himself to a life of self-denial. He became deacon of the bishop Pelagius, and was sent as his representative to the court of Constantinople. He wrote a commentary on the Book of Job, and pursued his studies with great energy. He was also a brilliant preacher, and wrote a book, "Regula Pastoralis" (the Pastoral Rule), full of lofty spiritual instruction to his clergy. On his return to Rome, and the death of the bishop Pelagius, he was chosen to succeed him. He declined the office at first, but afterwards accepted it, but apparently by pressure. Towards the emperor he manifested the profoundest respect, probably with a view to gaining by yielding. He called himself "*servus servorum Dei*"—"servant of the Lord's servants." He devoted himself to the purification of the life of the Church and the enforcement of monastic discipline. He fixed the term of the novitiate to two years, forbade youths under eighteen to enter a monastery, and ordered all ecclesiastical officials to seize those monks who wandered about the country like tramps, and to deliver them to the nearest monastery for punishment. He was especially active in his encouragement of missions. He organized the Anglo-Saxon and other missions, and sought to send the gospel into every part of Europe. He took the greatest interest in the English mission, and sent to Augustine very detailed instructions for his work. Under

him the authority of the Roman bishop advanced far beyond its former dimensions. He created the papacy of history. He preserved amicable relations with the emperor, though all the while holding firmly his ecclesiastical independence.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY

[Authorities.—The territorial conquests of the Church are the subjects of the series, The Conversion of the West, edited by C. Merivale. I. The Continental Teutons, by C. Merivale; II. The Celts, by G. F. Maclear; III.–V. The English, the Northmen, the Sclavs, by the same (London and N. Y., 1879). On Columba, see Prof. A. F. Mitchell, in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, s. v., and his Life, by Adamnan, with notes, etc., by Dr. Reeves (Edinb.,1871). For the Early Church History of Britain, the best authority is Canon Bright: Early English Church History (Oxford, 1878). For the interesting but obscure personality of St. Patrick, let the reader first consult the article by President Sullivan, of Queen's College, Cork, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., that by Robert W. Hall, in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, and the excellent article in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, by the Rev. Daniel De Vinne, who has made a careful study of Irish Christianity, and then turn to the Life of St. Patrick, by Rev. E. J. Newell (London, 1890), The Life of St. Patrick, with an account of the Sources (4th ed., London, Burns and Oates, 1890), and History of the Irish Primitive Church, by Daniel De Vinne (N. Y., 1870), which also gives the Confession of St. Patrick in Latin and English.]

Evangelization

The evangelization of the nations continued with unabated zeal. Whether in persecution, or after the liberty given by Constantine, the work of missions was carried on with equal fervor. There were three such fields: 1. The poor within the central regions of the empire; 2. The population of such farther provinces as were a firm part of the dominions; and, 3. Those more remote tribes which were hostile to Rome, and were awaiting a good opportunity to satisfy their hunger for conquest by feasting on the dying empire. The Church extended its boundaries by exile, and all the other means employed to destroy it. Both in Rome and in the larger provincial towns, the conflict between the gospel and pagan literature was intense and uninterrupted. The doctrines of Jesus gained steadily on the most finished products

of pagan thought. Wordsworth's description of the conquest of the missionary over the Druids of Britain applies equally well to the whole battle-field of three continents:

> "Haughty the Bard—can these weak doctrines blight
> His transports? wither his heroic strain?
> But all shall be fulfilled. The Julian spear
> A way first opened; and, with Roman chains,
> The tidings come of Jesus crucified;
> They came—they spread—the weak, the suffering, hear;
> Receive the faith and in the hope abide."

When Athanasius was banished from Alexandria to northern Gaul, A.D. 335, not only did the young society in the latter country enjoy the presence of an heroic example, but the exile himself began his organizing work, and established the diocese of Treves, at that time the capital of Gaul. The powerful expansion went on rapidly everywhere. Indeed, during the period of suffering the only safety to the Christians lay in their distance from the persecuting centres. Tertullian said defiantly to the whole Roman world: "We are of yesterday, yet we have filled your empire, your cities, your islands, your castles, your towns, your assemblies, your very camps, your tribes, your companies, your palaces, your senate. Your forum and your temples alone are left you!"

Antioch was the centre from which the light of the gospel radiated eastward into the distant parts of Asia, and westward through Asia Minor. The pathway reached from the shore of the Ægean Sea to the west of China—a longer line of march than Alexander had made. Jerusalem lost its hold as a centre of ecclesiastical power, and its spiritual dominion was divided between Antioch, in the north, and Alexandria, in the south. Cappadocia, and the entire coast of the Euxine Sea east of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, were early a mission field. Colchis, Iberia, and Georgia were overspread with missionary laborers. Armenia was Christianized by Gregory the Illuminator, in the beginning of the fourth century. He provided that country with monasteries and seminaries, and was consecrated Primate of Armenia by Leontius, Archbishop of Cæsarea. The Bible was translated into Armenian, and a large Christian literature was created. In the third century, Persia had so far become evangelized that Ctesiphon became the seat of a flourishing society, and a point of departure for the expansion of Christianity farther east. The

Eastward

doctrines of Zoroaster, it has been claimed, were attacked by a converted magian, Mobed, who, in a special work, held up to his countrymen the excellence of Christianity. He suffered martyrdom, A.D. 300, but was followed by laborers of equal ardor. Edessa, in Persia, became an important centre of Christian learning. The Nestorian Christians, who were compelled to leave the Roman Empire, took refuge here, and laid the foundations of a rich and influential Syrian literature. Missionary operations were carried on along all the lines of Eastern travel. From the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates the indications are strong that missionaries went far into the interior of India. Bitter persecutions befell the Persian Christians in the fourth century, but they remained faithful.

Africa

The Church in Africa developed with amazing rapidity. Alexandria was the literary centre for the evangelization of the entire delta of the Nile. Missions were planted along either bank, and soon extended far up towards the first cataract, at Philæ, and to the oases on either side of the river. Carthage, the ancient Punic capital, was intimately connected with Western Christendom. Many Christians came to both these cities, but in larger numbers to Alexandria, from distant regions, where they became acquainted with the theology and life of the Church, and bore back again the fruits of their study and observation. The whole of proconsular Africa, including Getulia, Mauritania, and Numidia, whose western bounds were washed by the waves of the Atlantic, was evangelized by Roman and Carthaginian Christians. The great number of bishops in the third century dependent on the patriarchate of Carthage furnishes strong evidence of the extent to which Christianity had been propagated in the whole of Western Africa, and of its strong hold upon the people. At the Synod of Labes, near Carthage, A.D. 240 or 242, ninety bishops were present, while two hundred and seventy bishops signed the conclusions of the Council of Carthage, A.D. 308. Abyssinia was converted through two young men, Frumentius and Nedesius, who alone survived the massacre of the members of a scientific expedition conducted by Meropius, a Syrian philosopher. About the end of the fourth century a translation of the Bible was made from the received Greek Testament of the Alexandrian Church into the old language of Abyssinia. The Abyssinian Church has always remained in

connection with Alexandria, its boast being, "We drink from the fountain of the Patriarch of Alexandria." Feeble as Abyssinian Christianity is, it has preserved its existence, through an unbroken succession of Christian governors, from the fourth century to the nineteenth. With all its error, it may in truth be called the Waldensian Church of the Switzerland of Africa.

The central field of interest was the continent of Europe. Christian missionaries continued the labors of Paul, and carried the gospel through Mœsia to the Danube. Macedonia had numerous Christian societies, while even Illyricum had two dioceses. By A.D. 310 three bishops lived in Philippopolis, in Thrace. The contact of the Goths north of the Danube, in Dacia, with Christianity, was a most important event. It was the opening of a new field of evangelistic labor, and had the important effect of bringing the gospel into relation with the many Teutonic tribes which constituted the Eastern Germany of those times. A Gothic bishop, Theophilus, was a member of the Nicene Council. It was, however, through the labors of Ulfilas, a Gothic convert to Christianity, that the gospel spread widely among his people. He invented the Gothic alphabet, brought the Goths into literary relations with Roman culture, and opened up the pathway for Christian truth into all parts of the Ostrogothic territory. In Greece, it was not Athens, but Corinth, which became the ecclesiastical centre of operations. Athens, however, constituted a diocese, and the third bishop resident there suffered martyrdom A.D. 179. Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic Sea, became a point of influence for the propagation of Christianity among the peoples of the eastern Alps.

Balkan Peninsula

Rome was the heart and hand of a vigorous and aggressive Christianity. The entire Italian peninsula had grown into episcopates. The first provincial synod was A.D. 303, but before this there had been seventeen smaller synods and councils, attended by bishops of all Italy. Rome converted all Spain and Gaul into a missionary field. The Roman bishop was supreme. As early as the end of the second century Christian societies existed throughout Spain, and by the beginning of the fourth century churches had been established in all the Gallic provinces. Vienne was an episcopal residence, A.D. 118; Lugdunum (Lyons), about A.D. 179; and Treves, in the first half of the fourth century.

Rome

Christianity was at first communicated to Germany, most likely, by soldiers in the Roman army. Where colonies were planted, as provincial centres of Roman authority, the gospel soon acquired a foothold. Colonia (Cologne) became a bishopric about the end of the third century. At the same time the gospel was introduced into Rhætia by the bishop Narcissus. Christianity was also planted far in the North, along the coast of the North Sea. The apostle to Scandinavia was Ansgar, who was born A.D. 801, and whose remarkable triumphs belong to the mediæval period.

Germany

It cannot be doubted that the gospel entered Britain at an early period, or about the middle of the second century. Rome, under Julius Cæsar, had conquered the country, and brought it into close relationship with Italy. In the Council of Arles, A.D. 314, three bishops from Britain signed the decrees — Eborius, of Eboracum (York), Restitutus, of Londinium (London), and Colonia Londiniensium (Lincoln). The location of these bishops proves that the whole of England was organized into a complete ecclesiastical system. Succat, the original name of St. Patrick, or Patricius, was born in Scotland, about A.D. 400, of Christian parents of high rank. At the age of sixteen he was taken captive by the pirates of the Scots, and carried to Ireland, where he was employed as a shepherd. His Confessions, written in rude style, reveal his remarkable religious history. He devoted himself to the evangelization of Ireland. Through his influence societies were planted, schools were organized, Christian literature was cultivated, and missionaries went out from that island to the Continent. Columbanus, with twelve companions, went to France, A.D. 580, and began a thorough evangelistic work in the neglected parts of Gaul. He maintained independence of Rome, and would not submit to her authority with respect to Easter. When people quoted to him the name of the great Leo (*lion*), he replied, "Perhaps in this case a living dog may be greater than a dead lion." Gallus made Gaul the field of his labors. Willibrod, an Englishman, went to Ireland for his Christian education, and then gave his life to missionary labors among the Frisians, along the coast of the North Sea. Boniface, born near Exeter, about A.D. 680, went to Germany and spent his life in that country.

British Laborers

CHAPTER XXX

THE CLOSE OF THE EARLY PERIOD

[Authorities.—Green gives an attractive picture of Bede in his History of the English People (book i., chap ii.), as does Neander in his Memorials of Christian Life and Work (London, 1852). G. F. Browne has written a monograph on Bede (London, S. P. C. K., 1879).]

Rapid Extension of Christianity

This rapid extension of Christianity was the most notable characteristic of the border-land between the early Church and the mediæval period. Missions were promoted by the very growth of the papacy. The bishops saw that their hopes of territorial power could be realized in the West and North rather than in the East, and each strove to surpass his predecessor in the good work. Missionaries and Church officers were sent out from Rome with authority to plant missions, build up a literature, and indoctrinate the people in the truths of Christianity. In many instances these attempts failed, the missionaries were killed, and the old heathenism of the provinces triumphed over the young Christianity. But the tide of religious truth was too strong for final resistance. New efforts were made, and finally the old idols were removed, the temples were destroyed, and Christian chapels were erected in their place.

Scholarship

Christianity carried with it the disposition to create a literature. The missionary was often a man of ardent theological tastes, and immediately began to adapt the growing literature of Christianity to the new people. Schools, as at Fulda, in Germany, were at once organized. Here the Scriptures were copied, elementary books were written, and small libraries were collected. Centres of theological learning were thus formed. The development of a literary taste was never interrupted, even amid the convulsions of the Middle Ages. The Christian pen and school were never disturbed by the storms of warfare with false faiths.

The Venerable Bede represented the patient and scholarly class of his whole age. He was born in Durham, England, about A.D. 673, spent his laborious life of a century at the monastery of Wearmouth and Yarrow, and reared a literary monument of forty different works, twenty-five of which were on Biblical subjects. History and kindred topics were treated in the remaining fifteen. He died in great joy, singing psalms with his pupils, immediately after concluding his Anglo-Saxon translation of John's gospel. Wordsworth, in a beautiful fancy, thus rebukes the idler by presenting the picture of the toiling Bede:

Bede

"But what if one, through grove or flowery mede,
Indulging thus at will the creeping feet
Of a voluptuous indolence, should meet
Thy hovering shade, O Venerable Bede!
The saint, the scholar, from a circle freed
Of toil stupendous, in a hallowed seat
Of learning, where thou heardst the billows beat
On a wild coast, rough monitors to feed
Perpetual industry. Sublime Recluse!
The recreant soul, that dares to shun the debt
Imposed on human kind, must first forget
Thy diligence, thy unrelaxing use
Of a long life; and, in the hour of death,
The last dear service of thy passing breath."

Christian doctrines assumed, by the close of the early period, a settled condition. The Church had elaborated its theological standards, while its creeds were now repeated from the deserts of Africa to the forests of Britain and the shores of the North Sea. The larger heresies had still a constituency, but were in rapid process of disintegration. They throve only in the remoter provinces, more especially in the East, and were alienated from the sympathy of the great body of Christian people in all lands. When the Middle Ages began, other controversies arose, which were largely speculative, and had but little relation to the Arian and other great struggles.

Doctrines

Roman centralization constantly gained strength. Church offices multiplied rapidly, and the close of the early period was the signal for larger measures for Roman primacy. The bishops of Rome were the real rulers of Southern Europe, from the Constantinian dynasty to the reign of Charlemagne. The great

wealth which had been at the command of the empire was now largely diverted into ecclesiastical channels, and was used to build large churches, organize missions, support a rapidly growing clergy, found schools, and create a literature.

Superstition

Superstition was the darkest color in the picture of the Church at this transitional period. Miraculous powers were attributed to the dust of the saints. The places where they died were hallowed, and were regarded as most fit sites for stately sacred buildings. The saintly calendar increased rapidly. Festivals were organized in memory of each one who had risen above the surface of his times as an exemplar of piety, devotion, and sacrifice. The condition of the people may account in large measure for the prevalence and force of the tendency towards superstition. When Constantine made Christianity the State religion the many millions of the Roman Empire were thrust upon the Church for training and development. The burden was altogether too great. The people of the centres were still beneath the spell of the pagan traditions and gross superstitions which had grown out of polytheistic systems. The populations of the provinces were in even worse plight. Their ancestral faiths were a rude conglomeration of fetichism. There was not even a social elevation on which to build. It is not a matter of wonder, therefore, that when such heterogeneous and untrained multitudes were thrust suddenly upon the Church, for its care, the superstitious habit should be slow to yield to the new Christian conditions. When the Church passed into the darkness of the Middle Ages the question was, could it endure the ordeal of vast wealth, superstition, and clerical assumption? When the Reformation came the question was answered. Much was lost during the long night, but light came at last. The power of the Church to purify itself is the greatest proof of its divine origin, and the clearest prophecy of its certain conquest of the world.

THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH

A.D. 768-1517

On the Middle Ages in general the following works can be highly commended: R. W. Church, Beginning of the Middle Ages (N. Y., 1878); Hallam, State of Europe during the Middle Ages (London and N. Y., 1st ed., 1818, last revised ed., 1848, often reprinted); Hardwick, History of the Christian Church: Middle Ages, new ed., edited by Prof. (now Bishop) Stubbs (London, 1872), an excellent manual, with invaluable notes; Philip Smith, Student's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. (N. Y., 1885); Trench, Lectures on Mediæval Church History (N. Y., 1878), a spirited, devout, and scholarly portraiture of the period. For an adequate knowledge of the Middle Ages, reference must by all means be made to the great histories of Milman, Gibbon, Neander, Gieseler, and Schaff.

CHAPTER I

THE MEDIÆVAL TRANSITION

[Authorities.—For an estimate of the historical significance of this important time, see Prof. Allen's chapter on the Middle Ages in Continuity of Christian Thought (Boston, 1885), and Prof. Emerton's Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages (Boston, 1888).]

Significance of the Middle Ages

The significance of the Middle Ages lies in their transitional character. The Ancient Period was the time of the planting, organization, and doctrinal establishment of Christianity. The Modern Period was to witness the application of Christianity to the social, intellectual, and moral needs of the world. Between these two lay the Middle Ages. It was the far-reaching mission of this remarkable period to test the power of Christianity for meeting the wants of new nations; to withstand the shock of philosophical schools; to sift and preserve the best that remained of the ancient world and pass it safely down for modern use; and, above all, to prove the ultimate power of Christianity to rise above the infirmities of those who professed it, and to lay the foundations of a new spiritual life by a return to the pure apostolic example. The office of the Mediæval Church was to conduct man from the narrow limits of the Pagan to the Protestant world. The scattered threads of the eighth century were caught up and combined into unity. Baur says: "This whole period can only be regarded by the observer as one of transition, at the close of which the varied elements which appeared in different quarters concentrate into unity, and thus show forth the Church of the Middle Ages in the full significance of their universal grandeur."

The Three Periods

The first period of the Mediæval Church extends from Charlemagne to the papacy of Gregory VII.—A.D. 768–1073. This was the time of the full appropriation and unification of the Germanic and other Northern

elements. Mohammedanism, lying at the border-line between the ancient and the mediæval time, arose as a counterforce to Christianity. Papal supremacy in Church and State culminated.

The second period extends from Gregory VII. to the removal of the papal see into France—A.D. 1073–1305. Here the absolutism of the papacy was broken, and the freedom of the people dawned. The monastic orders assumed larger proportions. Speculative science was introduced into theological inquiry. This was Scholasticism. It perished in the same age which produced it. The Crusades were organized during this period.

The third period continued from the removal of the papal see into France to the Reformation—A.D. 1305–1517. The papal unity was shattered. Humanism arose, which reacted upon the old order, and made possible the revival of vital Christianity and a momentous activity of mind.

With the thorough break-up of the pagan conditions there arose a new order. The introduction of Christianity among the rude nations of the North had the effect of increasing a new literary spirit. No department of thought was left in its old stagnation. The quickening was intense. With the beginning of the Middle Ages there was a departure from the old modes of historical statement. The old Frankish chronicles had been monosyllabic, and the roughness continued in the successors of Tredegar. But with the ninth century there came a smoothness and beauty, in which one can see the effect of the close and finished masterpieces of the Greek and Roman period.

Literary Transition

Scientific inquiries arose, in part original, and in part derived from the introduction of Arabic science through the Moslem invasion of Spain. Monasticism preserved the great works of the fathers, and saved to the world, by patient copying, the richest productions of the masters of Greek philosophy and the drama, and Roman history and poetry. The knightly poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries attained to beautiful forms, and became the foundation and inspiration for much of the poetry of the most recent centuries. New and bolder types of architecture were applied to sacred buildings, and the most impressive edifices of modern times here took their origin. The plastic arts were developed for the first time in Christian di-

Universal Progress

rections. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio were at once children of mediæval thought, and prophets for all the future. The Italy of to-day is not less their creation than it is that of Garibaldi and Victor Emanuel. Political solidification was in progress. The love of liberty, and its certain possession by the world's numberless millions, were born in the time which has passed by the name of the Dark Ages. Looked upon in retrospect, there is almost no priceless intellectual or political treasure of the nineteenth century whose precious seeds were not cast in the ready soil between the ninth and sixteenth centuries.

CHAPTER II

THE REIGN OF CHARLEMAGNE

[Authorities.—The best work on Charlemagne is J. Isidore Mombert's History of Charles the Great (N. Y., 1888), a complete and worthy historical memorial. For this and the subsequent reigns in their ecclesiastico-political relations, Bryce, Holy Roman Empire (London, new ed., 1889), is indispensable.]

The process of centralization north of the Alps began with Charlemagne. His rule was the signal of death to the tottering Roman Empire. It was also the first prophecy of the ascendency of the new Gothic nations of the North and of their firm place in the later life of Europe. In him the old classic conditions disappeared, and the new political life began its career. Charlemagne, called by the Germans Karl der Grosse, ascended the throne on the death of his father Pepin, in the year 768. He divided with his brother Carloman the Frankish Empire, Charlemagne taking Austrasia, Neustria, and other parts of the eastern Frankish dominions, while Carloman ruled over the western parts, or France, and a large part of Germany. Carloman died in 771, and Charlemagne united his own empire with that of the rest of the family, and claimed rule over all, without regard to the rights of his brother's family. The soil was now prepared for the new European life—the Church and the State working hand in hand for universal dominion.

New Order

Charlemagne's methods were the creations of a masterful shrewdness. He regarded himself as a theocratic lord. His notion of himself was not that he was a mere successor of Constantine or Augustus Cæsar, but of David or Solomon—the head of a vast theocracy. But the Roman bishop must not be offended. He must be outwardly treated as high-priest, though Charlemagne secretly regarded himself as the real possessor of the highest religious functions. But the pope must be made to feel that his rights were respected; yet, at the same time, must remember that kings and conquerors have their rights, and that without temporal rulers there can be no successful and safe Church. Towards the pope, Leo III., he acted with unfailing respect, and was at the same time constantly receiving from him such favors as strengthened his hold upon both his subjects and the Church. Charlemagne's motto was: "The Church teaches; but the emperor defends and increases." To Leo III. he made the following declaration of their mutual relations: "It is my bounden duty, by the help of the divine compassion, everywhere to defend outwardly by arms the holy Church of Christ against every attack of the heathen, and every devastation caused by unbelievers; and, inwardly, to defend it by the recognition of the general faith. But it is your duty, holy father, to raise your hands to God, as Moses did, and to support my military service by your prayers." Leo III. accepted this declaration in the most complaisant manner.

Charlemagne's Methods

The preparations had been laid in the preceding movements. Rome was constantly at the mercy of the bold and ferocious Lombards. They threatened to sack the Holy City, and possess themselves of its vast wealth. In 734 Gregory III. induced Charles Martel to help him against the attacks of Luitprand, King of the Lombards. Again, when Charlemagne's father, Pepin, was aspiring to destroy the Merovingian dynasty, Pope Zacharias gave his official approval to the deposition of the Merovingian king, Childeric III., and in this way caused Pepin to be placed upon the throne, and to become the founder of the Carolingian dynasty. This obligation of the Emperor of the Franks to the pope was never forgotten during Pepin's reign. Later, Pope Stephen II. personally visited Pepin, in France, and secured his pledge to come down with his army, and defend him

Preparations

against the new Lombard chief Astolph, who had invaded the Greek Exarchate—a group of five cities and the interlying territory along the eastern coast, extending from Rimini to Ancona. Astolph was also besieging Rome. Pepin defeated the Lombards, A.D. 754, took possession of the Exarchate himself, and appointed the pope as patrician of the Exarchate, A.D. 755. The pope was thus made a temporal ruler. It mattered not that the Exarchate was a part of the Byzantine Empire, and that protests were made against it. Pepin gave, and Stephen II. took. This was the beginning of the temporal sovereignty of the papacy, which only came to an end after a reign of eleven centuries, or in 1871, when Garibaldi and Victor Emanuel marched into Rome.

The final and complete cementing of papal and imperial interests took place under Charlemagne. Desiderius, the new Lombard king, invaded the pope's territory and laid siege to Rome. Adrian I., the now reigning pope, appealed to Charlemagne for help. It was given, and Charlemagne invaded Italy with a great army, and defeated the Lombards. He confirmed and enlarged the previous gifts to the pope, went to Rome, and was received with great pomp by Pope Leo III. By a clever piece of stage management, in the midst of the magnificent Christmas festivities of the year 800, Leo III. advanced towards Charlemagne, and placed upon his head a golden crown, with these words: "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor!" It was a well-laid plan, and faithfully carried out. The bells from the many domes of the Eternal City preached the new gospel of the brotherhood of pope and emperor; the multitude shouted their glad acclaim; and the city ran wild with new joy. The meaning of the coronation was clear enough. Charlemagne had lacked the endorsement of the Church. He had long coveted it. Such an attestation of his imperial rights would forever silence the claims of his brother Carloman's children, and give him such prestige as would defy all opposition. Then, as compensation for his vast papal service, he enlarged the papal territory and placed the papacy itself, as a temporal sovereignty, on a plan entirely new to history.

Pope and Emperor

The later relations of Charlemagne and the pope were fraternal—always a part of the general policy of mutual advantage. The emperor was no sooner crowned than he threw off

his Northern costume, and put on the tunic, the chlamys, and the sandals of the Roman. When he came to leave Rome, and Leo III. exchanged kisses with him, and he was lost to sight behind the hills of the Champagne, Europe entered on a new career. The Northern empire was to strengthen and protect the papacy in every emergency. On the other hand, the papacy must give its spiritual approval to the empire. Beautiful as this management appeared, it had its dangers. Each was slave to the other. The papacy could only be upheld by imperial arms. The empire would be in constant danger of strifes of succession without the participation and coronation of the papacy. The time came, later, when it would have been convenient for both parties if Charlemagne had never seen Rome, and no pope had put upon his head the crown of the Cæsars.

Later Relations of Charlemagne and the Pope

CHAPTER III

CHURCH AND STATE UNDER THE LATER CAROLINGIAN RULERS

The example of Charlemagne was on the side of imperial predominance. He never meant the least surrender to the pope of absolute control over the Church. He knew the ancient power of the Roman emperors over the religious affairs of the State, and adhered to his notions of theocratic responsibility. It was convenient to have a pope crown him, but the august ceremony produced no restraints. He regarded himself the full suzerain of Rome, and of Rome's pope. How little importance Charlemagne attached to the papal coronation may be seen in the fact that, in 813, when he wanted to associate his son Louis with him, in the government of the empire, he, with his own hands, placed the crown upon the young man's head.

Charlemagne's Example

The Carolingian successors to Charlemagne were a group of steadily dissolving lights. The family intellect diminished to a lamentable degree. But there was no relaxing of imperial claims. Each ruler asserted his sovereignty over the religious functions of Europe. All the Carolingians adhered to the ap-

pointment of bishops, as their father and his predecessors had done. The civil rulers frequently sold the episcopal office to the highest bidder. The Council of Orleans, in 549, and that of Paris, in 557, had protested against such methods. But the evil continued. Dagobert I., in 631, appointed his treasurer, a layman, to the see of Cahors. All the barbaric rulers ignored the authority of the Roman bishop. Even Boniface was made Archbishop of Mainz by royal hands. Charles Martel rewarded his soldiers with the best sees in his realm. The brightest dream of many a bronzed warrior was to spend his last years with the peaceful crosier in his scarred hand. As the Carolingian line continued there was a rise of papal prerogative. No exception was taken to Charlemagne's appointments, because of his prestige and of his service to the Church. But his weaker descendants had no such claims, and were regarded with no such awe.

Successors of Charlemagne

The result of the imperial appointment of Church officers was that the incumbents should feel that, their authority coming from the civil ruler, they were not directly subject to papal mandate. The trend was to create an independent episcopacy. This was of the greatest concern to the popes. The bishops would not obey orders. They had direct contact with the people, and the matter must be changed. The popes, during the later Carolingian rulers, succeeded in good measure in getting the episcopal appointments dependent on Rome rather than on the civil ruler. The effect was to strengthen the papacy at the expense of the empire. Why not? No Charlemagne now wore the crown.

Independent Episcopacy

The government of the Church was, under the Carolingians, a part of the general machinery of the State. Under both Pepin and Charlemagne the body which legislated for the State did the same for the Church. The clergy were represented, but they only served ornamental purposes, just as the bishops now do in the British Parliament. Charlemagne divided his general legislative assembly into three bodies—bishops, abbots, and counts. The first two attended to ecclesiastical matters, while the last regulated political affairs. The showing was fair. There was the appearance of political liberty. The fact was, the emperor controlled all three orders. Charlemagne required the bishops and abbots to furnish a contingent of soldiers for his armies in proportion to the amount

of property which they held officially. In 801 he forbade the clergy all direct participation in military life.

The extinction of the Carolingians was simultaneous with the complete ascendency of the papacy. For about a century there had been pleasant understandings, which were of great mutual advantage. Charles the Fat was a slender shadow of the great Pepin and the greater Charlemagne. In 855 we find the Neustrian bishops declaring to Louis the German that they were not obliged to do homage, or swear fidelity, to their sovereign. Synods, councils, and popes were now growing clamorous for the primitive mode of electing bishops. By the time the last descendants of the great Charles were spending their closing days as mere weak functionaries in the palace of Laon, the Church found herself proprietor of more than all her old prerogatives, and holding her new territory with a grasp which only relaxed when she reached farther for a larger slice. She paid back the princely gift of land from Pepin and Charlemagne by an independence and haughtiness quite new even on the bank of the Tiber.

The Extinction of the Carolingians

CHAPTER IV

THE FICTITIOUS ISIDORE

[Authorities.—See the article by Wasserschleben, Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, in Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia; Newman, Essays, Crit. and Hist., vol. ii., pp. 271–275, 320–335. Mr. William Frederick Hunter, in his article Canon Law, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th edition, holds that the Decretals were compiled by a single author, a Frankish ecclesiastic, between 840 and 860, that they included many authentic Decretals, while others embody the traditional contents of actual but lost Decretals, that the old idea that they were fabricated by the author's brain for the purposes of papal aggrandizement is now exploded, that the compilation was produced for the benefit of the bishops, and that their influence in the subsequent development of the papacy has been greatly overrated.]

Every period of religious ferment exhibits a disposition to fortify the opinions of the present by an appeal to the past. The tendency applies to the evil as well as the good. During the first period of the Middle Ages there prevailed in the whole of Latin Christendom a calm and subdued desire for

papal elevation, which, notwithstanding the outward fraternity between emperor and pope, was preparing to assert itself whenever the right hour struck. The papacy had advantages over the imperial rule of a family. The son might be a poor and weak successor to his father; but no man could seat himself on the episcopal chair of Rome without at least some measure of ability. There was a division within the narrow rule of the ecclesiastical government. The metropolitan bishops were appointed by the emperor, but the bishops in general were supposed to be appointed by the pope. The classes were thus arrayed against each other. By a shrewd manipulation of public sentiment the episcopal and papal interests received a strong support in a skilful forgery.

Papal Appeal to the Past

A Spanish archbishop of the seventh century, Isidore of Hispalis, performed for the German Church the distinguished service of making it acquainted with a number of important classical and patristic works. He died in 636, and left behind a name of great repute for mental and moral endowments. His services and fame were used as authority for a forgery, in favor of Roman authority as against the political ruler. The entire Church was deceived. But it was a most welcome deception. The secret lay concealed long enough to fortify every branch of ecclesiastical authority, to make political rulers tremble, and to make Rome ready, when the Carolingians ran out, to extend her spiritual sceptre over all rulers.

Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals

The pseudo-Isidorean Decretals combined all the qualities of a perfect deception. They represented a class, and yet were the best of their order. A collection of canons and epistles of Dionysius Exiguus, for example, had been generally used in the West. Isidore of Hispalis had written a collection of important canons not found in that of Dionysius Exiguus, and by his work had contributed greatly to the centralization of ecclesiastical authority in Rome. How could this same work be carried further, now that the Carolingian empire had gained such great prestige and threatened to eclipse the Roman bishop, and had been implored to come and help him fight his battles against the Lombards? Isidore, now in his grave, was, therefore, used to build up this endangered cause. It was pretended that he had left behind a

set of Decretals—the doings of former councils—which had never seen the light. Now, thanks to good-fortune, they had been discovered. They were soon scattered as widely as rapid copyists could multiply them. No compiler had dared to go back further than the authority of Siricius, whose pontificate extended from A.D. 384 to 398. But this forger was no timid character. He boldly rushed back to alleged decrees of unknown councils, and to letters claiming to be written by Clement and Anacletus—bishops of Rome contemporary with the Apostles—and by nearly thirty of the apostolic fathers themselves.

Contents of the Decretals

The contents of the forged work were enough to condemn it. It was divided into three parts. The *first* contained, in addition to the authentic fifty apostolical canons, fifty-nine spurious decretal writings of Roman bishops from Clement I. to Melchiades, or from the end of the first century to the beginning of the fourth. Even the reputed donation of territory by Constantine to the papacy—a thing which never took place—was brought in to help the common interest. The *second* part comprised only authentic synodal canons. The *third* presented some real Decretals, but, besides these, there were thirty-five spurious ones, which were held to have been written at various times from Pope Sylvester I., who died in 335, to Gregory II., who died in 731. The one purpose pervading the entire work was to prove, by early authority, the independence of the bishop. The Church must protect herself and her priesthood. The bishop must be made independent of his metropolitan. When a bishop is tried, it must not be before a metropolitan or a secular tribunal, but before the pope alone. Even a clerk must be tried before an ecclesiastical court. An offence against a priest is an offence against God himself, for a priest is very dear to God, the very apple of his eye. No charge against a bishop can be declared sustained unless supported by seventy-two witnesses. The court must consist of twelve other bishops. Only the pope can convene provincial synods, and his approval is necessary for the efficiency of their decrees.

The former opinion that the Decretals were intended to prop up the primacy of Rome is now abandoned by the majority of scholars. The opinion is at present divided between two

views: the first is that the purpose of the publication was to form a general code of Christian discipline and government necessary at a time of general insecurity in society, and of confusion in Church affairs. The second and, perhaps, the better view is that the real meaning of the Decretals was to free the bishops from their dependence on the State and on their metropolitans and provincial synods. The authority of the pope was recognized and emphasized, but only for the sake of the bishop.

The authorship of the Decretals has remained a secret. That Isidore never wrote the collection can be seen in the barbarous Latin of the ninth century, citations from works of late authorship, clumsy anachronisms throughout the collection, the absence of all testimony to the authority of the more ancient portions of the Decretals, and the attempts to meet contemporaneous prejudices. Never in the whole history of literature was a fabrication obscured by more doubt or permitted to pass so long without challenge. The date of publication ranged between A.D. 844 and 857. It was probably written in the Frankish Empire of Rome, but the evidence is not decisive. The most plausible theory of authorship is, that Archbishop Riculf (A.D. 786–814) brought the genuine Isidore from Spain; that this was enlarged and corrupted by the Archbishop Autcar, and published at Mainz, and that the copying was done by the Benedictine monk Levita, who may have had no suspicion of the fraud he was perpetrating.

Influence of the Decretals

The influence of the false Decretals was such that popes, councils, synods, and minor ecclesiastical officers appealed to them as final authority. They were brought out to decide questions which shook the Christian world. After the year 864 they were habitually used in papal rescripts as having binding force. Their genuineness was never questioned until the twelfth century. The first doubts were raised by Peter Comestor. But the fraud was never proven until the sixteenth century, when the first Protestant Church historians, the authors of the "Magdeburg Centuries," exposed the successful trick. Since then the better Roman Catholic historians have abandoned the Decretals as authentic, but hold them to be a pious fraud. Moehler calls their author a "Romanticist." Cardinal Newman, however, goes further, and with his characteristic candor calls the Decretals a "forgery."

CHAPTER V

MOHAMMEDANISM

[Authorities.—The following are, perhaps, the best works in handy form on Islam and its founder: Muir, Mohamed and Islam (London and N. Y., 1884); Muir, The Corân (London and N. Y., 1878); Principal J. W. H. Stobart (of La Martinière College, Lucknow), Islam and its Founder (London and N. Y., 1876, 1884); R. Bosworth Smith, Mohammed and Mohammedanism (N. Y., 1875, new and rev. ed., London, 1890). Compare the elaborate articles in the last ed. of the Encyclopædia Britannica, by Professors Wellhausen (Mohammed), Guyard (Eastern Caliphates), and Nöldeke (Koran), all under Mohammedanism.]

Mohammed

Mohammed, the founder of the faith which bears his name, was born in Mecca, Arabia, about A.D. 570. He sprang from the Coreish tribe, who were the rulers of Mecca and the surrounding country, and protected the Kaaba, an ancient temple and the centre of the old national worship of Arabia. His parents died when he was young, and he was left to the care of his grandfather. He exhibited his warlike taste when twenty years of age. Of these first experiences he afterwards said: "I remember being present with my uncles in war. I shot arrows at the enemy, and do not regret it." He followed the vocation of a shepherd, and said: "Truly no prophet hath been raised up who hath not done the work of a shepherd." His youth was spent in better ways than was the case with most young men about him. He avoided the prevailing licentiousness, was reserved, and very early showed signs of hostility to the usual idolatry. Khadija, a rich widow, put him in charge of her caravan, which was about to start for Syria. On his return he married her. He was at this time twenty-five years of age, and she was forty. The wealth which was at his disposal gave him opportunity for meditation, and for carrying out his plans as the founder of a new religion.

Mohammed claimed that he fell into rhapsodies, during

which he had his alleged revelations. His wife was one of the first to accept his claims to the prophetic calling. Forty or fifty others rallied about him, even before he made public his claims to special revelation. He called his religion "Islam," or "surrender" to the will of God. He despised idols of every kind, and appealed to his countrymen to return to the old Abrahamic faith. He preached the fundamental doctrines of Judaism—the resurrection of the human body, the final judgment, and rewards and punishments according to the life on earth. Great opposition was soon developed, and he, with fifteen adherents, went across the Red Sea to Abyssinia. This was the first Hegira, and he was forty-seven years of age at the time. In three months he returned. In a moment of weakness, or for purposes of the final success of his new faith, he yielded to the popular idolatry so far as to say of the three idols, Lat, Ozza, and Manat: "These are the exalted goddesses whose intercession with the Deity is to be sought." But he soon recovered from this position, and denounced idolatry, root and branch, more bitterly than ever. He made a second flight into Abyssinia, where the Christian king, Negus, gave him a favorable reception. In fact, the religion of Mohammed, so far, was not antagonistic to Christianity, but friendly to it. But in due time the difference could be seen, and when once Mohammedanism was on its full career of conquest there was no further friendship. There are traces, however, in the Koran, of Mohammed's acquaintance with the main facts of the life of Jesus. He probably acquired it when on his caravan journeys in earlier life to Syria. There were, also, Christians living in various parts of Arabia, and probably in Mecca, through whom he must have become thoroughly conversant with Christian doctrine.

Career of Mohammed

After Mohammed arrived at his fifty-second year his success was more decided than before. Mecca was slower to accept his creed than the distant places. At Medina the new faith gained great strength. Mohammed removed thither A.D. 622, and shared in building the Grand Mosque, which afterwards occupied an important place in Mohammedan history. Mecca and Medina were at swords' points, the former being opposed to Mohammed, and the latter favoring him. The battle of Bedr was the result. Mohammed was victorious.

Though the first blood was not shed here, this was the real beginning, on a large scale, of the sanguinary career of Mohammedanism. Mohammed gained steadily on his enemies. He conquered one tribe after another, until he became feared throughout Arabia. He sent legates to foreign courts, and received answers and gifts in return. He died, while making preparations for a campaign on the Syrian border, when sixty-three years of age.

The Koran contains the system of Mohammed. He claimed to have received his communications miraculously, and that they should be the law of faith and practice for his followers for all time. "This day," said Mohammed, at his Farewell Pilgrimage, "have I perfected your religion unto you." And from that day to this the Koran has never undergone any change, and is the standard of faith and life of the one hundred and seventy-three millions who constitute the Mohammedan world. It is a medley of legend, history, Jewish patriarchal traditions, and sensual doctrine. It permits polygamy, and awakens the courage of Mohammedans by promises of worldly pleasures in the future life. It is severe on idolatry, and declares the unity of God. There is a great confusion of chronology. Many of the moral precepts were mere accommodations to Mohammed's infirmities. Polygamy is allowed by the Koran, at the mere whim of the husband. Divorce takes place with equal ease. Slavery is recognized as a civil institution. The Mohammedan is obliged to fight for the extension of his cause. The Church and the State are one and the same. Fatalism abounds throughout the system.

The Koran

Under Abu Bekr and the later successors of Mohammed, the new faith was propagated with amazing rapidity. Arabia was conquered by the prophet himself. The caliphs who came after him subdued Egypt, all North Africa, Syria, Persia, Asia Minor, Northern India, Spain, the south of France, and the Danubian principalities. The progress in Western Europe was arrested by the victory of Charles Martel, at Tours, A.D. 732. The conquests in the countries around the eastern portion of the Mediterranean Sea were more easy, because of the strifes of rulers and the dissensions of Christians. The progress of the Mohammedans into Central Europe was not arrested until 1683, when John Sobieski, the Polish king, defeated the Turks, with great slaughter, at Vienna.

Mohammedan Conquests

CHAPTER VI

THE SCHOOLS OF CHARLEMAGNE

[Authorities.—J. Bass Mullinger has given us a standard work, The Schools of Charles the Great (London, 1877). Compare Newman, Historical Sketches, vol. iii, pp. 150 sq.; Laurie, Rise and Early Constitution of Universities (N. Y., 1887), ch. iii.; Charlemagne and the Ninth Century.]

The rulers immediately before Charlemagne were of barbarian origin, and had no sympathy with the classic treasures. They could not appreciate the literary wealth of the countries which they conquered. They even had little respect for the poetic literature of their own countries. Theodoric could not even write his own name. Charlemagne introduced a new order. He was the first of the barbaric rulers to see the importance of learning, and, while not educated himself, he knew the value of education as a source of prosperity for his dominions. He surrounded himself with learned men. Alcuin, of England, was his adviser in all literary matters. Charlemagne intrusted him with the organization of schools, and had him report constantly concerning the state of education among his subjects. Guizot calls Alcuin the "intellectual prime-minister of Charlemagne." Longfellow draws the following picture of Alcuin in the Palatine School:

Charlemagne's Attention to Learning

> "In sooth, it was a pleasant sight to see
> That Saxon monk, with hood and rosary,
> With inkhorn at his belt, and pen and book,
> And mingled love and reverence in his look;
> Or hear the cloister and the court repeat
> The measured footfalls of his sandalled feet,
> Or watch him with the pupils of his school,
> Gentle of speech, but absolute of rule."

But Charlemagne had other scholars about him, such as Clement of Ireland, Peter of Pisa, Paul the Deacon, Eginhard,

Paul of Aquileia, and Theodulph. These were the "true paladins of his literary court."

The old universities of the classic world had been located in the lands overrun by the Saracens, and were now blotted out of existence. Their place was occupied by seminaries, where only theology was taught. The education of the better part of Europe was in the hands of the Church. The episcopal seminaries had been seats of clerical learning from the primitive period, but these had been interrupted by the onslaughts of the barbarians. Charlemagne saw their value, began to restore them to their old importance, and enlarged the curriculum of study. Out of these episcopal seminaries grew, four centuries afterwards, some of the great universities of modern Europe. Charlemagne took pains to establish grammar and public schools. Those were purely secular, and were of popular character. They were preparatory to the seminaries and to all the secular professions. Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, was deputed to establish village schools for all classes. Then, for the first time in Europe, learning was made free for all. For the children of his court, Charlemagne had schools connected with his palace, or the School Palatine. To enrich the more ignorant portions of his empire, he provided endowments for the support of schools. England, Italy, and Greece were drawn upon to furnish manuscripts for the new libraries.

Episcopal Seminary

Schools and Studies

A special imperial constitution was adopted, which regulated the course of study and all other matters connected with the schools. The old *trivium* and *quadrivium* arrangement was adopted. Under the former were embraced philology, logic, and rhetoric; under the latter, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. Here the average monk, like Eginhard,

> "Grew up, in Logic point-device,
> Perfect in Grammar, and in Rhetoric wise;
> Science of numbers, Geometric Art,
> And lore of Stars, and music knew by heart;
> A Minnesinger, long before the times
> Of those who sang their love in Indian rhymes."

A strong theological bias was given to all the studies. Music was largely limited to chanting, and astronomy to the calculation of Easter.

The emperor took great pains to locate his schools in proper

places. That he was wise in his selection can be seen in the fact that some of these schools have existed ever since. He established about fifty schools of high grade. Italy, Germany, and France were most favored. Among the schools which he organized are the following: Paris, Tours, Corbie, Orleans, Lyons, Toulouse, Clugny, Mainz, Treves, Cologne, Utrecht, Fulda, Paderborn, and Hildesheim.

Charlemagne's Cultivation of National Literature

The cultivation of national literature by Charlemagne was a favorite pursuit. He ruled over a heterogeneous people. Some of the tribes were advanced, and already had a taste of the classic fountains. But the most were in dense barbarism. The emperor caused grammars to be compiled in the languages of his Teutonic subjects, and collected the bardic lays of Germany. He required that the sermon should be preached in the vulgar tongue, and that the common people should have the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer in their own languages. Stripes and fasts were the penalty of neglect.

Circulation of the Scriptures

Special measures were taken for the circulation of the Scriptures. Copies were multiplied by the monks, and were distributed among the schools. Many found their way into private hands. Theological literature received a strong impetus. The monasteries became busy places, and many of the monks became authors. Their works were largely reproductions of the Fathers, but occasionally the quiet atmosphere was disturbed by an original manuscript.

Decline in Literary Activity

The decline in literary activity began immediately after the death of the great Charles. The Church fattened on his educational beginnings. The bishops and other clergy took education into their own hands. The Carolingian kinglets were unable to cope with Rome when it began to grasp for the possession of the schools. From the sixth century to the eighth the education of Europe had been ecclesiastical. Under Charlemagne it had broadened to a remarkable degree, and struck its roots deeply into the popular life. It was made the affair of the State, and contributed infinitely to the development of the Church. But now a return to the old order took place. The clergy having secured the school, its broad scope was narrowed. Its general adaptation to the professions and popular education was destroyed. The State lost it, and never regained it until the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER VII

THEOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS

[See the Histories of Doctrines, above.]

THE antecedents of this controversy are to be found in the Trinitarian strifes of the early centuries. It was a discussion between the Greek and Latin Christians, and was called the *Filioque* (and from the Son) controversy. The Eastern Church contended that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father only. The Latin contended that he proceeded also from the Son (*Filioque*). Augustine had been the chief defender of this view, he having carried the doctrine of the Trinity to its logical sequence. If Christ were divine, then the Holy Ghost must proceed from Him not less than from the Father. The argument was complete. But the Eastern Church gradually adopted the other view — that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father alone. The discussion was animated. The result was, that this question was an important factor in the division of the Eastern and the Western Church. Its results, therefore, extended far beyond the early mediæval period. They have had their bearing on the theology of the Greek Church in modern times, which is the same now as when all Europe was divided on the *Filioque* question.

Procession of the Holy Ghost

This doctrine, also, was a result of earlier theological discussion. The Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, had declared that in Christ there is one person, but two natures. This became the doctrine of the Church in both East and West. But in the eighth century a new interpretation was made in Spain by the Archbishop Elipandus, of Toledo. He was aided in reaching this conclusion by the Bishop Felix of Urgel. These men taught that Christ, in his divine nature, is the real Son of God, but that in his human nature he is only Son of God in an adopted sense, as a name and title Etherius and Beatus opposed Elipandus and Felix, and

Adoptianism

defended the orthodox view. Great excitement was created throughout Spain, where the Mohammedan rulers troubled themselves little concerning the ecclesiastical conflicts, but were delighted to see Christians devour each other. The heresy of Felix spread into the Frankish dominions, and finally attracted the attention of Charlemagne. The Narbonne Synod of 788 was indefinite. Felix appeared before the Synod of Regensburg in 792, and, his doctrine being condemned, he recanted and made his peace with the Church. On his return to Spain he recalled his recantation. The Frankfort Council of 794 reaffirmed the condemnation of that of Regensburg. In the year 799 Felix once more repudiated his adoptianism, after a six days' further debate with Alcuin, but enjoyed thereafter little favor from either party. Elipandus lived in Moorish Spain, and never renounced his adoptianism. The heresy lived but a short time after the death of the chief promoters.

The doctrines relating to human salvation came up for new consideration. Chief emphasis was placed on the elect. Au-

Anthropology

gustine had declared that God determines the number of the saved; but his teaching on the divine reprobation was negative—that God passed over the non-elect. Gottschalk taught that the wicked are as fully predestinated to damnation as the righteous are to salvation. His was a doctrine of twofold predestination—*bipartita praedestinatio, electorum ad requiem, reproborum ad mortem* (a double predestination, of the elect to salvation, and of the reprobate to death). Erigena opposed Gottschalk's doctrine, on the ground that it was an abandonment of the saving power of God's grace and an abolition of the functions of the human will.

The Greek Church was the first to teach a doctrine approaching transubstantiation, or the change of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of our Lord. The work

The Lord's Supper

on "The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ," by Paschasius Radbertus, which appeared in two editions (A.D. 831 and 844), was the first book which proceeded definitely to formulate this view. Transubstantiation, however, had been often approached in previous writings on the subject. This view was opposed by vigorous theologians, with Ratramnus at their head. In the middle of the eleventh century Berengar of Tours held unmolested the more spiritual

view. But he was finally compelled to sign a formula repudiating his opinion. By the end of the eleventh century, however, the doctrine of transubstantiation gained such official favor in Rome that it was accepted by the Church.

Image Controversy

The use of images in the church was a subject of violent controversy. Traces of undue reverence for them can be found as early as the fourth century. Not only were the Eastern and Western Churches divided on the subject, but in each there were subdivisions of disputants—three being in the Eastern, and as many in the Western. The periods of controversy in the Greek Church are as follows: First, A.D. 726–754; second, 754–813; third, 813–843. In the Frankish empire, three parties were represented at the Synod of Paris, A.D. 825.

A peculiarity of this remarkable controversy was the intense interest aroused in all lands, and the length to which the contestants went. Mobs of monks, the violence of soldiers, and the daring of iconoclasts (image-breakers) were common features of this exciting time. In the East, after many changes of fortune, in 842, the images were solemnly brought back into the churches, and image worship has continued from that day to this, the orthodox doctrine of the Greek Church. Oddly enough, however, only flat pictures are revered, while raised images are forbidden.

The Synod of Paris, referred to above, true to the prevailing sentiment of the Frankish Church, condemned images. But the opinion of Gregory the Great (died 604), who favored images on account of their educational and devotional use, finally prevailed in the Roman Catholic Church.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RULE OF THE POPES

(Leo IV., A.D. 855, to Gregory VII., A.D. 1085.)

[Authorities.—Milman, Latin Christianity, book v. ch. iii.; book vii. ch. v. is excellent here. For the history of the popes, see Platina, Lives of the Popes, edited by W. Benham (London, 2 vols., 1889), extending from the first pope to Paul II. (1471); G. A. F. Wilks, History of the Popes from Linus to Pius IX. (London, 1851). For the struggle between Gregory and Henry, see Kohlrausch, History of Germany, ch. viii.; Fisher, Universal History (N. Y., 1885), Period III., ch. i, "The Church and the Empire," and the authorities mentioned in the next section.]

Fluctuations in the Papacy

The reign of the popes of Rome was never uniform. Where one was learned, and was alive to the wants of his times, another was devoted entirely to the building up of his authority. The same absence of uniformity applies to their moral character. One might be virtuous, and command the respect of the whole Church; but his immediate successor might be just the opposite. The tendency was towards the evil side. The temptation was to resort to corrupt measures, not only to secure the office, but to administer it when secured. Between Leo IV. (A.D. 855) and Benedict III. it was alleged that a female pope, Joanna, was elected, and ruled. John XX., for this reason, called himself John XXI. The chronicles of the thirteenth century were the first to make full mention of a female pope. Protestant historians have been divided, some claiming that the proof is certain, while others hold that there are better means of proving the growing immorality of the papacy than the brief rule of a pope of another sex. We do not find sufficient proof in favor of a female pope. Nearly every competent authority, at the present time, looks upon the whole story as a fable. It was a Protestant historian, David Blondel, 1649, who was the first to subject the charge to a critical examination, and who destroyed all its claims to credence. But the moral methods

in use were dark enough for that, or any similar violation of ecclesiastical precedents. Nicholas I., Hadrian II., and John VII. were involved in complications with the Frankish rulers. The new gift of temporal possessions was now bearing its legitimate fruit. It was easy to see that the attention of the popes was directed just as much towards political as spiritual matters.

Pornocracy

No period in the history of the papacy has been more corrupt than the time of the Pornocracy, A.D. 904–962. Italy was divided between hostile factions. The noble families were arrayed against each other. The ruling pope was strong or weak, according to the success of the nobles whose cause he had espoused. For a half-century a wicked woman, Theodora, ruled the papacy. She was the daughter of a noble family. Her daughter Maria was almost her equal in genius and crime. These two women put into the papacy whom they chose. Theodora caused John X. to assume the papacy. After her death he endeavored to throw off his dependence upon her daughter. But he failed. Maria was too strong for the ungrateful successor of St. Peter. She put Peter, the pope's brother, to death before the pope's eyes, and then smothered the pope himself in the castle of St. Angelo (A.D. 928). She immediately placed her son John XI. in the papal chair.

New German Power

We now come to the opposition of the German emperors to the papal authority. Henry I. was the first to assert a measure of independence. But the popes were constantly in need of help from the emperor's army. On the other hand, the emperor was in need of the pope's approval and coronation; because, if the pope released the citizens from fealty to the emperor, the power of the latter was broken. The excommunication of an emperor by the pope was sure to bring untold evils to the former. There were, generally, competitors to the succession, and the man who had the pope's favor was almost sure to be winner in the imperial game. The misconduct of certain popes was so flagrant that the people would not endure it. For example, Benedict IX., while a boy, became pope, but his crimes caused the people to eject him. They put Sylvester III. in the papal chair. Benedict aimed to get it again. But he could not hold it, and sold it outright to Gregory VI. There were now three rival popes.

Henry III. of Germany was invited in to settle matters. Clement II. was elected, and he paid back his benefactor by crowning him Emperor of Germany and Patrician of Rome.

Gregory VII. was the son of a mechanic, and arose from the humblest monastic life. He bore the name of Hildebrand. He could easily have been pope at an early period of his life, but chose to gain power, and add to the papal authority, by getting men of his choice in office. He was the Warwick of ecclesiastical history—the maker of popes. On the death of Alexander II. (A.D. 1073) he was elected pope, though against powerful opposition. The time had come when he could safely throw off the mask. The people cried out: "Hildebrand is pope; St. Peter has elected him!"

The strife between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. of Germany was one of the most bitter in the whole history of temporal and spiritual authority. The usual request for the imperial sanction was sent to Henry, the last time that this custom was observed. Gregory determined to elevate the papacy at all hazards. His course brought him into collision with Henry IV. For oppressing the Saxons, and permitting the sacred vessels to be despoiled of their jewels, which were now worn by the favorite women of Henry's court, Gregory threatened the emperor with excommunication. Henry resented the insult with great promptness and spirit. It was now a struggle of authority. All Europe was interested in the duel. Henry called a synod at Worms, A.D. 1076, which deposed the pope, as a violator of imperial rights. Gregory cast back upon the emperor his anathema of excommunication, and declared all his subjects released from allegiance. Henry's princes, who were fast losing respect for him, declared that they would have another sovereign if the anathema were not removed by the pope by a certain time.

The result of the strife was the division of the whole Western Church. Henry saw that the reins of power were fast slipping from him, and he resolved on penitence. He made a journey to Italy, to regain the favor of the pope. At Canossa (A.D. 1077) he humiliated himself by doing the pope the menial service of holding the stirrups of his saddle. The result was pardon. But the end was not yet. Henry repented of his repentance, and withdrew it. Parchment depositions flew back and forth. Henry de-

Strife between Henry IV. and Gregory

posed the pope, and, in turn, Gregory deposed Henry. The affair took a larger form than writs of ejectment. It came to bloodshed. Armies were summoned, campaigns were conducted, and Italy and Germany swam in blood. Henry captured Rome A.D. 1084, and the pope became a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. But Gregory spoke no word of surrender. He withdrew to Salerno, where he died, A.D. 1085. His last words, which expressed the rectitude of his intentions, and which are engraved on his tombstone, were: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." The outcome was a victory for political independence.

The later fortunes of the papacy were fluctuating. The result of the long and bitter struggle between the empire and the pope was to create an independent spirit north of the Alps. After Henry's triumph the emperors were always disposed to assume more control, and a larger independence of the papal authority. The charm of Rome's rule north of the Alps was broken forever. The ban of excommunication had lost much of its terror. Here, in this long struggle between Henry of Germany and Pope Gregory VII., lies the entering wedge of the Reformation. For six centuries there lingered in Germany a doubt of the papal authority. The political rulers never forgot the example of Henry. His capture of Rome, and his disposition of Gregory, were of great force in all the religious struggles of Germany. They proved a powerful example for the Saxon princes in their support of Luther and the Reformation six centuries after Henry IV. stood all night barefooted in the snow at Canossa before the pope's palace, and held the stirrups when the august successor of St. Peter chose to mount his horse, but atoned for it all by capturing Rome itself, deposing Gregory, and shutting him up in the castle beside the Tiber.

CHAPTER IX

THE GREGORIAN REFORM

[AUTHORITIES.—On Gregory and his work we have special works of great value: Villemain, Hist. of Gregory VII. (London, 1874); Bowden, Life and Pontificate of Gregory VII. (London, 1840); W. R. W. Stephens, Hildebrand and his Times (London and N. Y., 1888). See the admirable essay of Sir James Stephen in Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography (London, new ed., 1875).]

Moral Decline

THE moral decline of the tenth century was so great that not even the most extreme apologists for the papacy have been able to present a defence of it. When the Carolingian dynasty died out in 887, and a new one took its place, this decline began in full force. The papacy had been gaining strength with every year, and when the tenth century began such evils prevailed in the Church as to threaten its very life. The most far-sighted of the leaders saw the danger, and that the Church itself had become only a vast piece of political machinery, using unholy measures to advance its end. Even so warm a eulogist of Rome as Baronius says that in that period "Christ was as if asleep in the vessel of the Church." Rome, the very heart of the Church, presented a repulsive picture. The churches were neglected, and a dissolute life distinguished the priesthood.

Cardinal Newman makes the following admissions: When Hildebrand was appointed to the monastery of St. Paul in Rome he found offices of devotion neglected, sheep and cattle defiling the house of prayer, and monks attended by women. The excuse was, that there were predatory bands from the Campagna, which gave trouble. But in Germany, where there was no such apology, things were even worse. In France the same evils of spiritual decline were apparent. The offices of the Church were sold, almost as at an auction. An archbishop of France, who tried to silence the powerful witnesses against him when arraigned for simony, confessed his guilt, and forty-

five bishops and twenty-seven other dignitaries or governors of churches came forward and confessed the criminal mode by which they had obtained their offices. Hincmar thought it necessary to issue a decree against the pawning by the clergy of the vestments and the communion plate. The nobles had their younger sons and relatives ordained for the sole purpose that they might be put in charge of lucrative benefices. Others had their dependants ordained that they might be willing instruments for any service in the household. The domestic priests served the tables, mixed the strained wine, led out the dogs for the chase, looked after the ladies' horses, and superintended the tilling of the land.*

Hildebrand, when he became pope, bearing the name of Gregory VII., addressed himself to remedy the evils. He, more than any man of his times, saw the necessity of a thorough moral awakening. The long experience through which he had passed, and his intimate acquaintance with the clergy and the laity in Rome and throughout the Church, had given him rare opportunity for learning the real life of the time. Hence, when the power was once in his hands, he wielded it with great vigor. He strove in every possible way to eradicate simony, and all the other ecclesiastical crimes, from Latin Christendom. He looked after the conduct of the clergy, and attempted to bring it up to a loftier moral plane. There was no department of discipline which he did not observe with keen eye, and which he did not attempt with vigorous hand to improve.

Marriage of the Clergy

The marriage of the clergy was almost universal. The canons of the Roman Church had long before enforced the celibacy of the clergy. In the reply of Pope Nicholas I. to the Bulgarians (860), in the conclusions of the Synod of Worms (868), in Leo VII.'s Epistle to the Gauls and Germans (938), in the Councils of Mentz and Metz in 888, in the decrees of Augsburg (952), and in Benedict VIII.'s speech and the decrees at Pavia in 1020, the practice of clerical marriage was severely condemned.† The entire official record of the Church for two centuries, but not before, had been against the marriage of the clergy. Greg-

* Newman, Essays Critical and Historical, vol. ii., pp. 255 ff.

† Ibid., p. 289.

ory, before anything else engaged his attention, set himself to work to correct the custom. But he little dreamed of the opposition which he had to encounter. His canons were met with the bitterest opposition. In Germany the opposition was intense. In France the Archbishop of Rouen was pelted with stones when attempting to enforce the new Gregorian reform. In Normandy many churches had become heritable property to the sons and daughters of priests.*

In Rome, the antagonism to the canons of Gregory was even more violent, if possible, than elsewhere. Many of the churches had become scenes of wild nocturnal revelry. Priests, and even cardinals, celebrated the Lord's Supper at irregular hours for the sake of gain.† Clerical immorality was universal. The enemies of the Gregorian canons, under the very eyes of Gregory himself, met his reformatory measures with relentless fury. It was not so much a rebellion against the war made on the marriage of the clergy, but of rebellion against the whole system of reform in the life of the clergy, from bishops, up or down, as one may think, through all the clerical strata. The clergy saw that they were watched as by the eye of an eagle. They knew, too, the vigor of Gregory's hand. But he received only threats for his pains. With undaunted courage and perseverance he labored for the independence and purity of the Church until his death. He effected but little, except that he sowed some good seed for later times.

Gregory was now sixty years of age, and was afflicted by an illness so severe that he thought himself dying. But he recovered. These were his words: "We were reserved to our accustomed toils, our infinite anxieties; reserved to suffer, as it were, each hour the pangs of travail, while we feel ourselves unable to save, by any steermanship, the Church which seems almost foundering before our eyes."‡ In the midst of his sorrows, on witnessing the violent opposition in every quarter, at home and north of the Alps, he cried aloud: "I live as it were in death, shaken by a thousand storms."

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* Newman, Essays Critical and Historical, p. 294.

† Bowden, Life of Hildebrand, vol. ii., pp. 42, 43.

‡ Idem.

CHAPTER X

MORAL LIFE AND ECCLESIASTICAL USAGES

[Authorities.—See the appropriate sections in the Church Histories and in the special Histories of the Middle Ages.]

The morals of the higher clergy were, thus, the darkest feature of the times. The example of the papacy, leaving out Gregory, and now and then another pope, was not favorable to episcopal purity. As many of the bishops secured their office by purchase or political intrigues, the effect of their administration could not be expected to be of an elevated spiritual character. Sincius (385) was the first pope to order clerical celibacy. Leo the Great (440–461) repeated the decree, and extended it to sub-deacons. Successive synods gave the same injunction. Gregory VII., however, was the first pope to enforce these laws with inflexible purpose. For in all the countries of Western Europe these ascetic regulations were constantly disregarded. The tenth century was especially distinguished for the general immorality of the clergy.

Penance

The original jurisdiction of the bishop extended over the matter of all penances within his diocese. But the tendency was to withdraw this lucrative trade from the episcopacy, and let it be an affair for the pope to regulate by special agents. The legates whom the bishops had sent to Rome with reference to penances were clothed with special powers by the popes, and even papal absolution was declared to individuals on whom penance had been pronounced by the bishops. The tendency was to increase the authority of the pope. The nobles were on the side of the bishops. It was the question of a territory against Rome. The Council of Pavia, in 876, declared in favor of the papal anathema as against that of a bishop. The papal management of penances

went on with undisguised force. The profits were enormous. They added vastly to the papal treasury, and were in full force down to the time of Martin Luther.

The reverence for the Virgin Mary was one of the peculiarities of the times. The rise of chivalry tended to increase the respect for woman throughout Europe. The religious respect for the Virgin had some bearing upon the growing custom of giving woman a larger place in social life. Learned writers indulged in speculations as to the Holy Mother's divinity. She was the "Queen of Heaven," the "Mother of God," and her praises went far and wide. The miraculous achievements and lofty virtues of some of the pagan divinities of the North, such as Freya, were transferred outright to her.

Reverence for the Virgin Mary

Relics came into use far more than in the preceding period. The pilgrim to Palestine, on his return, brought with him enough sacred relics of the saints to supply a church. Each relic was the centre of a throng of associations, and was supposed to be endowed with great power. The chapel became famous which could boast a single one. Diseases were supposed to be easily curable by touching a relic. The imagination never had a larger field for play than here. The saints of the whole past were drawn upon to help the ills of the present. The Eastern countries furnished many of the most precious relics, but Italy was most productive of the holy manufactures. The Frankish monastery of Centula, for example, was so highly favored that it could boast a miniature cottage belonging to St. Peter, a handkerchief of Paul, some hairs from St. Peter's beard, some souvenirs from the graves of the murdered innocents at Bethlehem, some of the Virgin Mary's milk, and some of the identical wood which Peter did not use, but which he would have used, to build the three tabernacles impulsively proposed by him on the Mount of Transfiguration.

Relics

The Church festivals increased during this period. The saints' days grew to an alarming number, for the motives to enlarge the calendar were very strong. The day of commencing the year was changed from Easter to Christmas, though at Florence and Pisa the year dated from March 25th down to as late as 1749. Dionysius Exiguus, A.D. 556, began the year with January. As early as the fourth

Saints' Days

century a festival in honor of all the saints was celebrated in the Eastern Church. When the Pantheon was fitted up for Christian worship by Pope Boniface IV. (608–615), it was dedicated to the Virgin and all the saints, and its day of dedication, May 13th, was celebrated as a festival for the saints. The origin of All-Souls' Day (November 2d) illustrates the credulity and ignorance of the times. On his return from the Holy Land a pilgrim gave out that he had seen in Sicily flames bursting out of the earth, and heard the wailings of the poor souls held in durance. These unfortunates implored him, he said, to go to the Monastery of Clugny, and to pray the monks to have mercy upon them, and by prayers and alms to free them from their pains. From this time, 998, the Abbot of Clugny, Odilo, celebrated the souls of all deceased believers on the day after All-Saints', and the practice spread to other monasteries. In the ninth century the All-Saints festival was made general throughout the Church.

CHAPTER XI

THE PUBLIC SERVICES

[Authorities.—See the appropriate sections in the histories of this period. On the Art and Religious Life of this time Paul Lacroix has written some instructive and entertaining, though expensive, volumes (N. Y., 5 vols., 1880). For the hymnology the late S. W. Duffield left a scholarly and appreciative survey, which has been completed and edited by Prof. R. E. Thompson: Latin Hymns (N. Y., 1889).]

The Sermon

During the period of aggressive missionary life the sermon assumed a larger place than usual. The missionary was compelled to teach orally, in order to instruct the people in the rudiments of Christian doctrine. Charlemagne saw the inaptitude of the Frankish preachers for their public office, and, to remedy the difficulty, commanded Peter Diaconus to prepare a Homilarium, or collection of sermons from the Fathers. This was to be a model for homiletic composition, if not a work which the preachers might directly use in preaching. This is the first instance, of which we have account, in which encouragement was given, from an authoritative source, for the homiletic fracture of the Eighth Com-

mandment. The Homilarium was designed to be used especially on Sundays and feast-days. Down to and beyond the Reformation, this book continued to be used extensively in the Roman Catholic Church. There was no pulpit as yet. The preacher continued to stand on the platform in front of the high-altar. Pulpits, however, of the greatest artistic interest, belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have been found in England and on the Continent.

Music was diligently cultivated. The old Gregorian chant was supplanted by the Ambrosian melody. In Germany, during the latter part of the ninth century, short verses in the rude German language were sung by the people. This was the earliest trace we have of the later rich German hymnology. Charlemagne paid great attention to music. He founded singing-schools throughout his dominions—especially at Metz, Soissons, Orleans, Paris, Lyons, and other central places. The first knowledge we have of an organ in the West was the gift of one to Pepin, in 757, by the Byzantine emperor, Copronymus. Another Byzantine emperor, Michael I., made a present of one to Charlemagne, who placed it in the imperial church at Aix-la-Chapelle. These instruments were of robust quality, as they had but twelve keys, and required the vigorous use of the performer's fist to make the keys produce the desired melody. Charlemagne gave strict orders that the people should unite in the singing at the public service, especially in the Gloria and Sanctus, but his orders had only small effect. Among the more noted hymn-writers between the seventh and ninth centuries were Paul Wernefried, Theodulf of Orleans, Alcuin, and Rabanus Maurus. The Pentecost hymn, "Veni, Sancte Spiritus," was popularly ascribed to Robert of France, who died in the year 1031:

Music

"Veni, Sancte Spiritus, Et emitte coelitus Lucis tuae radium.
Veni, Pater pauperum, Veni, Dator munerum, Veni, Lumen cordium.
Consolator optime, Dulcis hospes animae, Dulce refrigerium.
In labore requies, In aestu temperies, In fletu solatium!
O lux beatissima, Reple cordis intima Tuorum fidelium!
Sine tuo nomine Nihil est in homine, Nihil est innoxium.
Lava quod est sordidum, Riga quod est aridum, Sana quod est saucium;
Flecte quod est rigidum, Fove quod est frigidum, Rege quod est devium!

Da tuis fidelibus, In te confidentibus, Sacrum septenarium!
Da virtutis meritum, Da salutis exitum, Da perenne gaudium!
Amen."

This hymn is well known in the translation of Ray Palmer, "Come, Holy Ghost, in Love." The older Pentecost hymn, "Veni, Creator Spiritus," was formerly ascribed to Charlemagne, but now with more reason to Gregory the Great (died 601).

Chapels

The great increase in relics, and the enlargement of the number of saints, led to a multiplication of chapels. Each chapel had its name, according to the saint to whom it had been dedicated. No confessionals had as yet been erected, though Leo the Great (died 461) had officially recognized private confession as a legal institution, and in the eighth and ninth centuries the practice was made compulsory. With all the increase in superstition, this masterpiece of decline had not as yet been invented. The baptistery, which had previously been outside of the church building, now began to be included within the church. Bells came into use. The tower, which had hitherto been an independent structure, became connected with the church edifice. The christening of bells in churches was an ecclesiastical usage throughout the Middle Ages. A Capitulary of Charlemagne (787) forbids the baptism of *cloccae*, by which is probably meant the small bells in every-day use. At any rate, the order was never observed. In the tenth century it became customary to give the bells a name. In 968 Pope John XIII. consecrated the great bell of the Church of the Lateran, and gave it his own name, Joannes.

Arts

The arts were now departing from the classic models, and undergoing the influence of the new Northern nations. The Byzantine architecture, as exemplified in the rich buildings of Ravenna, was employed to some extent. Generally in Italy the basilica still prevailed. North of the Alps there was no disposition to be confined to either Roman or Byzantine style. Einhard, the court builder of Charlemagne, was the most celebrated architect of the times. Shrines for relics, candelabra, and other adornments of the sacred buildings, were of elaborate and rich workmanship. The imperial treasury spared nothing, in order to add to the splendor of the sanctuary and the copiousness of the ritual. Great wealth was

expended in copying the Scriptures. The miniature paintings in the devotional books of the times were models of painstaking and costly outlay. Even in the British Isles much care was bestowed on the copies of the favorite authors of the patristic times. The Irish monasteries produced some of the finest specimens of early Christian art which have come down to our own times. On the Continent the monasteries of St. Gall and Fulda took the lead as patrons of the arts. Tutilo (died 912), of St. Gall, was architect, painter, sculptor, poet, and scholar—the Michael Angelo of his age.

CHAPTER XII

THE WRITERS OF THE TIMES

[Authorities.—See the Church Histories and the appropriate articles in the Encyclopædias and Biographical Dictionaries. On Alfred, see a fine biography by Thomas Hughes (Boston, new ed., 1890).]

The classic masters of Greek and Roman thought were at no time entirely forgotten. It is a peculiarity of the age that all the temporal rulers, beginning with Charlemagne, though often profoundly ignorant, were never wholly forgetful of the debt of their people to the creators of literature. Now and then even a barbaric ruler surrounded himself with scholars, who not only reflected their learned light on the court, but were of influence in promoting a thirst for knowledge throughout the dominions. The example of the Goth Ulfilas, one of the most thorough scholars of his day, was powerful over rulers and the scholars of their courts in the later times.

Scholars before Charlemagne

Scholars before Charlemagne were numerous, and yet, because of the general distractions of the times, were not of wide influence. The most learned men were servants of the Church, and hence science was confined chiefly to theology. Boethius and Cassiodorus, who flourished under the patronage of the Ostrogothic court, contributed largely to the preservation of both the classic and the patristic writings. The monasteries of Scotland and Ireland produced many scholars, whose fame went

into all lands. The communication between those countries and Rome was frequent, and many treasures were taken back to them from Italy, which proved of great value for the study of the Greek and Roman writers, and of the Fathers as well, for many centuries. Theodore of Tarsus, the Venerable Bede, and the scholar Hadrian, were at the head of Anglo-Saxon learning. The most powerful promoter of learning in Britain was Alfred the Great. The war of races had done much to destroy all taste for scholarship. The ravages of the Scandinavian piratical tribes made the land a waste. But that wise king restored science to its former elevated position. His own example was a model of literary aspiration. He founded monasteries, churches, and schools, and built the school which afterwards grew into the University of Oxford. He invited learned men into the country, and he himself translated, though very freely, the works of Boethius and Orosius, made a paraphrase of Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," and translated and circulated among his clergy Gregory's book on "Pastoral Care."

Scholars of Charlemagne's Court

The scholars of Charlemagne's court constituted a bright galaxy of masters in literature. The emperor was constantly in search of learned men. He did not care where they came from or what their opinions were. The brightest ornament of his reign was Alcuin, an Anglo-Saxon. While this man was on a journey to Rome, he was introduced to Charlemagne. This was in 781, and down to his death, in 804, Charlemagne would not permit the calm and learned scholar to leave his service. He commanded Alcuin to superintend all the educational movements of his broad dominions. He sent him on important diplomatic missions, and found that he could trust him in the most delicate duties. In 796 he gave him the Abbacy of Tours, which became, through Alcuin, a celebrated seat of learning. Paul Diaconus was of Lombard origin. He had been a member of the court of the Lombard king Desiderius. Yet Charlemagne, after subjugating the Lombards, won him to his service. But the scholar was ill at ease. The loss of his country was a sorrow which he could not overcome, and, after getting released, he withdrew to his former monastery, Monte Cassino, and died there. It is from Paul Diaconus's poem on John the Baptist that Guido of Arezzo derived his names for the musical notes:

"Ut queant laxis
Re-sonare fibris
Mi-ra gestorum
Fa-muli tuorum
Sol-ve pollutum
La-bii reatum
Sancte Joannes."

Leidrad of Lyons, Theodulf of Orleans, and Paulinus of Aquileia were also bright lights of Charlemagne's court.

CHAPTER XIII

NEW MISSIONS

[Authorities.—The attractive story of Mediæval Evangelism has been told by G. F. Maclear, Apostles of Mediæval Europe (London, 1869); Thomas Smith, Hist. of Mediæval Missions (London, 1880); and Neander, Memorials of Christian Life and Work in the Middle Ages (London, 1852).]

The spread of Christianity continued steadily. From the centres in Germany and France missionaries went out, and labored in the darker European countries. There was constant communication between Britain and the Continent. Missionaries from Ireland, the "Holy Isle," and from England, crossed the Channel into France, and co-operated with Continental missionaries in founding missions among the heathen dwelling in the remoter parts of Europe. The monasteries kept up a close brotherhood. That there was great missionary fervor in them can be seen in the number of monks who went out from them, and threaded the forests and climbed the mountains of rude and barbarous peoples, and spent their lives amid all possible dangers, in endeavoring to extend Christianity. Many of them fell by violent hands. No people parted with their ancestral idols without regarding the first Christian preachers worthy of immediate death. Sometimes the rulers were the first to accept the gospel, but often it ascended from the poor and the lowly, step by step, until the throne was reached, and Christianity was publicly proclaimed as the faith of the State.

Harold, King of Jutland, was aided to the throne of his fathers, against his competitors, by the Carolingian emperor,

Louis le Débonnaire. Harold and his queen were baptized in the cathedral of Mentz. There is no knowing how much conscience was in this proof of their espousal of Christianity.

Denmark

But it is a fact that the Danish king and queen ever afterwards befriended the gospel, and did their utmost to plant it throughout their dominions. Anskar, a monk of Corbey, accompanied them back to Denmark, with a view to organize the Christian Church in that country. The mission in Denmark was resisted by the people. A rebellion was excited against Harold, and he was obliged to flee from the country. Anskar was also compelled to leave, but, instead of giving up his missionary work, turned his eyes towards the still more savage Sweden, and determined to plant missions there.

Sweden

In the year 831, Anskar, with Witmar, a brother monk, as companion, proceeded to Sweden with gifts for the king of the country. They were attacked by pirates while on their voyage, and lost all their possessions, such as the gifts for the king, their sacred books, and their priestly robes. They barely escaped with their lives. They reached Birka, on the Malar Lake, and were hospitably entertained. The king welcomed them, and in a short time his counsellor, Herigar, became a Christian convert. A few Christians were found already there, but there was no organization. Anskar remained a year and a half in Sweden, and then returned to Louis, to whom he brought friendly letters from the King of Sweden, and gave a full account of his experiences. Louis established an archiepiscopal see at Hamburg, with a view to operating directly upon Scandinavia. Anskar went to Rome, where he was consecrated to the archiepiscopal office and deputed to preach the gospel to the Northern nations. Hamburg was desolated by a Danish army, and the see was united with Bremen. Anskar removed to the latter place. He made a second visit to Sweden in 855. He died in 865, but before his death had the pleasure of seeing Christianity taking firm hold throughout Scandinavia. He was one of the most beautiful characters of the whole mediæval period. In charity, personal exposure, fearlessness of danger or death, and sublime devotion to his work, he was surpassed by no one of his times. He said: "One miracle I would, if worthy, ask the Lord to grant me, and that is, that by his grace he would make me a good man."

The first positive accounts we have of the introduction of

the gospel into Norway is that it was carried thither by some seafaring youth. It is not unlikely, however, that the Norwegian pirates who organized and made expeditions along the western coast of Europe came in contact with Christianity, and that some of their prisoners were the means of preaching it afterwards in the country to which they were taken. Olaf the Thick, King of Norway, called St. Olaf, was the first to organize the Church on a permanent basis. This he achieved in 1019, but only after the most violent measures.

Norway

The gospel reached Iceland from Norway. During the tenth century Christianity was fully established in the island. The bishops were always elected by the people. There was no formal organization of a mission there, the first preachers being merely transient missionaries. Olaf Trygvesen established Christianity permanently in the country. This was secured at a public assembly of the people. They accepted the gospel, but reserved the right to worship their former national gods in private, if they wished. From Iceland Christianity extended to Greenland. A bishopric over the latter country was established shortly after the introduction of the gospel into Iceland. Even from these remote regions Rome was careful to gather gifts for her treasury. The Greenland Christians paid their tithes to Rome in walrus teeth.

Iceland and Greenland

Cyril and Methodius, two Greek monks, were the first to introduce the gospel among the Bulgarians. Cyril was a theologian and Methodius a painter, and the latter's pictures of the Day of Judgment had as much to do with the conversion of the country as the arguments of the former. These people had conquered the tribes along the Lower Danube, and had settled there, and also in Macedonia and Epirus. The Bulgarian prince Bogoris was besought by Greek, Roman, and Armenian missionaries to adopt each of those forms of Christianity. He looked towards the pope, Nicholas, for advice, and during this formative period of the Bulgarian Church its relations were with Rome.

Bulgarians

Moravia was, in the ninth century, a large and powerful kingdom. In 863 the king, Rostislav, requested the Greek emperor, Michael, to send him learned men, who should translate the Bible into the Slavonic tongue, and explain it to the people. Cyril and Methodius were accordingly

Moravia

sent. They composed a Slavonic alphabet, and translated the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, the Psalms, and other parts of the Bible. This procedure awakened the opposition of the German missionaries, who regarded it as a measure hostile to their own language and methods. For many years the Moravians suffered greatly. The archbishopric of Prague was established in 973. The misfortunes of the Moravians culminated when they were attacked and overrun by the Magyars. When peace came they were no more a nation, but a mere province of the kingdom of Bohemia.

Russia

The Russian princess Olga, in 955, went down to Constantinople, where she embraced Christianity. She endeavored to convert her son Swiatoslav to Christianity, but he was proof against all her importunities. Her grandson Vladimir, however, was more accessible to the truth. After a long period of reflection, and the sending-out of messengers into different lands to examine all the various faiths, he accepted Christianity, and caused churches to be organized, and the people to be instructed in the use of the Slavonic Scriptures and liturgy.

The Wends

The Wends lived between the Saale and the Oder, and were distinguished for their wildness and their fidelity to their idolatrous worship. They were divided into many tribes. The Emperor Otho I. conquered them, but they regained their independence in 983, and in 1047 Gottschalk united them into one kingdom. He strove to introduce Christianity among his people, but was assassinated, and the land reverted to idolatry. The restoration to Christianity was not finally effected until 1168, when the last Wendic idol was burned by Absalon, Bishop of Roeskilde, amidst the rejoicings of the people.

Poland

Poland received the gospel through Christian refugees from Moravia, when that kingdom was broken up. When in 966 Miecislaus, Duke of Poland, was married to a Bohemian princess, it was the signal for the formal adoption of Christianity in place of idolatry. Relations with the Roman Church were established. The rude peasantry, however, fondly cherished the memory of their pagan rites for a long time.

Hungary first became acquainted with Christianity through the instrumentality of certain of her princes while visiting

Constantinople. Many German slaves, who had been captured by the Hungarians in war, brought their religion with them, and contributed largely towards its establishment in their new country. Duke Geysa, who reigned from 972 to 997, was a mixed character, for he both sacrificed to the gods of his people and built churches for Christian worship. Under Stephen, his son, who reigned from 997 to 1038, Christianity became the religion of the country. Stephen was successful in developing, as well, the material interests of his country, and in bringing it into close relationship with Germany. He was a remarkable man. He travelled from one end of the country to the other, preaching, baptizing, building churches and monasteries, founding schools and organizing governments. He changed the constitution from a tribal union to a kingdom, and, largely through his own efforts, Christianized the whole country. He is rightly called St. Stephen of Hungary. He received the golden crown from the pope with the title of apostolic king. A remarkable evidence of the power of Western Christianity in Hungary is the fact that from the time of Stephen to the beginning of the present century Latin has been the official language of Church, court, school, and government. Strong measures were taken by the ruder Hungarians, after Stephen's death, to restore the old idolatry. But they were unsuccessful.

Hungary

The Finns were conquered by Eric the Saint, King of Sweden, in 1157. The forests were vast, and the population far away from the current of European life. Hence the attachment to the ancestral idolatry was intense. The ignorant peasantry were largely under the control of the magicians some time after Eric's labors to introduce Christianity. From Livonia and the German districts along the Baltic the Christians passed over into Finland, and labored assiduously for the conversion of the people. The Esthonians, a people along the Baltic, were forced to accept Christianity in 1211, through a powerful religious order, the Brethren of the Sword, whose aim was to see that the Northern idolaters should become Christians at all hazards—if not by peaceful measures, then by the sword.

The Finns

CHAPTER XIV

SCHISM BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST

[Authorities.—The story of the relations of the East and the West can be read to great advantage in the Histories of Schaff, Milman, and Gieseler.]

Early differences existed between the Church in the East and the West. They were due in part to political relations, and in part to antagonism of temperament. The removal of the Roman capital to Byzantium brought political considerations into predominance over religion, while in Rome the growth of episcopal power gained supreme ascendency. The Greek was speculative, fanciful, excitable, and wandered wildly into doctrinal paths. The Roman Christian was practical, steady, and conservative. He was slow to accept any novelty, but, having once admitted it, it was next to impossible to induce him to surrender it.

Early Differences

The doctrinal divergence between the East and the West was first perceptible in the variety of teaching on the divinity of the Holy Ghost. The Council of Constantinople decided, in 381, that the Holy Ghost is equal in essence with the Son, and that both are consubstantial with the Father. The Western teaching, guided chiefly through the clear and logical intellect of Augustine, held that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. In 589, the Toledo Council, in accordance with this view, added to the symbol of Constantinople the term *Filioque.*

Doctrinal Divergence

Roman primacy was also a ground of violent antagonism. The Bishop of Rome held that his decisions should apply to the entire Christian Church. The growth of the papal primacy was rapid, and subject to only temporary interruptions, and was therefore looked upon by the Eastern Church with grave suspicion. The Eastern Church held that the Patriarch of Constantinople was equal in rank to the Roman bishop. But this was not only not admitted in

Roman Primacy

Rome, but indignantly rejected. There was no dependence upon Roman approval of the decisions of Eastern councils and synods. What was regarded as orthodox on the Bosphorus might be promptly decided very heterodox on the bank of the Tiber. Here was a large field for bitter antagonism. The entire political and ecclesiastical life of the two regions grew more discordant with the years. Often the animosity was as intense between them as though neither East nor West professed the Christian religion.

Chasm widened by Ecclesiastical Laws and Usages

The ecclesiastical laws and usages were also calculated to widen the chasm. The Greek Church accepted eighty-five of the apostolic canons, while the Latin Church acknowledged but fifty. The controversy on images in the sacred buildings fluctuated with great violence and during a long period. The result was that the Greek Church rejected them, while the Roman endorsed them, and gave the type for the abuse throughout Western Christendom. The Latin Church declared against the marriage of the clergy, while the Greek Church permitted all its clergy, excepting bishops, to remain in the marriage relation, provided that at the time of their ordination they were already married. The eating of animals strangled, the use of the figure of a lamb to represent Christ, and fasting on Saturday were permitted by the Latin Church, but rejected by the Greek. The second Trullan Council, in 692, so sharply defined these differences that its action was a violent factor towards the great schism. Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, invited all the Eastern patriarchs to a council, which convened in 867. Here he formulated the points of difference between the Greek and Latin Christians, and gave a catalogue of the doctrinal and other alleged vagaries which the Western Christians had committed. The pope was even declared deposed, and the information extended to the Western Church.

The Schism

The complete schism took place in 1054. Constantine Monomachus, the Byzantine emperor, having in view a war, applied to the Roman pope for friendly support. This overture awakened the wrath of Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and of Leo of Achrida, Metropolitan of Bulgaria. They wrote a letter to the bishops of the Latin Church, charging it with grave doctrinal errors, and urging it to renounce them. This letter reached Pope Leo IX.

He was intensely excited, and bitter letters passed between Rome and Constantinople. The pope sent three delegates to the latter city. But only a fiercer animosity ensued. The closing signal of an open and final rupture was given by the issuing of a public excommunication of the patriarch by the legates, in the Church of St. Sophia, and their withdrawal to Rome.

Attempts at reunion were subsequently made. But the divergence increased with time. The doctrinal differences became more prominent, while the constant growth of the papal authority in the Latin Church made conciliation impossible. During the Crusades, which united all Christendom, strong attempts to restore the unity of the East and the West were made, but in the end proved fruitless. The Council of Lyons, in 1274, declared the reunion complete. The Eastern delegates accepted the Roman confession of faith, and acknowledged the primacy of the Roman pope, while the Roman delegates agreed that all the existing usages of the Eastern Church might in future be conceded to it, while the Nicene Creed, without addition or comment, might remain in permanent use. This pacification was brought about by the Eastern emperor, Michael Palæologus. But when he died, and another took his place, the old schism reappeared in full force. Efforts at restoration continued to be made until the middle of the fifteenth century. But when the Byzantine Empire went down, in 1453, all serious and general attempts ceased.

Attempts at Reunion

CHAPTER XV

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH

[Authorities.—See Hunt, The English Church in the Middle Ages (London, 1888), in Creighton's Epoch Series; C. Arthur Lane, Descriptive Lectures on English Church History (London, 1889); R. W. Dixon, History of the Church of England (London, 1878, seq.); A. H. Hore, Eighteen Centuries of the Church of England (Oxford, 1881). On Alfred see Pauli, King Alfred (London, 1853), and the article in the Encyclopædia Britannica. Freeman, in his Old English History (London, 1871), gives a sketch of this king.]

The conflict of tribes and races in Britain was violent during all the early Christian centuries. There was nothing in

the condition or pursuits of the people to give the least indication of the later controlling influence of the Anglo-Saxon race in modern civilization and the evangelization of the world. There was enough of booty in the land to attract warring tribes and freebooting sailors from the western part of the Continent. The native races in Britain were at war with each other. An invasion made the conflicts only more intense. Scandinavia and Germany furnished the chief assailing elements. Probably no place has ever been the scene of more bitter tribal warfare, or contained a greater number of tribes to the square mile, than the British Isles. The tendency was towards unity. Alfred succeeded in conquering the Danes, and driving them into the territory about the present London. Harold, the last Saxon king, was defeated at the battle of Hastings, 1066, by William, Duke of Normandy. This was the great historical event which first gave unity to the English people.

Independence of the British Church

There are no positive data as to the means by which Christianity was propagated throughout Britain. But the evidence is clear that it secured a strong footing in many parts of the country during the domination of the Romans. During the early centuries the relations between British Christianity and the churches of Gaul and Rome were very intimate. But the Saxons, in their great invasion, in 449, destroyed the Christian worship practised in the eastern parts of Britain. Christianity, therefore, was professed chiefly along the western coast. The relations between this limited type of Christianity and the Continental churches became sundered for a time. There was little communication between them. In the meantime, the British Church developed on an independent basis. Its Christianity was a continuation of the apostolic type, and exhibited but little harmony with that of Rome. In the year 596, the Church of Rome sent legates to Britain, to resume the old relations of daughter and mother. There was strong opposition on the part of Britain to accept any overtures.

Points of Difference

The divergence of the British Church from that of Rome consisted more in usages and details than in fundamental doctrines. The British clergy did not adopt the tonsure of their Roman brethren, but shaved the forepart of the head instead of the crown. The Church of Brit-

ain did not acknowledge the primacy of the Roman pope, or the confessional, or purgatory, or the Easter Cycle of nineteen years adopted by Dionysius Exiguus, or the sacramental character of marriage.

Whether the Briton or the Roman would conquer in matters ecclesiastical depended largely on the native princes.

Rome Victorious

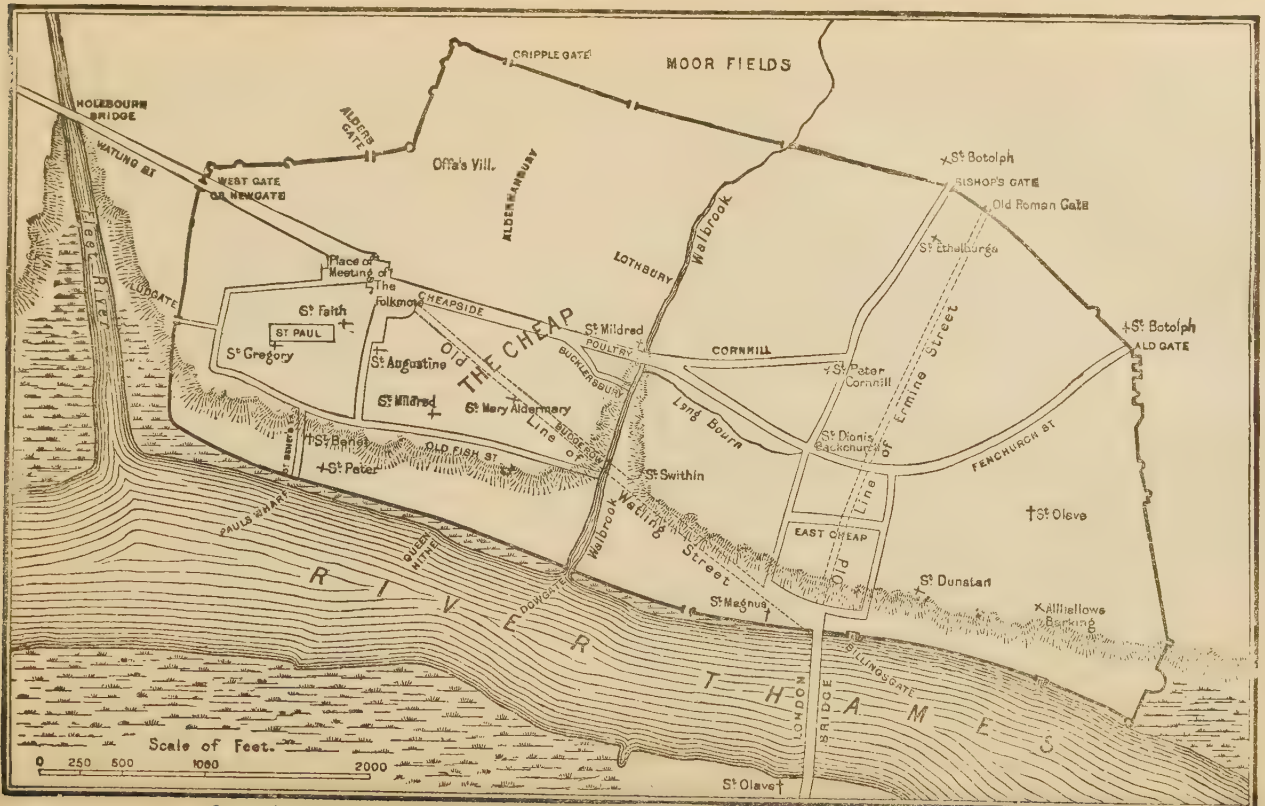
By the year 660 the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy was overspread by the Christian religion. This entire territory was intensely British in its profession. Kent alone was favorable to Rome. The kings of the whole country, with all their preference for a native Church, without any control from the Continent, were induced by Oswy, King of Northumbria, to accept the sympathy and protection of Rome. The diplomacy in behalf of Roman ascendency was managed with great shrewdness. Oswy called the Council of Whitby in 664. Both interests were represented by able advocates: Rome by the gifted Wilfrid, and Britain by Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne. The result, however, was easy to foresee. The king was intent on affiliation with Rome. The council decreed accordingly, and Oswy took care to see that the decrees were rigidly enforced. The union of the British kings under the Roman banner led Scotland and Ireland in the same direction. Scotland surrendered to Rome in 700, and Ireland in 704. The monks of Iona were the last to yield. They finally surrendered in 716, and thus passed away the last remnant of the early British National Church.

Alfred the Great was the most powerful agent for building up and extending Christianity during the early period of the British Church.

Alfred the Great

He was King of the West Saxons, and was born in 849. After his conquest of the Danes, he made it one of the conditions of their surrender to him that their chiefs should receive baptism. Fearless in battle, Alfred was not less wise in government. He reduced the Saxon laws to a code, encouraged commercial activity, and spared no pains to educate and elevate his people. He saw the necessity of spreading good books among his people, and composed several himself, for the special purpose of contributing what he could towards their intellectual development. He deplored the ignorance of his subjects, and declared that almost no one living north of the Thames could translate a Latin letter or comprehend the Church ritual. He

EARLY LONDON



fostered clerical education. He rebuilt the old monasteries, founded schools, gathered books from every possible quarter, and invited learned men from abroad to settle within his dominions, and aid in the educational and ecclesiastical development of his people. In the Christian works which proceeded from his own pen, less regard was paid to original thought than to the reproduction of Christian classics. The chief of these were the translations of Boethius's "Consolations of Philosophy" and of Gregory's "Pastoral Care." To the English of all later times, Alfred remains the ideal ruler—"the wisest, best, and greatest king that ever reigned in England."

CHAPTER XVI

ARNOLD OF BRESCIA

[Authorities.—Neander and Milman give excellent and appreciative estimates of the work of Arnold.]

A New Force

The long quarrel between Henry IV. and the papacy gave rise to a new force in Italy, which was now felt far and wide. The claims which the pope made to supreme authority awakened the alarm of certain serious minds, who saw here an element of great danger to the spiritual interests of all Christendom. In addition to this, a desire for local independence was awakened. A process of violent disintegration went on, especially in the Italian cities. The people arose against the high claims of an ecclesiastical rule, and cities vied with each other in an attempt to cut loose from these restraints. That the clergy should hold such power, not only in Rome, but throughout Italy, was considered a curse which must be done away with, and the sooner the better.

Arnold

It requires but little time for a great popular aspiration to find its incarnation. The strong desire of many thousands in Italy to reduce the prerogatives of the clergy and the papacy to the primitive status of voluntary poverty and purely spiritual life and government, found its representative in Arnold of Brescia, born about the end of the eleventh century. He had been taught in a good school. Though an

Italian, he had gone to Paris, and placed himself under the care of Abelard, whose spirit he had imbibed. He possessed rare gifts of eloquence and popular leadership. He returned to Italy, where he boldly proclaimed against the excesses of the priesthood, and, indirectly, against the bold claim of the pope to secular authority. He was guarded in his expressions concerning the papacy, and entered no theological protest; but against the universal life of the clergy he proclaimed inveterate hostility. He held that the priests should renounce all holding of property, and live on the free-will offerings of the people. His fearless method and defiant exposure of the prevailing vices of the time rallied to his standard a multitude of adherents. Among them were many cultivated people and nobles, who saw in him a safe and a pure leader. But when the awakening which he produced became alarming to the existing authorities, he was opposed by the pope, Innocent II., who banished him from Italy. He fled to France, and then to Switzerland, and in both countries continued to preach the need of a universal reform, and the return of the Church to its original simplicity.

Arnold had accomplished a great work in Rome. The popular sentiment was in his favor. The needful reform which he had preached gathered strength during his absence, and the people whom he had influenced now revolted against the pope. Arnold came back to Italy, went to Rome, and stood at their head. He was not only the spiritual leader of the city, but, in a certain sense, also the political head. In the Eternal City he was what Calvin was four centuries later in Geneva—the "administrator of civil and ecclesiastical affairs." Arnold's eloquence was overwhelming. The multitudes gathered about him with increasing enthusiasm. He "forgot his religious standpoint, and, inspired by the remembrance of the grandeur of old Rome, he became a political reformer. Rome should stand free, independent of the pope and emperor, ruled by no single man, but by the Senate and people." Then the old greatness would be restored. The citizens revolted against the rule of the pope, established a Senate, drove the pope out of Rome, passed laws requiring the pope to live on voluntary offerings and throw off his temporal authority, and invited the German emperor to come down to Italy and re-establish the old imperial rule on the banks of

Arnold's Return

the Tiber. Lucius II. led an army against the Romans, but was killed during the siege of the city by a paving-stone. Eugenius III., who succeeded him, fled to France, and placed himself under the guidance of Bernard of Clairvaux. Eugenius was brought back to Rome by Roger, King of the Normans. But he was helpless. Arnold was still supreme, and the Romans were devoted to him. A young Englishman, who commenced life as a beggar, turned his attention to the priesthood, advanced through all subordinate stages until he became Bishop of Albano, and, on the death of Eugenius III., succeeded to the papacy as Hadrian IV., 1154. He hit upon a novel method of opposing the revered Arnold. He prohibited all public worship in Rome. This one act produced a powerful impression, and the people could not say that it was not within his province and a purely ecclesiastical deed.

Martyrdom of Arnold

The pope was now in the ascendant. Arnold was compelled to flee from Rome a second time, and was afterwards seized by the Emperor of Germany, Frederic Barbarossa, who gave him up to his enemies in Rome. No mercy was now shown him. He was hanged in Rome, the scene of his greatest triumphs, in 1155. To give additional indignity to his memory, his body was afterwards burned, and his ashes cast into the Tiber. During all the latter part of Arnold's career, the most powerful enemy he had to contend with was Bernard of Clairvaux. The latter not only opposed his doctrines and the general drift of his teachings in political matters, but shaped the policy of the papacy. He was the real adviser of the popes who, one after another, had to contend with Arnold, and, because of his weight with the Catholic masses, probably did more than all of the popes to undermine the influence of Arnold.

Arnold's Influence

To study the career of Arnold, and its unhappy end, one would conclude that it was simply a revolutionary episode in the turbulent age in which he lived. But we must take a broader view. He greatly weakened the confidence of the people in the strength of the papacy. He proved that it was possible for one man, endowed with energy, to overthrow, for at least a time, the temporal sovereignty of the popes, introduce a new political life in Rome itself, and mass the people to support his views. His most bitter enemies could not find any flaw in his moral character.

His purity of life was in perfect harmony with the gospel which he preached. His personal worth, and the temporary changes which he wrought, were the great forces which continued to work long after his martyrdom. In every later effort for reform, and even in the Reformation in Germany and other countries, the name of Arnold of Brescia was a mighty factor in aiding towards the breaking of the old bonds. Even in these latest times it has its historical value, for in the struggle of the Protestantism of New Italy for mastery over the thought of the people, that name is a comfort to all who are endeavoring to bring in the new and better day, from the Alps down to Sicily.

CHAPTER XVII

THE WALDENSES AND THE ALBIGENSES

[AUTHORITIES.—See the interesting article, "Some Early Heretics," by Prof. Joseph Henry Allen, in *Modern Review*, Oct., 1881. Prof. James C. Moffat has a thorough and instructive treatment of the "Crusade against the Albigenses" in *Presbyterian Review*, Oct., 1886 (33 pp.). Prof. Emile Comba has recently given us the best and only reliable history of the Waldenses (translated by T. E. Comba, London, 1888). He gives up all attempt to trace their history to Apostolic times, and finds their origin in Peter Waldo.]

The Moral Reaction of the Laity

MORE than once in the history of the Church there has arisen from among the laity a bold and fearless reaction against the moral decline of the priesthood. The most notable illustration is to be found in the rise and growth of the Waldenses. They represented the protest of the private members against the prevailing corruptions in the Church. The Waldensians took their name from Peter Waldo, of Lyons, in France, who appeared as a bold and fearless preacher of reform in the second half of the twelfth century. He was a private citizen of large means, and with no relation to the clergy. He gave all his wealth to the poor, circulated religious books among the people in their own language, and exposed the vices of his time.

This strong protest from the laity soon awakened the hostility of Rome. Neither Waldo nor his followers had any

thought of seceding from the Church. Like the Pietists of Germany in the last century, they hoped to produce reform within the Church. But their efforts soon met with fierce opposition. The Archbishop of Lyons issued a decree against them. The pope, Alexander III., in 1179, treated them with the same bitter hostility, and five years afterwards they were formally excommunicated by Pope Lucius III. They grew rapidly in numbers, however, but were compelled to seek the mountain fastnesses of Piedmont, in Italy, where they found comparative security. They also established societies in Germany and in the mountain regions of France, but their existence out of Piedmont was always insecure. In some instances they existed as individual believers, but knew each other by secret signs, led a pure and devout life, and labored, by such methods as defied discovery, to produce a better life around them. They regarded ordination as unnecessary; preached against purgatory, the worship of saints, and priestly absolution; and held that the real Church of Christ embraced many more believers than the papal Church.

Waldenses

The Waldenses were reinforced by the Catharists, who had arisen about the beginning of the eleventh century, and had preached fearlessly against the corruptions of the times. They were a sect strongly tinged with Manicheism, and had little in common with the Waldenses except their opposition to the Church. Rome had employed vigorous measures against the Catharists, who had rapidly gained strength in France, Germany, and even in England. The first Catharist martyrdoms took place in Orleans, in 1022. When the Waldenses were gaining strength, notwithstanding the bitterness of Rome, the Catharists regarded their cause as identical with their own, and combined with them. The Waldenses were, at first, much less opposed than the Catharists had been, but in due time they stood alike, as injurious and threatening, in the eye of Rome. By and by a relentless warfare was declared against, not only these heretics, but all similar reformatory bodies. Raymond Roger, Viscount of Beziers and Albi, represented the cause of the reformers, who were grouped under the general term of Albigenses. Simon de Montfort, one of the pope's legates to carry on the crusade against the reformers, conquered them in battle, and was declared lord of the conquered territory.

Warfare on the Reformers

Foreign Sympathy

It is a beautiful illustration of the bond between Christians of all lands, that when these reformers were persecuted on the Continent their sufferings awakened a universal sympathy. In many of the nations of Europe there were pure people who were praying for a better life throughout the Christian world. They watched with fear and trembling the persecutions of the believers in France and Piedmont, and believed that, though conquered to-day, they would be victorious to-morrow. In England this sympathy was intense, and the parties to the persecution were made to feel it. Milton, at a later day, put into ringing and immortal verse the English protest against the crusade made upon the Waldenses, not only in the time of Waldo, but many times afterwards:

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd Saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old
When all our Fathers worship't Stocks and Stones.
Forget not: in thy book record their groanes
Who were thy sheep, and in their antient Fold
Slayn by the bloody Piedmontese that roll'd
Mother with Infant down the Rocks. Their moans
The Vales redoubl'd to the Hills, and they
To Heav'n. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple Tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred-fold, who having learnt thy way
Early may fly the Babylonian wo."

CHAPTER XVIII

THOMAS BECKET

[Authorities.—By reading Froude's Life and Times of Thomas Becket (London and N. Y., 1878), and Freeman's Reply to that work in Historical Essays (London, 1880), we shall be likely to come to a just view of this much-debated character. Rev. Samuel M. Jackson has an excellent article in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, and a candid short sketch can be found in the Encyclopædia Britannica. Dean Stanley's graphic picture in his Historical Memorials of Canterbury (6th ed., London, 1872) should also be read. A standard Life is that by Canon Roberston (London, 1859). The latest is by Robert Archer Thompson, Thomas Becket, Martyr and Patriot (London, 1889). A volume is devoted to Becket in the admirable and interesting series, English History by Contemporary Writers, St. Thomas of Canterbury, edited by W. H. Hutton (London, 1890).]

The English Church underwent important changes during the twelfth century. The central figure was Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England. During the reign of the more capable Norman kings who succeeded William the Conqueror, the English Church was under the full control of the throne. The popes had little to do except to watch and wait. When Stephen became king it was at once seen that he lacked the capacity to rule, and more especially to oppose the vigorous policy of such of the English clergy as wished to ally themselves with Rome as against the authority of the kings of England. There was a complete sundering of the relations of the clergy with the crown. The pope was claimed to be the ecclesiastical head of England. When Henry II. came to the throne he undertook to restore the old relation, and to break up the bondage to Rome. The Diet of Clarendon, which met in 1164, carried out his wishes. Its principal act was to order the election of bishops in the royal chapel, with the king's consent; in civil matters and in all disputes the clergy should be amenable to the king; no cause could be carried to a foreign jurisdiction for decision without the

Stephen and Henry II.

king's consent; the same condition was required when any clergymen left the kingdom; and no member of the royal council could be excommunicated. This was a direct thrust at the power of the papacy over England. The battle now began in great fierceness.

Thomas Becket was born in 1118. His education was purely secular, and he never became a theologian. His tastes were all in the line of military and diplomatic life. He became, however, Archdeacon of Canterbury and Provost of Beverly. The pope wanted Stephen's son, Eustace, to be Stephen's successor to the throne, and to Becket belongs the responsibility of preventing it. For this service Henry II. appointed him Chancellor of England in 1155. He was now Henry's most willing agent. He went on a foreign campaign, in the war of Toulouse, and led the English soldiers to success. He spared no foes. He went again to France to secure the marriage of Henry's son to the daughter of the King of France. He was the most intimate and trusted friend of the king, and there was no difficult or delicate service in which he was not called upon to take the lead. In 1162 he was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury, and was thus the ecclesiastical head of England.

Becket

We now find this man of the world in a new position. He had no more fitness for a religious office than the average soldier or diplomat. But he felt his new position, and immediately placed himself on the side of the pope, in his conflict with the king. He considered it his duty to be now a loyal churchman as before he had been a loyal chancellor. That Becket was entirely conscientious in this there can be no doubt. Henry could hardly believe his own eyes. Becket, from being the fastidious courtier, the luxurious diplomat, threw off all his old methods, and assumed the appearance of the saintly character. He was at once "transformed into the squalid penitent, who wore hair-cloth next his skin, fed on roots, drank nauseous water, and daily washed the feet of thirteen beggars." He surrendered to the king his office of chancellor, and placed himself at the head of the party of the pope. It was a duel of giants. Henry had, on his side, the Norman nobility and the decrees of the Diet of Clarendon. Becket had with him the Saxon masses and the agents of the pope. It was a grave question, long undecided, which should

win. Becket made due penitence for endorsing the decrees of Clarendon, and was granted pardon by the pope. A charge for an old offence was brought against Becket by the king, at a council in Northampton, to the effect that when Becket was chancellor he had appropriated to himself forty-four thousand marks. Becket replied that he was not going to answer to charges for offences while he was not consecrated to the service of the Church. He appealed to the pope for justice, and fled to France.

While in France, Becket's cause gained great strength. The pope aided him in every possible way, and he had many supporters at home. Henry consented to an interview with him, but failed to appear. The king had agreed that Becket should return to his see, and that he would pay all Becket's debts and the expenses of his journey. Becket returned to Canterbury, and met with a cordial reception. Henry was frightened. He exclaimed: "Of all the cowards who eat my bread, is there not one who will free me from this turbulent priest?" Henry's agents, four knights, went to Canterbury, and, finding Becket unwilling to compromise, slew him in the Canterbury Cathedral, in 1170.

Becket's Death

Reverence was paid the memory of Becket in a way new to England. The popular indignation amounted to a national uprising. Henry was regarded by the people as a murderer, though no proof has ever yet been produced which can convict him of intending that crime. His remark was made in great anger, and it is unfair to suppose that by getting rid of the priest his murder was meant, much less endorsed and directed. But the people are never logicians. They rush to conclusions; and so charged Henry with the crime. The king, to conciliate them, made a pilgrimage to Becket's grave, and did ample penance for real or imaginary hostility. Two years later Becket was canonized as St. Thomas of Canterbury. Henceforth his tomb in the cathedral became the most popular place of pilgrimage in the whole Christian world, Rome alone excepted. Miracles were claimed to be wrought at his grave. At one time, it is alleged that as many as a hundred thousand pilgrims worshipped at the tomb of St. Thomas. These pilgrimages were warmly encouraged by the court of Rome. They were regarded as helpful to the cause of papal supremacy in the British Isles, and plenary indulgence was granted every pilgrim to the shrine of the latest English saint.

CHAPTER XIX

THE MONASTIC ORDERS

[AUTHORITIES.—See those mentioned Chap. XXVII., Early Church; also Eales, Bernard of Clairvaux (London, 1890); Morrison, *ibid.* (London, 1884); Sir J. Stephen, St. Francis of Assisi, in Essays in Eccles. Biography (new ed., London, 1875); Drane, Hist. of St. Dominic, founder of the Friars Preachers (London, 1891). Froude has given a Short History of the Knights Templars (N. Y. 1886), and the best account of the Brothers of the Common Life, and of the monastic efforts which led up to them, is found in Ullmann (Edinb., 1855), book iii.]

Eastern Monasticism

EASTERN monasticism, which in the early period had flourished in all parts, especially along the valley of the Nile, declined as the mediæval period advanced. The monks had departed from their original pure and simple life, and had ceased to be examples for popular imitation. Eustathius of Thessalonica describes the monastic decline of the twelfth century in the Eastern Church as deplorable. He speaks of the monks as a hypocritical and ignorant class, no longer worthy of the confidence or support of the Church. The most celebrated of all the Eastern monasteries were those of Mt. Athos. They still exist, are held in high esteem, and are supposed to contain important literary treasures, still in manuscript, with which the Christian scholars of the West are as yet unacquainted.

Eccentric types of monasticism manifested themselves in the East in the twelfth century. Imitators of Simeon Stylites arose in large numbers. Many anchorites spent their lives in the tops of trees, or in caves. Numerous devices were resorted to, such as the wearing of an iron shirt, or other articles inflicting physical pain, in order to make the self-abnegation complete in the eye of God. Some of the monasteries were enlivened by theological discussions, though the general tendency was towards sloth and ignorance. In the cloisters

on Mt. Athos the disposition towards mysticism and quietism prevailed for some time. As the Byzantine Empire declined and the Roman Church gained strength, the Eastern monastic life lost its place in the general life of the Church.

Western monasticism developed with amazing rapidity. The Benedictines and Cluniacensians occupied a prominent place in the great body of the Latin Church. The wealthy and noble were attracted towards them. Not only were fabulous gifts made to them, but the nobility even left their estates, took on themselves the vows of poverty, and in all menial service placed themselves on a level with the monks. They became cooks, shepherds, carpenters — anything and everything which the monastic order required of its humblest members. Peter of Clugny, born 1092 or 1094, and Hildegard of Bingen, born 1104, were distinguished for monastic zeal. Bernard of Clairvaux, born 1091, was very successful in extending the work of the Benedictine order. He encouraged the reclaiming of waste lands and other works of material improvement. During the thirteenth century there were no less than thirteen hundred Benedictine abbeys, this large increase from very humble beginnings being due chiefly to the reformatory energy and pure example of Bernard himself.

Bernard

The mendicant orders were a reaction against the vast wealth which was poured into the abbeys of the Latin Church. The adoption of the monastic life by the nobility had, no doubt, its effect in introducing a new and more dangerous taste than had hitherto reigned in those simple abodes. The orders which now arose repudiated all wealth, and professed to live on alms alone. The Fratres Minores, or Franciscans, arose from Francis of Assisi, who was born in 1182. He was distinguished for his zeal and popular eloquence. He was a model of poverty. Without money, shoes, or staff, he went through the country, and preached the blessings of poverty to the multitudes. He applied to Pope Innocent III. for authority for a separate order, and gained the object of his desire. The early stages of his career were without decided result, disciples growing but slowly in number. But after a certain point his success suddenly broke upon him. By the year 1219 he had won five thousand men to his order, and by 1264 there were, throughout Europe, eight thousand Franciscan cloisters, which were occupied by two

Mendicant Orders

hundred thousand monks. The Dominicans were founded by Dominic, who was born in 1170. The order was approved by Pope Honorius III. The tastes of its members were scientific. They were fond of theological discussion. They carried on a bitter controversy with the Franciscans over the question of Mary's exemption from sin, the Dominicans holding to the negative. In the year 1230 they had a theological school in Paris, which became a great centre of sacred learning.

Besides these chief orders, there were others, which were obscure imitations. Among them were the Carmelites, the Augustine Hermits, and the Servites—*Servi beatae virginis Mariae* (servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary). The Beguins and Beghards were peculiar to the Netherlands. Lambert le Begue, of Louvain, is said to have founded the Beghard order about 1180. Both these orders drifted into theological vagaries, and were finally condemned and persecuted by the Roman Church. The Council of Lyons reduced the mendicant orders from twenty-three to four—Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustines.

Obscure Orders

The knightly orders were an outgrowth of two forces—the regular monastic life in the Church, and the physical needs called forth by the Crusades. The Knights Templars were founded by Hugo of Payens in 1119, and Godfrey of St. Omer. Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, opened a part of the sanctuary close to the temple for their occupation. They were greatly strengthened by the eloquence and influence of Bernard of Clairvaux, who, in 1128, gained an ecclesiastical confirmation of them by the Synod of Troyes. The Knights of St. John, though originally founded for purposes of benevolence, became also a famous military order. Schiller, in his "Knights of St. John," thus portrays their prowess in war and their sacrifice for the suffering:

Knightly Orders

"Oh, noble shone the fearful Cross upon your mail afar,
When Rhodes and Acre hailed your might, O lions of the war!
When leading many a pilgim horde through wastes of Syrian gloom,
Or standing with the cherub's sword before the Holy Tomb.
Yet on your forms the apron seemed a nobler armor far,
When by the sick man's bed ye stood, O lions of the war!
When ye, the high-born, bowed your pride to tend the lowly weakness,
The duty, though it brought no fame, fulfilled by Christian meekness—
Religion of the Cross, thou blend'st, as in a single flower,
The twofold branches of the palm—Humility and Power."

But from this high estate there was a sad decline. When the knights became strong, and were the objects of universal love and admiration, they began to depart from their original charity and poverty. They became wealthy and immoral, and finally lost the respect of the Church and the nations. After the Crusades they settled on the island of Cyprus. In the year 1309 they captured the island of Rhodes, and lived there as the armed defenders of the faith. They maintained their ground till 1523, when they were forced to surrender the island to the Turks, after one of the most stubbornly contested sieges in history. Down to modern times their valor against the Turks has been unsurpassed. In 1530 Charles V. ceded to them the island of Malta, which they held until 1798, when Napoleon Bonaparte took it. It is now a British possession.

The Brothers of the Common Life arose amid the distractions of the papal exile in France and the terrors of the Black Death. The order was the crystallization of a general desire in the Church for a new spiritual life. It was founded by Gerhard Groot (1340–84), and produced such pure members as Thomas à Kempis, of the monastery of Agnesburg, near Zwolle, in the Netherlands, and other men of a similar intensely spiritual life.

CHAPTER XX

MONASTERIES AS CENTRES OF INTELLECTUAL LIFE

European learning had a safe refuge during the Middle Ages in the monasteries of the Latin Church. Some of the orders paid special attention to one science, and others to another, while still others occupied their whole time in ascetic discipline and works of charity. The monks of Monte Cassino, in Southern Italy, were distinguished above all others in Europe for their scholarly taste. They possessed a very valuable library, and utilized it in the production of works which commanded the respect of learned circles throughout Europe. But the popes never looked upon the monks of Monte Cassino with favor. The great monastery

Monte Cassino

was a very hotbed of liberal thought. From that place proceeded many an appeal in favor of greater intelligence, less superstition, purer morals, and papal reform. The appeals were fortified with a powerful array of thorough scholarship. The reputation of this famous monastery for liberal ideas was never lost. The monks continued from generation to generation in the same path of independent thought. It is believed that their attitude, even in these later times, has contributed largely towards the growth of those aspirations which have resulted in the abolition of the temporal power of the pope and the unity of Italy, with Rome as the capital.

The most frequent employment of the monks was the copying of the patristic literature. This class of works was very large, and the monks were so skilled in the use of the pen that their achievements in this department are still a bibliographical wonder. They wrote on parchment, and were acquainted with all the arts necessary for permanent transcription. They knew how to make ink from vegetable materials, which remains firm to this day. They prepared the skins for writing, and knew all the details of enduring and artistic binding. They were capable of exquisite illuminating. In the production of doctrinal works they were at their best. Many of the illustrations, in purple, silver, and gold, are still masterpieces of delicacy and finish.

CHAPTER XXI

CHRISTIAN ART

[Authorities.—Besides the appropriate sections in the Church Histories, consult Lübke's Hist. of Art (N. Y., 1878) G. G. Scott, Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediæval Architecture (London, 1879); Norton, Church Building in the Middle Ages (N. Y., 1880); Didron, Hist. of Christian Art in the Middle Ages (London, 1851); Bennett, Christian Archæology (N. Y., 1888).]

Christian art in the mediæval Church was patronized in all the centres of thought. The monasteries were not wanting in even this larger field of intellectual development. St. Gall, in Switzerland, and Fulda, in Germany,

Art in Churches and Monasteries

excelled all places north of Italy. For some time the former stood at the head. Tutilo lived there. He was the Michael Angelo of his time, being architect, painter, poet, and sculptor. The furniture for the sacred buildings grew into more artistic shapes as the Middle Ages advanced. The brass candelabra were of rich details; the wooden stalls and seats for the clergy and the choir were richly carved in all possible devices; the pulpits grew to be a vast mass of exquisite stone or wooden sculpture; and the screen between the nave and high-altar was frequently a piece of metallic open-work, at once rich and beautiful. Each part of the sacred building was adorned with all the skill known to the art of the times.

The churches, during the early part of the Middle Ages, were modelled after the classic type. The basilica ruled throughout Christendom. But in time the pointed ceiling and arch came into use, and marked the final transition, north of the Alps, to the magnificent Gothic. The Goths, who ruled in Ravenna, employed the Byzantine style. These churches are still preserved, and, because of their rich and numerous mosaics, are the best sources for the study, from ecclesiastical structures, of the earliest Christian usages.

The tenth century was the darkest period, so far as art is concerned, in the Middle Ages. There was universal stagnation. There was a pause in the building of churches, and a disposition to depart from the Romanesque style, and to adopt the Gothic. In the eleventh century there were evidences of a reviving taste. But in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the revival was in full force, not only in architecture, but in all departments of art. There was a general casting-away of classic models, and the Gothic style became universal. The Christian mind seemed disposed to abandon all relationship with the Greek and Roman public buildings. The very reminders of them were avoided. The place where the Christian worshipped was, to the believer of the later mediæval period, a rich and living growth. There must be flowers and leaves and vines, in all the rich luxuriance of a German forest. The great window must not be of transparent glass, but colored with all the tints of the rainbow, so that the rays falling on the stone floor of the cathedral might suggest the falling of the light through the leaves and

Stagnation and Revival

branches of great trees upon the forest floor. Then the window itself must be a repetition of nature in her happiest mood. The Rose window became, in all Gothic architecture, the particular object in which the poetic fancy and artistic skill succeeded in the creation of one of the most beautiful objects ever used for the advancement of a sacred building. During this period the cathedrals of Cologne, Strasburg, Speyer, and other places were built. The Cologne cathedral was modelled after designs of Conrad of Hochstaden. It was begun in the thirteenth century and finished in part at the end of the fifteenth. It was not till this century that the completion of this wonderful structure was seen. It was dedicated October 15, 1880, in the presence of the Emperor William I. and his Protestant court, the Catholic archbishop of the city being in exile. Erwin of Steinbach was the architect of the Strasburg minster. It was begun in 1270, but Erwin died before the completion of his undertaking. His daughter Sabina took his place and carried on his work. The minster, however, was not finished until the fifteenth century.

Glass-painting, for the ornamentation of sacred edifices, came into use in the eleventh century, with the growing taste for Gothic architecture. It was first used in the monastery of Tegernsee, on a lake of that name in the Bavarian Highlands, and from that beginning it extended wherever the Gothic style was used in architecture.

Plastic Arts

The plastic arts revived simultaneously with the mediæval architecture. Nicolas of Pisa, who died in 1274, was the master in the ornamental uses of gold and copper. His genius made such rich and beautiful adaptations of these metals as to attract many into the same profession. Painting came into use, largely for the ornamentation of the interior of the sacred edifices. The Germans learned the art from the Italians, the latter having derived their models from Byzantium. But the Italians improved upon their Byzantine originals. These were stiff and formal. But in Italian hands they became soft and pleasing. Giunta of Pisa, Cimabue of Florence, and Guido of Sienna were the first Italians to take away the sharpness of the Byzantine style, and to clothe the images of Jesus and the Mother with that gentleness and attractiveness which culminated in the masterpieces of the school of Raphael.

CHAPTER XXII

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

[Authorities. — Mediæval preaching is treated with fine discrimination in Broadus, History of Preaching (N. Y., 1876), lect. iii., and most admirably in Prof. Hoppin's History of Preaching, in his Homiletics (N. Y., rev. ed., 1883), pp. 114–140. See also Neale, Mediæval Preachers and Preaching (London, 1856). For the Hymnology (besides Duffield), see Trench, Latin Hymns (3d ed., London, 1874), and the magnificent article "Hymns," by Lord Selborne, in the Encyclopædia Britannica.]

The pilgrimages to the Holy Land and the progress of the Crusades increased the importance of church building. The relics brought back to every part of Christendom awakened a desire to construct beautiful chapels, and even great cathedrals, as fit depositories for such priceless memorials of early Christian life; and when these places were erected, the images were adorned with such stores of gold, silver, and precious stones as to bewilder the worshipper.

The prevalence of monasticism added largely to the importance of this part of public worship. To establish a new order, or to found a new crusade, there must be a vigorous appeal to the people. The monks were close students of human nature, and were acquainted with all the mysteries of popular oratory. Many of them could sway an audience in the edge of a great forest, on the shore of a lake, or in a market-place, with infinite ease. The religious fervor added vastly to the rhetorical effect. Peter the Hermit, when preaching his crusade, placed religious motives in the foreground. His audiences consisted of many thousands. He would preach until so wearied that he was compelled to lie upon the ground. He would then gasp his words, and these inaudible speeches were even more powerful in awakening sympathy for his cause than his loudest utterances. He was venerated as a saint while yet alive. His very hairs were preserved by the pious, and regarded with

The Sermon

peculiar sanctity. Bernhard, also, was a celebrated preacher, and the people never tired of listening to his magnetic appeals. Berthold of Ratisbon (died 1272), however, was the greatest of all the mediæval preachers. His audience sometimes amounted to one hundred thousand people. He was a voice crying in the wilderness. Like Tauler, of a later period, he declared in favor of a revival of spiritual life. He denounced indulgences, and many Romish errors, with all the fire and indignation of Luther. The general preaching in the sacred buildings was in the Latin tongue. But the Crusades, and the advocacy of the orders, and all the preaching to the great out-door audiences, were in the vernacular.

Sacred Music

As in art, so in sacred music, there was the same disposition in the Latin Church to depart from Eastern models. The Gregorian chants, so long in use, grew into neglect in the West. The music became more varied and involved. The Ambrosian melodies took the place of the older models. Duets became common. Constant improvements were going on, and the choral service in the cathedrals was cultivated to such an extent that it eclipsed all other parts of the devotional exercises. Hucbald, who lived about 900, Reginus (920), Odo, Abbot of Clugny, and Guido of Arezzo (1000–1050), stood in the front rank as leaders in the development of sacred music in Western Christendom.

Hymnology

Hymnology increased in importance commensurately with the melody. There was not only a copious recasting of the earlier Greek hymns into the Latin, but also into the popular languages. There was, besides, a disposition towards original composition. The tendency towards sacred hymns was promoted by the Minnesingers, many of whose popular rhymes were interwoven with religious threads. Among the best Christian poets of the mediæval period we may mention Robert, King of France, Abelard, St. Bernard, Adam of St. Victor, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Thomas of Celano, and Jacoponus. Thomas of Celano wrote the celebrated "Dies Iræ :"

> "Dies irae, dies illa,
> Solvet saeclum in favilla,
> Teste David cum Sibylla."

Jacoponus wrote the "Stabat Mater :"

"Stabat mater dolorosa
Juxta crucem lacrymosa,
Dum pendebat Filius:
Cujus animam gementem,
Contristatam ac dolentem,
Pertransivit gladius."

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CRUSADES: A.D. 1096–1270

[AUTHORITIES.—The old work of Michaud has never been superseded: History of the Crusades (new ed., N. Y., 1880); it is both graphic and faithful. Sir G. W. Cox has a well-written short history in Morris's Epoch Series (London and N. Y., 1874). Later still is W. E. Dutton's History (London, 1877). George Zabriskie Gray has told the story of The Children's Crusade (4th ed., 1873, Boston) from the original sources and the best modern authorities, and in a very entertaining way]

THE origin of the Crusades is to be found in the occupation of Palestine by the Mohammedan conquerors. The pilgrims from Europe cherished the warmest attachment to the sacred places. The Mohammedans not only now occupied them, but persecuted the pilgrims. The sanctuaries were profaned, and the venerated patriarchs thrown into prison. Christian merchants from Pisa, Amalfi, Genoa, and other rich Italian ports were fortunate if they escaped with their lives. The evil reports came back to Europe, and took practical form in military expeditions against the Mohammedans. These were called *Crusades* because of the cross (*crux*) worn by the warriors.

Peter the Hermit

Peter the Hermit was the apostle of the first Crusade. Pope Gregory VII. was the first, it is believed, who conceived the idea of sending from Europe an armed expedition, not only to punish the Mohammedan rulers, but to occupy the country, and rule it as a Christian nation. His successors, Victor III. and Urban II., indulged the same strong hope. All that was wanting was a popular leader—some one to fire the heart of Christian Europe. This man was Peter the Hermit. He had been a soldier under the counts of Boulogne, but forsook his military career, made a journey to Palestine, and saw the indignities suffered by the pilgrims.

Here he was aroused to great enthusiasm in favor of the conquest of the country by Christians from Europe. To Simeon, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was comparatively helpless, the Eastern emperor not being able to do anything for the Christians, Peter said: "The nations of the West shall take up arms in your cause." Peter was true to his pledge. He returned to Europe, travelled through the German countries, and aroused the people to a frenzy of indignation against the Moslem faith. He presented a singular spectacle. He was a dwarf, wore neither shoes nor hat, and rode through Central Europe on an ass. His appeals were irresistible. The multitudes regarded him as the representative of a holy cause, and through him organized the first Crusade.

Varying Fortunes of Crusades

The varied fortunes of the Crusades furnish a striking historical picture. We find a rich combination of light and shade. Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless were the humble organizers of the great movement. Some military leaders rallied to their standard. The best blood of Europe was burning with sympathy with Christians in their aspirations to kneel beside the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and rule over the land in which Jesus had lived. Six different armies constituted the first Crusade. They numbered six hundred thousand people, who were led by Godfrey, Hugh the Great, Tancred, Raymond of Toulouse, and Robert of Normandy. This Crusade, begun in 1096, resulted in the capture of Jerusalem within two years, with Godfrey of Bouillon as king of the sacred city.

The next Crusade was on a still more magnificent scale. The kingdom of Jerusalem was threatened. St. Bernard was the apostle. The kings became leaders. Louis VII. of France and Conrad III. of Germany led one million two hundred thousand men against the Saracens. The great object was to reduce Damascus, as a support to the kingdom of Jerusalem. It was a failure, and only the mere fragments of the armies reached Europe again. Saladin, the great Mohammedan chief, conquered Jerusalem in 1187, and this was the signal for a new attempt to rescue the Holy City and the entire country. Germany under Frederic Barbarossa, France under Philip Augustus, and England under Richard Cœur de Lion, united in a great Crusade. This was a failure, because of division among the leaders. But they succeeded in gaining from Sala-

din one concession—namely, the freedom of Christians from taxes and from molestation in visiting the sacred city. A fourth Crusade, begun by the Knights of St. John, proved a failure. The Children's Crusade, organized in 1212, shows the extent to which the wild fanaticism of the times could go. Thirty thousand boys, united under the leadership of a shepherd boy, Stephen of Vendôme, set sail from Marseilles for Palestine. Some of the vessels were wrecked, while the rest were driven ashore on the Egyptian coast, where the deluded boys were sold as slaves. The sixth Crusade, under the direction of Frederic II. of Germany, proved a success. Palestine was ceded to the emperor and became a Christian land. The seventh Crusade lost all that the preceding had won. The Mohammedans recaptured the country. The last Crusade was under the guidance of Louis IX. of France, commonly called St. Louis, because of his deep piety and high moral principle. Keble, in his "Christian Year," thus describes him:

> "Where shall the holy Cross find rest?
> On a crown'd monarch's mailed breast:
> Like some bright angel o'er the darkling scene,
> Through court and camp he holds his heavenward course serene."

After his death Edward I. of England took the leadership. But this Crusade also was a hopeless failure. The land was in undisputed possession of the Mohammedans. Europe was exhausted. The cause was lost.

While the direct object of the Crusades was not gained, there were important indirect results. First of all, it is likely that but for this important diversion to the Moslem conquerors, they would have invaded Europe in such vast masses as to gain a permanent foothold. The bravery of the Christians, their ungovernable enthusiasm, and their self-denial, as shown in the Crusades, proved to the Mohammedans the character of the foe with whom they had to deal. They found that the Western and Northern Christians were far different from those populations of the Eastern Empire which they had easily conquered. The Crusades, with all their waste of men and treasure, seem to have saved France and Central Germany and Scandinavia, and even Britain, from the hand of the Saracen. They arrested him, held him at bay, and inspired in him a

Arrest of Mohammedanism

healthy terror of the Christian soldier from which he has never been relieved.

The positive benefits of the Crusades towards the development of the people are numerous. The old feudal system of private warfare had long been a curse to the empire. The knight, with his retainers, could make war on his brother knight. All of Central and Western Europe was torn up by this feudal and predatory system. The Crusades broke it up, and bound the people together by a common law. When the last Crusader came home from Palestine he found himself the member of a broad commonwealth, and not the head of a clan. The cruelty of rulers was arrested. The voice of the people was heard for the first time, and kings learned that there was a limit to their authority. Commerce took larger and freer shape. The far Eastern countries were brought into close relationship with the Western. Some new sciences, such as medicine and astronomy, were introduced into Europe. As a field for literature, the Crusades have inspired many writers in all subsequent times. As an aid for comprehending their spirit and the age in which they were organized, we may reckon Sir Walter Scott's novels "The Talisman," "The Betrothed," and "Count Robert of Paris," the scenes of which are laid in those heated times.

Benefits

CHAPTER XXIV

ARABIC PHILOSOPHY

[Authorities.—See Fisher, Universal History, pp. 231–232; Freeman, History and Conquests of the Saracens (London, 1870); Draper, Intellectual Development of Europe (N. Y., rev. ed., 1876); Milman, History of Latin Christianity, book xiv., ch. iii.]

The literature of the Arabs developed in an extraordinary manner during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. With the thirteenth century it went into decline. There was a strong bond of unity between the Jew and the Arab. They were both alike hostile to Christianity, and the monotheism of the Jewish system was a fundamental

Literature of the Arabs

factor in the Mohammedan creed. When the Arabs conquered Spain they gave prompt attention to education. The universities of Cordova, Seville, Toledo, and Salamanca became, through them, centres of thought, which affected not only the whole Iberian peninsula, but extended to the remotest learned circles of Europe. The Aristotelian philosophy was peculiarly attractive to them. The Arab scholars caught up its threads, interwove them with their own Oriental speculations, and produced a system of dialectics which Christian scholars were not slow to utilize. The Platonic system, with its warmth, had also its charm, and was interpreted with great vigor and skill.

Algazel, who died in 1127, in Bagdad, was a learned Arab, who gave proof of the speculative power of the Arab mind even without the quickening influence of contact with European thought. In his "Destruction of the Philosophers" he showed the glaring inconsistencies of philosophical systems, vindicated supernaturalism, and defended the inspiration of the Koran. His work was a skilful putting of the Mohammedan case, perhaps as plausible a plea for it as has ever been made.

The Spanish transplantation of Arab speculation is to be found in the work of Tophail, who died in Seville in 1190. In his "Life of a Young Yokdan" he undertakes to show that true philosophy is not the product of education, or of any force from the external world, but of an effort of the mind from its own resources.

Averrhoes

Averrhoes, who died in 1198 (by some, in 1206), was the most gifted of all the Arab thinkers resident in Spain. He wrote against Algazel's work, calling his own book the "Destruction of the Destruction of the Philosophers." He brought the Arab speculation out of the narrow affiliations with the Mohammedan system, and gave it a universal application. He held that true religion and a thoroughly logical speculation belong together, for the reason that the divine and human reason are naturally united. At the same time, he held that an affirmative might be theologically true and philosophically false, and *vice versa*. He was strongly opposed by Aquinas, and he was generally regarded with suspicion. His theories were provocative of scepticism. He expounded the philosophy of Aristotle, and gave it a Neo-Platonic

coloring. His system was a grouping of the better elements in both Plato and Aristotle. The systems of Christian scholasticism were based largely on his speculations.

CHAPTER XXV

THE HOHENSTAUFENS IN ITALY

[Authorities.—We have an excellent monograph by Hugo Balzani, The Popes and the Hohenstaufen (London and N. Y., 1889). Archbishop Trench has an illuminating lecture (xii.) on the same subject in his Mediæval Church History (N. Y., 1878).]

Hohenstaufens

The Italian rule of the Hohenstaufens is one of the most romantic episodes in European history. Frederic I., otherwise called Frederic Barbarossa, or the Red Beard, was a man of remarkable genius. Since the time of Charlemagne he was the most gifted occupant of the German imperial throne. He sought, at the expenditure of much blood and treasure, to restore the imperial power over the Lombard cities. His whole aim was to crush out the uprisings of Italian freedom. He had fierce conflicts with the popes over his rights in Italy. He was a man of earnest piety, and he finally became a martyr to the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. He was drowned in the Calycadnus, in Cilicia, 1190, while leading one of the armies of the third Crusade. His son Henry married Constance, heiress of the Norman kingdom of Lower Italy and Sicily, often called the Two Sicilies. Thus the Hohenstaufen sceptre shadowed the whole of Italy. Twice this Henry (VI., 1190–97) tried to conquer this inheritance for himself. After several vicissitudes, his son, Frederic II., was crowned emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1215. On account of his extraordinary attainments and fine natural gifts, he was called the "Wonder of the World." He was far ahead of his time in the liberality of his sentiments. He gave profound attention to his dominions in Sicily. He had advised the settlement there of a colony of Saracens. The little affair was an outgrowth of the Crusades. Here he had a small army which stood ready to defend his cause. When he was crowned at

Aix-la-Chapelle he took upon himself the vow of the Crusader. His wife, Iolante, was heiress of the crown of Jerusalem, and in 1228 he set sail for Palestine. Here he was crowned King of Jerusalem. His possessions in Italy were, meanwhile, in danger of being blotted out, through the vigorous management of Pope Gregory IX. Gregory had excommunicated him, ostensibly for delaying his departure for Palestine, but really, as we believe, to make him so unpopular with his people in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies that his rule could be terminated. But here Gregory failed. He was compelled to acknowledge Frederic as rightful ruler over the Two Sicilies. However, the struggles between Frederic and the popes continued from year to year. The popes used their utmost influence to weaken the force of the emperor, not only among his Sicilian subjects, but in Germany as well.

Fall of the Hohenstaufens in Sicily

The fall of the Hohenstaufens in Sicily was only a question of time. When Frederic died, the case was hopeless. Pope Innocent IV. declared that Sicily was really a part of the States of the Church, and so took possession of it. Conrad IV. left Germany to take care of itself, and undertook to regain the hold on Sicily. Conrad died before the struggle was over, and his son Conradin found not only a slender hold on Sicily, but simply a mere tithe of the ancestral possessions in Germany as his inheritance. At first, Manfred, a natural son of Frederic, took possession of the Two Sicilies, and held them against the forces and manipulation of the Roman pope. What should the popes now do? They followed one another in rapid succession, but each one kept a careful eye on Sicily. They gave up the struggle at last, because of the fidelity of the Sicilies to the Hohenstaufens, and sold their alleged right to the Sicilies first to England and then to France. Pope Clement IV. aided Charles of Anjou to take possession of the Sicilian kingdom. Charles was crowned king, after the battle of Benevento, in 1266, when Manfred was slain. Conradin now came down from Suabia, and appeared upon the scene. He was defeated in the battle of Tagliacozzo, and taken prisoner and put to death in 1268.

This put an end to the German rule south of the Alps. The popes were once more at ease, so far as Italy was concerned. It had been a bitter struggle. Though their rule was restored, the intense hostility which it had engendered on the part of

Germany did not die out. The German rulers never forgot the affair, and, in the later centuries, lost no opportunity to put their bitter memories into practical form against the papacy. It was well, however, for the future unification of Italy that the progress towards nationality was not complicated by the presence of Germany on her soil. In their opposition to the Hohenstaufens the popes were working for a higher end than they had in mind.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY

[AUTHORITIES.—Besides the Histories of Philosophy, see Milman, Hist. of Jews (rev. ed., 1863), vol. iii., book xxx.; Graetz, Hist. of Jews (London, 1891); Prof. H. P. Smith, "Mediæval Jewish Theology," in *Presbyterian Review*, vol. ii. (1881), pp. 720–737, in which are given the conclusions of David Kaufmann's Geschichte der Attributenlehre in der Jüdischen Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters von Saadja bis Maimûni (Gotha, 1877).]

THE development of Jewish speculation was contemporaneous with the Arabic, being confined to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was the old neo-Platonism of Alexandria coming to life again, and reappearing with intense vigor in Spain. There was no special attachment to the Old Testament, but a gathering into one of the various threads of Plato and other Greek thinkers, and their interweaving with Jewish theology. The result was a heterogeneous theology made up of the Old-Testament Scriptures and the philosophical systems, but with a warm sympathy with Mohammedanism. It was of so complex a nature that neither Moses, Plato, nor Mohammed would have recognized himself in any one of its fundamental principles.

Grammatical exegesis was one of the main departments of Jewish philosophy. The leading representatives were Solomon Isaaki, of Troyes; Aben Ezra, of Toledo; and the three Kimchi, of Narbonne. These men flourished between A.D. 1075 and 1232. There was nothing brilliant in the achievements of any of them, or of those who imitated them. But their critical tastes and the application

Jewish Exegetes

of exact methods to the expounding of the Scriptures were of great influence upon Christian scholars. There is reason to suppose that this school of Jewish thinkers, though far removed from the great centres of Christian learning, were influential on the later rise of Humanism and the general awakening of a taste for the philological examination of the scriptural languages.

Philosophical speculation was the other wing of the Jewish eagle in the mediæval period. Here the Jewish thinker dwelt with greatest pleasure. His field was broad. All systems and lands were combined. Christianity, Greek philosophy, and Mohammedanism were a confused molten mass. These elements produced the later cabalism.

Jehuda Levi, of Andalusia (died 1153), had less sympathy with other systems than with the Jewish. His "Book of Cosri" was a romance. It represents a king of the Cosaræans and a rabbi, Isaac Sangar, who conduct a dialogue. The outcome is a vindication of the Jewish religion. Is is one of the ablest defences of Judaism ever written. It has been translated into several languages, and has been circulated in modern times. Its author was the greatest Jewish poet of the Middle Ages, and father-in-law of the greatest grammarian, Aben Ezra. Jehuda Levi was at once a poet, philosopher, and scholar.

Maimonides

Maimonides was the most gifted Jew of the whole mediæval period. He stands related to Jewish speculation as Averrhoes does to Arabic—each supreme in his own field. There was a close bond of sympathy between them. The Jew was the disciple of the Arab. Maimonides was born in 1135, in Cordova. He mastered the Greek and Arabic systems of philosophy, and became an industrious author and profound thinker in many fields. Besides his devotion to philosophy, he was skilled in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and Talmudic lore. He was an earnest and serious moral and religious character. His works were very numerous, in both Arabic and Hebrew. But his most influential book was of popular character—"The Guide to the Perplexed." It was a well-planned attempt to reconcile Jewish theology and heathen philosophy. It has exercised a powerful influence on that liberal development of Judaism which has had such scope in modern times.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY

[Authorities.—We are indebted to Prof. A. Seth, of Edinburgh, for an admirable résumé of this intricate and interesting subject: article, "Scholasticism," in the Encyclopædia Britannica (9th ed.); see also Landerer in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia; C. J. Stillé, Studies in Mediæval History (Phila., 1882), chapter on Scholasticism; and Harper, Metaphysics of the School (London and N. Y., 1881). The best single work on Aquinas is Archbishop Vaughan's Life and Labors of, abridged and edited by Jer. Vaughan (2d ed., London, 1890). The author's unabridged work was published in two volumes in 1872. Neander, in his Memorials of Christian Life in the Middle Ages (London, 1852), gives an eloquent and sympathetic sketch of the noble life of Lully.]

Scholasticism derived its name from the monastic and catholic schools — *scholae*. It was a system of philosophy which emanated from those schools, and gave color to the thought of Europe from the tenth century down to the sixteenth. It was based on the dialectics of Aristotle, and aimed to prove the truth of Christianity by the process of logic. Its history was varied. At one time scholasticism was sceptical, refusing to admit as truth what could not be proven by dialectics. Again, it became orthodox, and was a stout defender of the supernatural element. In the thirteenth century it reached its highest stage.

Mysticism

Mysticism appeared in the twelfth century as the competitor of scholasticism for the attention and endorsement of Christian thinkers. The two represented opposite tendencies. Scholasticism declared that the intellect must be the umpire of truth, while mysticism held that the feelings are our highest judge of the truth. Scholasticism was to the Middle Ages what rationalism is to the modern period—what cannot be proved must not be believed. Mysticism bore to the same period the relation which Schleiermacher's philosophy of religion does to the German theology of the present century—the heart is the seat of all true theology.

Scholasticism had but slight bearing on the great spiritual movement which culminated in the Reformation, while the Mystics were among the most powerful agents in preparing the way for Luther.

Nominalists and Realists

The Nominalists held that general conceptions, such as man, horse, and the like, are abstractions of the intellect, derived from the properties of the intellect, and possessing no existence beyond the intellect; that they are logical conveniences of expression—*nomina mera*, *voces nudae*, *flatus vocis* (mere names, simple sounds, the breath of the voice). The system has its modern supporters in Hobbes, Berkeley, Hume, Adam Smith, Stewart, and Hamilton. The Realists held that general conceptions have an existence beyond the mere intellect of man; that such general terms as man, horse, and the like have a real existence apart from the manifestations to our senses. The Nominalist believed, for example, that, taking man as a general conception, "humanity existed only in Socrates, Plato, Phædo, and other individuals; that the term was only an intellectual device for indicating the common properties characteristic of Socrates, Plato, and Phædo, by giving them the general name Man, and thus embracing them in one class." The Realist, on the other hand, believed that, "before Socrates, Plato, and Phædo, or any other individual men existed, *Man*, as an abstract idea, had an essential and immutable reality, and that Socrates, Plato, and Phædo were men solely in consequence of possessing this ideal manhood." Between these two classes, the Nominalists and the Realists, the whole scholastic system was divided.

Fulbert and other Schoolmen

Fulbert, who was Bishop of Chartres after 1007, was the first notable Schoolman. His disciple, Berengar of Tours, started a controversy on the Lord's Supper. He held that the elements were changed, that Christ's body is present, but only in the form of bread and wine, and not in substance. The participant must have faith, for by this alone can the elements become effective. Berengar was opposed by Lanfranc, whose views were condemned by the Church at the Synod of Rome, 1050. Anselm, in his "Why the God-Man?" held that Christ made an active vicarious sacrifice for the sins of the world. But Anselm does not declare that Christ endured the actual punishment for men's

sins. Abelard represented the critical and sceptical element in scholasticism. As to the schools, he was a Nominalist, rather than a Realist. Bernard arrayed himself against Abelard, and triumphed. A moderate compromise was effected between mysticism and scholasticism by Peter Lombard. But the elements were too antagonistic to be of large or permanent influence.

The Thomists and Scotists were two culminating schools within the broad domain of scholasticism. Thomas Aquinas, the "Doctor Angelicus" of his age, taught in the University of Paris, and died in the Cistercian Convent of Fosca Nuova, near Terracina, in 1274. His "Summary of Theology" was an attempt to represent theology as a complete science. He held that revelation is necessary; that the knowledge of God is, in a measure, intuitive in man; that redemption is relatively, not absolutely, necessary; and that baptism has regenerative power. He claimed that true theology is derived from the union of religion and philosophy. His system represented the orthodox element of the scholastic philosophy.

Thomists and Scotists

The Scotists derived their name from the founder, John Duns Scotus, the "Doctor Subtilis" of his time. He died 1308. While Aquinas represented the Augustinian Theology, and was a defender of the established doctrines of the Church, Duns Scotus followed in the footsteps of Pelagius, and represented the free-thinking wing of scholasticism. He held that by our natural powers we can know the Trinity; that it was God's own good pleasure that there should be a redemption through Christ; but that God does not command good and forbid evil because they are good and evil; they are good and evil because he has commanded and forbidden. Nothing is sinful or righteous in itself. Duns Scotus gives large place to human merit, after the semi-Pelagian example. Johnson, in his English Dictionary, suggests that our word *dunce* is derived from Duns—an achievement of his opponents, the Thomists.

Raymond Lully (died 1315) was called by his contemporaries the "Doctor Illuminatus." He saw in the course of scholasticism only injury to the general cause of truth, and aimed at a thorough reform. He devised a plan for teaching the truths of the gospel, and called his method the

Lully

ars magna, or great art. He used certain letters to represent certain ideas. His plan was a mechanical one, and was designed not only to retain knowledge, but to prove the truths of Christianity. He endeavored to construct a universal science which would prove an irresistible argument for Christianity to heathen minds. But he misconceived the emptiness of scholasticism, and he could never get the Church to carry out his projects. He was of devout spirit and led a pure life. Neander says of him, that he possessed "the enthusiasm of a most fervent love to God, a zeal equally intense for the cause of faith and the interests of reason and science." Lully had a consuming ambition for the conversion of the Mohammedans and heathen, and it was while preaching against Islam in Bugia, a town in Algiers, that he was stoned out of the city by the Arabs, and left dying on the sea-shore. He was picked up by a pious sea-captain, but on a June day, 1315, he "sealed with his death the great idea of his life—to conquer Islam, not by the sword, but by preaching."

Some clear thinkers, seeing no prospect of advantage to the Church from the Scholastics, declared for the teaching of religion by the Scriptures, and not by pagan dialectics. Roger Bacon, of Oxford (died 1294), held that the only relief from the wretched quibbles of the speculations of the times lay in a thorough study of the word of God. Robert, founder of the Sorbonne, in Paris, wrote in defence of the same necessity for a close study of the written word. Hugo à Santo Caro (died 1263) likewise insisted on the study of the Bible as the only solution for the evils of the times. He wrote a Postilla or Commentary, and "Concordance" of the Biblical books. To him we owe the present division into chapters and verses.

The philosophic strife of the times had long been bitter, and productive of little good. Both the Nominalist and the Realist had sought to find in the ancient philosophy some support, but had leaned on a broken reed. The air was filled with war-cries. The universities fought each other with a spirit not less hostile than that of the Crusader when he marched to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. Heated authors hurled books and pamphlets at each other with relentless fury. Towns and villages, circles of the learned and the ignorant, and court and camp, were divided

Decline of Scholasticism

by bitter quarrels on the force of logical definitions. Not since the theological controversies of the fourth century had Europe seen such a picture of the warfare of syllables. The only relief to the waste of words lay in the fact that it gave proof of the awakening of the European mind. Even scholasticism was better than inertia. In time it had done its work. Luther, with his strong besom, swept away the thick mass of Aristotelian dialectics, and sowed, instead, the seeds of Christian doctrine.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ABELARD AND HIS FORTUNES

[Authorities.—We have in English no good work on the life and teaching of Abelard such as the French have in De Rémusat and Bonnier, and the Germans in Deutsch. O. W. Wight's Abelard and Héloïse (N. Y., 1853) is now out of print. Abelard's relations to the universities is the subject of a chapter by Newman (Hist. Sketches, iii., 192 sq.). His philosophy is treated by Ueberweg, History of Philosophy (London and N. Y., 1872), vol. i., pp. 386–397. The Church Histories should be consulted, and Prof. G. Croom Robertson's article in the Encyclopædia Britannica.]

Abelard

Of all the leaders in the great scholastic movement there is no one to whom so great a personal interest attaches as to Abelard (1079–1142). He gave promise at an early age of the remarkable abilities which distinguished his entire career, and attracted the profound attention of all Europe. His first plan for life seems to have been the career of a soldier, but he soon devoted himself to theological studies, and here achieved such success as to astound alike his preceptors and companions. He left his home, where he had enjoyed the teaching of the famous Roscelin of Compiegne, and repaired to Paris.

William of Champeaux

William of Champeaux was at this time at the head of the Abbey of St. Victor, which he himself had founded, and stood in the front of the theological and philosophical movement which had concentrated in that city. He was the first to give to the schools of Paris a university character, and to admit the laity as well as the clergy, and

foreigners as well as natives, to the privileges of the highest education within the walls of a school of the Church. His liberal movement in this direction was the death-knell of exclusionism in education, and the real preparation for the recognition, in all later time, of the rights of the poorest and humblest to all the wealth of science. Abelard placed himself under the charge of William, and developed with amazing rapidity. But in two years' time the young student differed so essentially from his master that he broke off his connection, and established the Abbey of St. Genevieve close beside his master's renowned Abbey of St. Victor. Abelard emptied the walls of St. Victor. The multitudes gathered about him. The eloquence with which he taught, the mastery of language, the skill in logic, and the magnetism of his personality, attracted a constantly increasing audience. To the multitudes who came from various countries all Paris was as nothing. He was the one man for whose wisdom and example students from all parts of France, England, Spain, and even Rome itself, had come with eager search. The success of his teaching, and the decline of William's school through that success, awakened the opposition, not only of William, but of his friends and sympathizers. To get away from the persecution Abelard left Paris, went to Melun, and began to teach with the same success which he had enjoyed in Paris. He went thence to Corbeil, and taught as before. Here his health failed, and he retired for several years to his native place, Palais, near Nantes. He then returned to Paris. From this time he devoted himself entirely to the study of theology. He left Paris, and went to Laon, where he had as his preceptor Anselm of Laon, the pupil of the celebrated Anselm. This man soon became unable to withstand the boldness of Abelard's ideas and the power of his eloquence, and secured his expulsion from Laon.

Abelard's Fame

Then Abelard returned to Paris and established a new school, which was overwhelmed, in a short time, by throngs of students. He was now at the head of the theological world of Europe. His students were devoted to him, and his opinions were accepted by his admirers as final. This school became the very centre of education for such of the clergy of Europe as desired a thorough scientific training. Guizot says of its success: "In this celebrated school were trained one pope

(Celestine II.), nineteen cardinals, more than fifty bishops and archbishops, French, English and German, and a much larger number of those men with whom popes, bishops, and cardinals had often to contend—such men as Arnold of Brescia and others. The number of pupils who used at that time to assemble round Abelard has been estimated at upwards of five thousand."

This man was now at the zenith of his power. He was employed by Fulbert, a canon of the Cathedral of Paris, to be the private teacher of his niece, the rarely gifted Héloïse. He had an improper relation with her, and his name was stained by the crime of which not even his bitterest foe could have had a suspicion.

Abelard's Misfortunes

> "Desire of wine, and all delicious drinks,
> Which many a famous warrior overturns,
> Thou couldst repress; nor did the dancing ruby
> Sparkling outpoured, the flavor or the smell,
> Or taste that cheers the hearts of gods or men,
> Allure thee from the cool crystalline stream;
> But what availed this temperance, not complete,
> Against another object, more enticing?
> What boots it at one gate to make defence,
> And at another to let in the foe,
> Effeminately vanquished?"

Abelard married Héloïse, but the affair was kept a secret, at her request. She was willing to suffer disgrace that his preferment might not suffer. He now took the vows of a monk, and entered the Convent of St. Denis, while Héloïse took the veil as a nun in the Convent of Argenteuil. He continued to teach and to write, with broken spirit, but with a multitude of admirers. He was charged with heresy for certain remarks in his "Introduction to Theology," and at the Council of Soissons, in 1121, he was compelled to burn his book with his own hands. He afterwards returned to his monastery of St. Denis, but left it, and built an oratory in the name of the Holy Trinity, which he called the Paraclete. At his death, in the year 1142, he left his oratory to be conducted by Héloïse.

He gave a strong blow to the supremacy of the Church Fathers by his book "Sic et Non" (Yea and Nay), in which, by parallel quotations, he shows their irreconcilable contradictions. But he gave no concessions to sceptical writers. Here

lay the most difficult point in the opposition by the ecclesiastical authorities to the direct teaching of Abelard. Nothing could be proved, save by inference, against his orthodoxy. While he assumed the unity of the Divine Being, he held that there were diversities of his relations, in which the Divine Persons consist. He also affirmed a knowledge of God to be arrived at by the reason. But he never claimed that this was either complete, or accurate, or independent of the full scriptural revelation. His works consist of "Letters to Héloïse," "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer," "Exposition of the Apostolic Creed," "Exposition of the Athanasian Creed," "Book against Heresies," "Commentary on Romans," "Sermons," "Introduction to Theology," "Epitome of Christian Doctrine," and various works of correspondence. The general effect of his teaching was to promote a critical and thorough method in the investigation of truth.

Theology of Abelard

CHAPTER XXIX

GENERAL LITERATURE

[Authorities.—See the appropriate sections in the Histories. On the religious plays, see Karl Hase, Miracle Plays and Sacred Dramas (London, 1880), and the article by Wm. Binns, "The Religious Drama," in *Modern Review*, Oct., 1880, pp. 792–819. The Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau will be found described in the last-mentioned essay, and also by Archdeacon F. W. Farrar (London and N. Y., 1891). By far the best work on the Passion Play, combining both descriptions and illustrations, is by John P. Jackson (4to, Munich and London, 1873). The Dante literature is immense. Most helpful, perhaps, will be found the late Dean Church's masterly essay, Dante (new ed., London, 1890), Prof. Botta's Dante as a Philosopher, Patriot, and Poet (N. Y., 1865), Prof. Schaff's treatment in his forthcoming (2d) vol. on the Middle Ages, Prof. Vincent (a profound Dante scholar) in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, and Oscar Browning in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed.]

The example of Charlemagne in rescuing the elder popular myth of the Franks from oblivion became very influential upon the popular taste. Poets vied with each other in tracing back the legends to their sources, and recasting them in their own style. The tendency was

Literature and Religion

towards the marvellous and exciting. A decidedly religious character was added, in many instances, to the purely heathen thread. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the poets used the religious factor to a remarkable degree. Wolfram of Eschenbach added religious poetry to his romantic verse. His "Parceval" contains frequent allusions to the efficacy of the atonement and the excellence of the Christian life. The Church had its warm eulogists in the troubadours of Southern France. Walter of the Vogelweide sang panegyrics to the Holy Virgin. Gottfried of Strasburg celebrated the glories of voluntary poverty and the longings of the soul for heavenly joy.

Historians

The taste for legend was closely allied to the historical spirit. The treatment was far from orderly or philosophical. The best of the histories were mere chronicles. The whole of the thirteenth century was distinguished for its historical spirit. Arnold of Lübeck (died 1212) wrote the "Chronicles of the Sclaves," a work continued to 1241 by Alberich of Liege. An important larger history was produced by Matthew Paris, of England, who died in 1259. Chronological works were written also by Martin Polonus and William de Naugis, of St. Denis, France.

Religious Theatricals

Religious theatricals were employed to divert the people, and at the same time to instruct the popular mind in some of the more dramatic portions of the Scriptures. The passion of Jesus was represented with a realism which produced great popular effect. Multitudes thronged from distant parts to witness, in the open air, all the details of the crucifixion. These have disappeared, with the single exception of the "Passion Play," which is still performed, every decade, in the Bavarian village of Ober-Ammergau. These theatricals were likewise used for a different purpose—to hold up the weaker side of the priests, and even of bishops and popes, to popular ridicule. The Feast of the Innocents was modelled after the heathen December festivities.

Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio

The three Florentine poets, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, introduced a severer taste, and elevated poetry to a dignity entirely new to mediæval Europe. Dante's soul was stirred by the theological disputes and papal misdoings of his day. He saw the needs of the people, and was their champion. He regarded the Church as

utterly fallen, its doctrines thrown into the background, and its holy functions performed by unworthy hands. He believed in God's final justice, and in his "Divine Comedy" portrayed the certainty of rewards and punishments according to the deeds done in the body. His whole life was a tragedy, due to his heroic espousal of the cause of justice in Church and State. He led the people away from the dark present to a beautiful future. Without knowing it, he was the real prophet of the better day of the great Reformation.

CHAPTER XXX

THE GREAT SCHOOLS

[Authorities.—In the article "Universities," in the Encyclopædia Britannica, J. Bass Mullinger traces the development of all the great mediæval schools. Stillé has an excellent essay in his Studies in Mediæval History (Phila., 1882). See also *Contemporary Review*, Feb., 1867. Cf. works mentioned at Chap. VI., above.]

The decline after Alfred and Charlemagne was very marked. The latter established fifty great schools throughout his dominions. Alfred organized Oxford, and spared no pains to make it the centre of Anglo-Saxon thought. He enriched the foundations by securing from the Continent the best possible teachers and the richest literary treasures. But schools suffered a fearful decline throughout the tenth century. With the eleventh century, however, there came a revival of literary taste, which continued until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Some of the monastic schools now assumed larger proportions, and became, like Paris and Oxford, full-fledged universities. But the most of the universities seem to have taken their origin independently of both Church and State. They were the popular creation of a taste for learning. Great teachers appeared in certain cities, and their fame attracted students from every quarter, and even distant countries. The teachers and the students were united by a common bond. The term *Universitas Magistrorum et Scholarum*, or the Community of Masters and Pupils, became the

Rise of the University

origin of the general word University. At first, each great school was distinguished for its devotion to one science, as theology at Paris and Oxford, law at Bologna, and medicine at Salerno. In time the university divided into the four great faculties of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. This division arose first in Paris, where the mendicant orders were proscribed by the other teachers in the university, and constituted themselves a separate faculty. This division in the faculties tended to increase the attendance of students. So great was the number that they constituted an important part of the population. The number ranged from ten thousand to twenty thousand in some of the universities. They were divided, not according to the studies which they pursued, but the nationalities which they represented, and were called *Nations*. Traces of this mediæval division into nations and languages can be seen in the present German universities, especially the more provincial, where some of the clubs of students bear the names of the old tribal divisions.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE DIVIDED PAPACY

[Authorities.—For this darkest age of the papacy, Milman (book xii.) is very useful. With it Creighton begins his monumental work, History of the Papacy during the Reformation (London and Boston, 1882). Compare Reichel's See of Rome in the Middle Ages (London, 1870). For a Roman Catholic view of Boniface VIII. read the paper in Wiseman's Essays on Various Subjects (London, 1888).]

The first great blow against the solidarity of the papacy was struck by France. Germany was now submissive to Rome. England was likewise brought into a docile attitude. Of all the great powers France alone remained independent, and continued disobedient. The traditional independence of the Gallican Church was a rich inheritance of the kings, and, while some were less exacting, others brought it into a prominence at once troublesome and threatening to Rome. Philip IV. of France (1285–1314) was of the latter class. He claimed to be head of the French Church, and rejected all interference with his royal prerogatives.

Pope Boniface VIII., who ruled 1294–1303, resolved on a vigorous policy towards France. He determined to humble that country, and make it fall into line with all the other nations of Europe. He found his match in Philip IV. The two were not unlike. Each was ambitious, selfish, and intent on perfect independence. France was at war with England, then under the rule of Edward I. Each of those countries had its strong and interested allies. On the side of England were the German king, Adolf of Nassau, and the Count of Flanders. On the side of France was the King of Scotland. Boniface saw in this great conflict an opportunity to follow in the great Gregory's footsteps, and play the *rôle* of umpire. Edward, in order to carry on the war, had burdened his people with heavy taxes. Boniface boldly issued, in 1296, a special Bull, the *Clericis Laicos*, in which he threatened Philip with excommunication if he levied such taxes. Philip replied indignantly with the words: "The Church does not consist alone of the clergy, but also of laymen; the freedom of the Church is divided between the clergy and the laity." The pope saw that the subjects of Philip were in sympathy with their king. He was, therefore, powerless in his threats. He found himself deprived of his revenues from France, and feared most serious consequences. He accordingly resolved on mild measures. He hoped to conquer Philip by flattery. He even canonized Louis IX., the grandfather of Philip. A truce was patched up between the two, each making concessions. Philip accepted the arbitration of Boniface, but as a friend, and not as pope. Boniface decided against Philip, and in favor of Edward. This was the final blow to peace. France was defiant.

The Outbreak

Boniface, already advanced in years, now died. He was succeeded by an Italian pope, who reigned but a short time. He, in turn, was succeeded by Bertrand de Got, who ruled as Clement V. This man, though he had been a favorite of Boniface, was already in secret relations with Philip, and had made pledges to support his policy against that of Rome. Clement, of his own choice, removed the papal see to Avignon, in France, 1309.* The

Removal of the Papacy to Avignon

* Some authorities place the beginning of the Avignon residence in 1305.

papacy remained in France until 1377, or a period of nearly seventy years. In Roman literature it is called the "Babylonian Captivity." Gregory XI. restored the papacy to Rome. The papacy during its French residence was frivolous and corrupt. It was the mere tool of the French court.

Gregory dying, Urban VI. was elected in his place, 1378. He was in the Roman interest. The French electors declared the election illegal, and chose an anti-pope, Clement VII., who ruled in Avignon. This singular picture was now presented—two popes, each independent of the other, one ruling in France and the other in Rome, each hurling anathemas at the other, and each surrounded by a court, a full quota of cardinals, and an obedient clergy. It was a disgrace to all Europe.

Schism in the Papacy

The quarrel was violent. Immorality increased. The only hope lay in general councils. But the popes wanted no general councils. Their hope to restore peace and prestige to the papacy lay in a personal government. But the reformatory spirit in the laity and a large part of the clergy demanded the general voice of the Church, as it might express itself in a council. A council was accordingly ordered to meet in Pavia, in 1423. The place of meeting was changed, on account of a pestilence, to Siena. But there were only a few sessions. The representation was ridiculously small, and on account of the plea that so small a number of delegates could not represent Christendom, the pope dissolved it. Seven years later another council was called, to meet in Basle. It was of a highly reformatory character. The pope dissolved it by direct order. But enough delegates remained to carry on its work. The pope afterwards recognized it, but removed it, first to Ferrara and later to Florence. The delegates, however, acknowledged no removal. On the contrary, they continued their work, for which the pope excommunicated them. The council, in return, deposed the pope, and chose another in his stead, Felix V. This measure was fatal to the council. The delegates grew tired and disbanded.

Councils

The outcome of all these troubles was the triumph of the papacy and the restoration of the old solidarity. The immorality continued the same as before. The last popes before the Reformation were no improvement upon their predecessors. The decrees of the reformatory councils

Results

were condemned. Superstition was the order of the day. Clerical offices were at the option of the highest bidder. Indulgences were sold throughout Germany. The people were neglected. The clergy seemed to think the Church existed for their use and convenience. But the clock now struck for a new life. A strong voice from Wittenberg was heard. The old issues were dead. A new order was now established, and Europe had something else to think about besides the wrangles of schoolmen and the counterblasts of rival popes.

CHAPTER XXXII

RETROSPECT

Condition of the European Church

The condition of the European Church at the close of the mediæval period was in marked contrast with that at the beginning. The uncertainty as to whether Christianity could adapt itself to the universal spiritual needs of Europe was now solved. The East and the West changed places. The East, overridden by internal divisions, and trampled by the Saracen conquerors, passed into an oblivion which has lasted until modern times, and has been only in part relieved by the rise of the Russo-Greek Church. Had the Eastern Church adhered to orthodox standards, and preserved its spiritual unity, it is not at all likely that its vast territory would have been overrun by the Saracens. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that from Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, and other centres, the whole of India, China, Japan, and other Oriental countries would have been evangelized many centuries ago, instead of just now becoming great mission-fields for Western Christianity to rescue from paganism. The transfer of universal interests to the Western Church was complete at the close of the Middle Ages. No questions were asked of the Eastern patriarchs. Rome held the power in its own hands, until a stronger force, the Reformation, appeared in Germany.

The stages of progress are well defined. From the eighth

century to the middle of the eleventh the German peoples became evangelized, and gave full promise of their future large place in universal Christian thought and life. From the middle of the eleventh century to the thirteenth the papacy grew into enormous proportions. There never floated before the mind of Julius Cæsar or Trajan a larger empire than that to which Gregory VII. and other occupants of the Roman see aspired.

Stages of Progress

The Saxon and the Latin Christian, at the end of the Middle Ages, confronted each other. The Latin represented the past; the Saxon, the future and the permanent. The force which destroyed the old and strong Roman conditions was titanic. The Saxon hammer was irresistible. The Germans of the North were kinsmen to the Saxons and the Angles of Britain. Wycliffe and Luther were from a common cradle of Teutonic honesty and liberty. The Norman conquest of Britain was political; the spiritual conqueror, in all later history, was still the Saxon. Every triumph of religion and liberty in the England of modern times can be traced back to the Teutonic element in the English race. In the great advance of modern peoples the Latin is inferior to the Saxon in all spiritual upbuilding. The sad moral condition of South America, Mexico, Spain, Italy, and the Jesuit missions in India and other Eastern countries, is a striking proof of what the world would be to-day had not the Saxon been at the head of the world's greatest affairs. The tree must be tested by its fruits. We have only to examine the map of the conquests of the Saxon Christian, and compare it with that of the Latin Christian, in order to see where the honor of all great modern advancement belongs.

Saxon and Latin Christians

THE REFORMATION

A.D. 1517-1545

The best general survey of the Reformation within easily managed limits is the work of Prof. G. P. Fisher, The Reformation (new ed., N. Y., 1885). The Lectures by Ludwig Häusser, The Period of the Reformation (N. Y., 1874, new ed., 1884), are the products of high scholarship and excellent insight into men and events, and are especially valuable for their portrayal of the political relations of the events. The famous History of the Great Reformation, by Merle d'Aubigné (13 vols. in all, N. Y., 1846–79), has had an immense circulation in England and America, exceeding even its sale on the Continent, and has done more to make popular the Reformatory heroes than any other work. While it is written with reference to the sources, and is therefore not altogether without value, it is of intense Protestant partisanship, and is of no authority on disputed questions. The Era of the Protestant Revolution, by Frederic Seebohm, 2d ed., with notes on books in English relating to the Reformation, by Prof. G. P. Fisher (N. Y., 1875), is a little work admirably well done. Prof. T M. Lindsay's The Reformation (Edinb. and N. Y., 1882, in Handbooks for Bible Classes) is a faithful and pleasing account by a competent scholar. Prof. (now Bishop) Creighton's forthcoming treatment of the German Reformation in his Epoch Series will be awaited with interest. Prof. Schaff has given the best view of the brief period, 1517–1530, in the 6th vol. of his Church History (N. Y., 1888), which carries the life of Luther, however, to its close in 1546. It is written by an ardent son of the Reformation, but in an impartial and catholic spirit, with full knowledge of recent researches, and is at once scholarly, sympathetic, and eloquent. It is especially fine in its full and just treatment of Luther. The lamented English scholar, Charles Beard, has given a noble tribute to the intellectual influence of the Reformation and its bearings on human progress in his Hibbert Lectures for 1883, The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge (London, 1883).

CHAPTER I

THE HERALDS OF PROTESTANTISM

[Authorities.—See ch. i. of Beard's Hibbert Lectures, "Reform before the Reformation." For Suso, Tauler, and the Brothers of the Common Life, see the third book of Ullmann's Reformers before the Reformation (Edinb., 1855), where the whole German mysticism is treated elaborately and with sympathetic appreciation. Neander, Hist. of the Church (vol. v., pp. 380–412), has given an excellent summary of the opinions and work of the Friends of God, Ruysbroek, Tauler, Suso, and others. See Miss Winkworth, Life of Tauler, in her translation of Tauler's Sermons (London and N. Y., 1858), and the article on Tauler in the *Baptist Review*, April, 1882. S. Kettlewell has given a thorough study of one phase of the pre-Reformation movements in his Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of the Common Life (Lond., 1882).]

The Reformation an Historical Crisis

The Reformation, like all great historical movements, was of slow and unattractive development. Long in coming into notice, it was equally long in finding its champions. The cause was waiting for its men, and when the need was supreme they appeared, with heroic spirit, great organizing genius, and amazing power of endurance. Protestantism was an oak of young and vigorous growth in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, but its roots lay deep in the soil of the fourteenth. The Reformation possessed two characteristics—one national, with all the individuality that might be expected of race and land; the other cosmopolitan, having general fibre and color, always the same, whatever the country or people, from Norway to the Alps, and from Transylvania to the Bay of Biscay. The Reformation has proved to be the chief turning-point in modern history. It is that great religious and intellectual revolution which marks the boundary-line between the Middle Ages and the modern period. The call for regeneration was deep and loud. Superstition had become interwoven with the pure doctrine of the gospel. The morals of the clergy, from the papacy down to the humblest monks, had become corrupt. The

highest ecclesiastical offices were reached by vicious means. The common people were purposely kept in ignorance. Against these evils, ruinous at once to intellect and soul, the Reformers made their bold protest, and called upon the people to rally to their standard. Their aim was, at first, a purification of the Church within itself, and by its own servants. This proved a total failure. The next step was to withdraw from the fold, and establish an independent confession and a separate ecclesiastical structure. This succeeded ; and the result is that vast and aggressive sisterhood of Protestant churches which exists to-day in all the advanced countries of the world.

Pioneers of the Reformation

The pioneers of reform in religious life and doctrine were obscure, and some of the very names have not become known to history. But their work was heroically performed. Protestantism, when it emerged from its seclusion, and became a thing of the noonday, had the great benefit of a slowly-laid and solid basis. But not all the predecessors of the successful reformers of the sixteenth century were unknown men. Some of them, a few in each country which took its place in the community of Protestant nations, have become familiar names, and belong in the same front line with the Reformers themselves. It is not difficult to account for the failure of those first workers for the religious regeneration of Europe. More than one generation is always needed to achieve a moral revolution. A work that shall last for the ages requires a larger and longer sacrifice than a few calm toilers through a few decades. The heralds of the Reformation trod in new paths. They labored steadily on, without a single encouraging precedent, and ran the constant risk of losing their heads. An archbishop's voice could silence behind the bolted doors of the London Tower the loudest protesting voice in Britain, while the mere roll-call of the Council of Constance could hasten even Huss to the stake. When the real Reformers came upon the scene of action, especially in Germany, the risk of losing life was not so great. Charles V. aped towards the Protestants the charity of Julian the Apostate towards all the faiths of the later Roman Empire. Hence, while Charles V. was Emperor of Germany, he openly favored moderate measures towards the Protestants; that is to say, all repressive methods must be adopted except death itself.

In Holland, however, Charles V. dealt out death with merciless hand. In his commands to his son, Philip II., in whose favor he abdicated, he urged him to spare no pains to uproot the new heresy. But there was a difference between his relation to Germany and to Holland. Of the former he was only emperor by election. Each country had its separate ruler, and the civil relations were in charge of the rightful princes. But Charles V. was king over the Netherlands, having received that country by inheritance. Therefore, when the Dutch rebelled against the civil authorities, and declared themselves Protestants and republicans, it was a revolution against his personal authority. He, accordingly, put to death the Protestants of that country without the least hesitation, while in Germany he never went so far as to claim such rights. In England the condition was still more encouraging for Protestants. Henry VIII. not only professed their faith, but protected his subjects against all interference on the part of the priesthood and the management of the pope. In sharp contrast with this general improvement in personal safety, during the progress of the Reformation, was that previous insecurity. The herald of reform was not safe an hour. He had no protector. There was no organization of sympathetic minds. Each earnest individual who longed for the better day became an object of suspicion, and, in due time, of bitter persecution. The shedding of blood for a slight offence, especially against the Church, was an easy thing to bring about. The secret methods of silencing honest speech had long since grown into a fine art.

Two Kinds of Reformers

The two kinds of Reformers were happily blended in the foreground of the Protestant picture. The herald who cried "in the wilderness" was a fit companion of him whose coming he proclaimed. The former, because silenced for the moment, appeared to fail. The heralds of Protestantism taught their successors, by their own experience, what dangers to avoid, and what were the true forces of success. Luther, for example, in the most delicate and difficult part of his career—his relation with the princes of Saxony—learned from the indiscretion of Savonarola, in his dealing with the Medici and the temporal government of Florence, that the Reformer is never fully master of himself, and can never be the finally successful leader, unless he hold severely

aloof from all political management, and confine his labors to the one work of religious reform. Luther saw that the moment the Reformer turns aside from his work he is in danger of forfeiting his entire mission. He has, in any event, lost his crown—the sublime unity of moral purpose.

The Paris Reformers planted the first seeds of Protestantism in France. In the reformatory councils they spoke strong words for universal regeneration. The University of Paris, where they taught, was the scene of their hard, hotly-contested, and unrequited labor. Peter d'Ailly, born 1350 and died 1425, contributed largely towards awakening a desire for a thoroughly new religious life in priesthood and people. His genius ripened early. He saw the vanity of the prevailing scholasticism, and applied its better qualities to Biblical interpretation. He laid before the Council of Constance a plan for the reformation of the Church, which proved of no avail. He nullified his own work, however, and stained his otherwise fair fame by voting for the condemnation of Huss. He never withdrew from the Roman Catholic Church, and died in discontent with the evils which he failed to remedy. His great service lay in the distrust which he created towards the papal authorities, and in the dissatisfaction with the Church which pervaded his sermons, lectures, and writings, and which in time became a dangerous factor against the Romanism of the land. D'Ailly made several excursions into the field of science, and Columbus was indebted to him for his idea of a western passage to the Indies. He stood high in the estimation of the Church.

Peter d'Ailly

John Charlier Gerson, born 1363 and died 1429, was a disciple of D'Ailly. He rose to great prominence in the University of Paris, and, withdrawing from scholasticism, aimed at the reconciliation of Mysticism with Christianity. He laid great stress on the necessity of a pure religious experience, protested against the corrupt state of the Church, and declared that the two rival popes, in Rome and Avignon, should be removed, rather than that Christians should be compelled to endorse either the one or the other. His sermons, after he became pastor of a church in Paris, attracted large audiences, because of his eloquence and his bold position for ecclesiastical reform. He became an exile, because of the opposition of the Duke of Burgundy, and only in his later life,

Gerson

in 1419, returned to France. He resided in Lyons, and died in the Roman Catholic fold. He saw but little fruit of his reformatory labors, and passed away with only the hope that others might possess what he had striven, in much sorrow and disappointment, to attain. He was a transitional character, possessing the qualities of both the Romanist and the Reformer. For example, he did not recognize the Church and the papacy, but the Bible, as the only rule of faith, and the one to which all final appeal must be made. At the same time he opposed the reading of the Bible in the popular language in the rural churches, and believed that all should submit unconditionally to the Church.

Clemanges

Nicholas Clémanges, born 1360 and died about 1440, was a disciple of both D'Ailly and Gerson, but he marked a great advance beyond them in reformatory spirit. He declared that the councils were superior authority to the papacy, that the pope was inferior to the Council of Constance, and that the Bible had authority even over the council. He boldly advocated the doctrine of the invisible Church, and held that the Church can only exist where the Holy Spirit is present. He was an eloquent defender of the independence of the Gallican Church against the absolute rule of the papacy.

Cause of French Failure

The Paris theologians failed in their work, and from very obvious causes. They never withdrew from the Roman Catholic Church, or took steps to establish a separate ecclesiastical organization. This has been a general cause of the failure of French Catholic reformatory movements, even down to our own times. When the final hour came, the Paris Reformers hesitated to revolt. They halted, and did not take the one last step of departure from the communion which they could not love or approve. Besides this fatal mistake, the attack of the Paris theologians was not a steady, earnest, and specific progress. It was a sudden blast, and often repeated, but not an onward march. Some of the weakest points of Romanism were entirely overlooked by them. They expressed, for example, but little sympathy with reformatory measures in other countries. They belonged to the learned class, moved in that circle alone, and, unlike the German Reformers, who also arose in a university, were without popular tastes and affinities, and had only a limited, though cultivated, constituency during their whole career. On the

other hand, they planted the seeds of a permanent popular dislike of the prevailing order of things, and were the real and direct precursors of the brave Huguenots.

Mystics

The Mystics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries arose as a spiritual reaction against the supremacy of the scholastic philosophy. Remotely, they were an opposing school to all the immorality and spiritual oppression of the times. They saw the injury inflicted on the Church by the long and fruitless discussions of the schoolmen, and aimed to call back the Christian mind to the sense of dependence on God, the need of a profound religious experience, and a contemplative and receptive attitude of the soul, which awaits constant communications of the Holy Spirit. The Mystic attached too little importance to the written Word, and magnified the worth of merely spiritual impressions. He was contemplative and rhapsodical, and held himself constantly ready for new revelations. Intuitions were his second Bible. He did not regard monasticism as the solution for the spiritual dearth of the times; neither did he think the best way to build up a new religious life was to separate from the Church. His thought was, to preach to the people, and awaken them to a sense of their needs, and thus, from the centre, to reform the whole body of the Church, without disturbing the existing economy and order. The Mystic cared not who might be the pope of the hour, or whether there was a pope at all. He considered that personage a fine piece of ornamental work, like a marble saint in a cathedral chapel, but having no relation to the general architecture of the edifice. The one concern of the Mystic was the condition of the individual heart, the religious life of the private believer.

Germany the Central Scene

Germany was the central scene and native country of the most notable reformatory Mystics. Master Eckart, who died about 1329, belonged to the Dominican Order of monks, and produced a strong impression by his writings and preaching in favor of a purer religious life. The general drift of his teaching was that the doctrines of the Bible are the only truth, and that this truth has its proper effect in the purity of the heart. We reach purity by introspection. God is in the soul. We look outwardly when we should look within. But purity must be deeply rooted in the soul, for God will not enter where there is an unholy

thought. Many of Eckart's order pronounced him a heretic, because of his fearless speech. The three fundamental objections to him were, his bold charges of immorality in the clergy, his strong language against the worship of Mary, and against the power of purgatory to purify a corrupt soul.

Ruysbroek

John Ruysbroek was born in 1293. He became prior of the monastery of Grünthal, near Brussels, and was the founder of the Dutch Mysticism. He saw a universal sinfulness in his age, priests and people alike overwhelmed and whirled on by the current of sin. The prime source of the prevailing corruption was the impurity of the Church, and its incapacity to resist the temptation of gold and lust. It was too far gone to save itself. Even the popes, said Ruysbroek, bowed the knee to the god of gold. The Church had no healing power. Only God in the soul could deliver from sin. Ruysbroek was a twofold character, contemplative and mystical on the one hand, and, on the other, the practical and every-day Reformer. He had two constituencies. His voice reached palace and hut with equal force.

Henry Suso

Henry Suso, born in Suabia, in 1295, took his name from that of his mother's family, Suess, or Seuss, which he Latinized into Suso. His early religious life was spent in self-torture and contemplation. He lived in thick gloom. His thought was, that only by the suffering of the flesh could God be pleased. His close-fitting shirt of one hundred and fifty nails, with points turned towards his flesh, was his favorite and royal robe. He loved it better than the purple. For sixteen years he tortured both soul and body. By the hearing of Tauler, in Cologne, he was admitted into larger liberty. He became less ascetic, and more a citizen of the world. He called himself "the Servant of the Eternal Wisdom," to whom he paid a lover's homage, as to a radiant May-queen. He was passionately fond of music, and, when in ecstasy, fancied himself in the midst of angelic ministers. Of his book, "The Horologe of Wisdom," he said that it came to him in moments of supreme joy, when he lay passive in the power of the high inspiration. He summed up his whole theology in the following: A meek man must be *deformed* from the creature, *conformed* to Christ, and *transformed* into the Deity. The entire tendency of Suso's teaching was in favor of religious reform. His life was one long lament over the evils of his times, for

which he held the Church responsible. He declared of the popes that good government had departed from them, and that they thought more of gold, and the putting of their relatives into power, than of the Church of God; and that the cardinals, bishops, abbots, teachers, monastic orders, and secular clergy were corrupt and debauched, and unworthy their places of honor. He believed that his whole generation was so depraved that a reformation would be a very miracle of divine mercy. He feared the miracle might never come. His pleas were lamentations. He was the Jeremiah of the fourteenth century.

John Tauler, born 1290 and died 1361, was a devoted disciple of Eckart. He was more a man of the people than his master. He spoke in plain language, and often aroused the sensibilities to the highest pitch. He excelled all the mediæval Mystics in his burning zeal, his popular sympathies, and his profound adherence to the doctrine of justification by faith. In this last sense Luther followed only in his footprints. He was the most eloquent preacher of his times. Strasburg was the chief scene of his ministry. There was such realistic power in his preaching that, often, people were overcome, and became insensible during the delivery of his sermons. He taught that there are three stages possible to the heart—nature, grace, and the direct shining of the Divine Spirit. When this last and highest stage is reached, the soul forgets itself, and God possesses it wholly. The human spirit is as molten wax, in which the Holy Spirit makes its image.

John Tauler

Tauler rebuked the priestly pretensions of his times, and cried aloud for each man to think and feel for himself. He declared "the true priesthood of every Christian man," and insisted that the Christ should dwell within us. Like some of his mystical predecessors, whose language was too strong for the fashion of the times, he was threatened with excommunication. But he continued his preaching against the prevailing sins of the Church without serious interruption, and the authorities in Rome were finally compelled to let him proceed, as a person more dangerous to interfere with than to be at liberty. The Black Death, a violent plague, together with the papal interdict, rested upon Strasburg. But Tauler's preaching attracted the entire population, diverted their thought, and

was the only relief to the sorrow and suffering of the people. He declared that the troubles were a divine visitation because of the sins of the people, and that only by repentance and a pure life could relief come. His principal work was his "Imitation of the Poor Life of Christ." Of all the Mystics, Tauler was the nearest approach to a universal character. Real goodness, like genius, is at home in every age. Tauler was not only reverenced by the devout and zealous Christians of his own time, but stands out as a grand and towering figure in the spiritual world of all later periods. He was a striking example, in a dark age, of how far one man can lift up his generation, and furnish light for even later ones:

> "A voice as unto him that hears,
> A cry above the conquered years,
> To one that with us works."

When the Reformers arose they immediately discovered in Tauler a kindred soul, one in whom they found great joy, and who had contributed largely to herald their approach. He was but an elder brother to the groups in both Wittenberg and Oxford. Luther himself edited the "Theologia Germanica," supposed by some critics to have been written by Tauler. Luther's own words would not suit Tauler, when he says, in his Preface to the "Theologia Germanica," that it was written by a "German gentleman, a priest and warden in the house of the Teutonic Order at Frankfort." But whether by him or not, it reflects his pure spirit, and that of all the better Mystics, and is singularly in harmony with Tauler's preaching. Luther communed with Tauler's writings as with a living and present friend. To John Lange he wrote: "Keep to Tauler." He gave to his friend Spalatin the advice: "If you would be pleased to make acquaintance with a solid theology of the good old sort in the German tongue, get John Tauler's sermons; for neither in Latin nor in our own language have I ever seen a theology more sound, or more in harmony with the Gospel."

The school of St. Victor was one of the marvels of the times. It represented, in organized and compact form, the aspiration of the age for purer thinking, for spiritual absorption, and for revolt against the prevailing ecclesiastical evils. Within eighty years of its founding, in the eleventh century, it could

count its thirty abbeys and eighty priories. Its two most notable members were Hugo and Richard. They were at once speculative thinkers and spiritual Mystics. They aimed to harmonize mysticism with scholasticism. These were but terms of the day for the two old, and still ever new, names of revelation and science. Both Hugo and Richard saw no antagonism, but held that each was the complement of the other. Hugo aimed to solidify and clarify spiritual thinking by logical methods. He disdained the rigid uniformity of the traditional creed of Romanism, and called for freedom and faith, and freedom in faith. He declared that there is an "eye of the soul," by which we contemplate and see new truths, and by them attain to a blessedness of the soul and a peaceful trust in God. The common and natural faculties cannot see deeply. The spiritual sense alone is far-sighted, and able to apprehend, in the distant spaces, the spiritual truth. But we must guard against delusion. Not the fancy, but faith, can reveal it to us.

School of St. Victor

Richard of St. Victor was a native of Scotland. In 1162 he became prior of the abbey. Ervisius was the abbot, and therefore responsible for the discipline. The morals in the abbey had been at a very low ebb, and Richard saw in them a picture of the moral prostration of his times, and the need of a new spiritual life. He regarded mysticism as the only hope of relief. But it must be a carefully adjusted, firm, and well-rounded system; none of the wild and absurd fancies of a disturbed brain. Build up mysticism on logical scholasticism, and you have what you need to cure the evils of the day. Thus Richard reasoned, and wisely enough; but when he came to touch the revealed truth he lost his balance. He converted all Scripture into a string of shining allegory and metaphor. He surpassed all the fancies of Origen and the Alexandrian school, and found in the Bible an illimitable realm of truth. No history or incident existed that did not mean far more than the letter said. He made meditation the great theological basis. Contemplation was a height which could be reached by six steps, the uppermost of which is penitence. When the soul once stood on that, it was above the low steps of imagination and reason, and was lost in sublime ecstasy. The age was corrupt, thrice dead, and plucked up by the roots, and nothing could save it but purer morals, a

Richard of St. Victor

return to better thoughts, and the coming back of the Church to an unselfish and zealous spiritual life.

Brothers of the Common Life

The Brothers of the Common Life were an association of mystical minds who made it their aim to reform the Church by a purification of the heart. They placed more emphasis on the regeneration of the soul than the outward organization of the Church. They held that, if once the heart is right, the outward forms will soon assume right shapes. The whole life must be centred in the love of God, and then the heart will be sanctified. Thomas à Kempis belonged to this fraternity. His "Imitation of Christ" has always been a favorite among both Romanists and Protestants, and has had the largest circulation of any book except the Bible. It has been translated into all the principal languages, and is known to have passed through three hundred editions.

Friends of God

The Friends of God were an organization of laymen, which flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century. They were warm in their attachment to the Roman fold, and yet were alarmed at the evils which they saw about them in both clergy and laity. This society was a strong proof that the moral declension of the times was seen and understood by devout minds among the laymen as well as by ministers of the Gospel. Its members extended throughout western Germany and the larger part of Switzerland, and contributed largely to prepare the way among the people for Luther and his coadjutors. Nicholas, a layman of Basel, and a convert through the preaching of Tauler, wrought in connection with them, and was their most conspicuous representative. Among their members must be reckoned Conrad, abbot of Kaisersheim; the nuns of Unterlinden, in Colmar and Basel; the sisters of Engelthal; the knights of Rheinfeld, Pfaffenheim, and Landsberg; and the rich merchant Rulman Merswin. The love of God was the one universal law which the Friends of God insisted upon. They declared that the Church had closed its doors to the truth, and that the only hope for their opening was a higher spiritual life. Tauler called the Friends of God the pillars of Christendom, and the protectors for a while from God's just cloud of wrath.

Holland was one of the earliest and most forward countries in which the spirit of reform was manifested. The universi-

UNIVERSITIES OF EUROPE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

(Those founded before 1400 are underlined.)

ties were the great fountains whence the Protestant stream arose, and from which it descended into the less educated masses. John Pupper, born about 1401, took the family name of Goch from the place of his birth, a town near Cleves, and called himself John of Goch. He founded the Priory of the Canonesses of St. Augustine, in Mechlin, in 1451, and for twenty-five years occupied the office of Rector or Confessor to the nuns. He combined, in rare harmony, the spiritual and practical. He held that faith must precede reason, for reason without faith is a blind and a false guide. Scholasticism is a mere logical play, and must be fought by sound theological logic, which draws its power from the written Word of God. The scholastic philosophy is false, because it is not based upon the Bible, but on Aristotle. His whole theology has been strikingly summarized into: Of God, through God, and to God. We derive all from him. He is our Father, the Giver and Teacher of all good. We should give to him our deepest love and supreme confidence. All freedom is based on love, and love is our best assurance of future blessedness. John of Goch's entire system of doctrine was reformatory, a protest against the usual modes of laying down doctrine, and a holding up of mere good works to contempt. In practical life, he hurled his strong lance against the sale of indulgences and the personal corruption of the clergy.

Goch

The mission of the early Dutch Reformers was very important. They caught the spirit of the times, and were bold and defiant in their protest against the immorality of their day. If we ask, Why was it that Holland gave such a prompt and cordial reception to the doctrines of Luther and Calvin? the answer is, The soil was fully prepared for the precious seed. The Dutch people had been taught, by these early preachers of a purer morality, that the time was fully come for a new spiritual order. They did not know whence the light would break, but the whole land was astir with a longing for it, and an expectation of its speedy dawn. Hence, when they heard the strong words from Wittenberg and Geneva, they rejoiced in them as the fulfilment of their hopes. To them the new truth was no surprise. They had listened to their own prophets, and believed their burning words.

The Early Dutch Reformers

CHAPTER L

THE HUMANISM OF ITALY

[Authorities.—Archbishop Trench has a brief treatment of this theme in his Lectures on Mediæval Church History, lect. xxvi. C. J. Stillé has an admirable article on the Renaissance in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia. Draper's Intellectual Development of Europe and the works of Symonds on the Italian Renaissance may also be consulted. See Burckhardt's Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (London, 1890), and Beard's 2d lecture, "The Revival of Letters in Italy and Germany," in his Hibbert Lectures. The latter opens well the work and character of Erasmus.]

Important general movements, without connection with prominent characters, were likewise in progress to hasten the approach of reform. Chief of these, in the field of intellectual progress, was the revival of literature, which took the name of Humanism. The studies were purely human and literary, as distinguished from the theological themes which had long held sway in all the universities and learned circles of Europe. Great attention was given the Greek and Latin classical writers. Even down to our time, in some places, the literature and languages of Greece and Rome

Revival of Letters

are denominated The Humanities. This is especially the case in the Scotch and English universities. In the Italian renaissance of learning, however, Hebrew also came in for its share of attention. Political events had a large share in producing this new turn in the world's thought. The great Italian poets of the fourteenth century had written on topics suggested by classical writers. Boccaccio depended on Greece for his material, while Dante and Petrarch drew their inspiration from Roman sources. As notable public teachers in Italy, who contributed largely to the development of Humanism, not only in that land, but in the countries north of the Alps, Chrysoloras taught Greek literature in Pavia and Florence, and John of Ravenna instructed in Latin literature in Padua and Florence. A further impulse was given to Greek studies by the fruitless attempt made at the Council of Florence to secure a formal union of the Greek and Roman Catholic churches, when the Byzantine emperor, John VII., Palæologus,* was present in person, and Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicæa, brought his plan for the union of the long-separated churches. The points at issue were of too serious a character for any return to a common communion. The most serious one was the papal primacy, which the Roman Catholics insisted upon, and which the Greek delegates accepted, but which the Greek Church repudiated. But these negotiations, however vain so far as union was concerned, were exceedingly fruitful in sowing in Italy, and especially in the Roman fold, an ardent love for Greek letters—not only for the Greek of the Church writers, but also for the productions of the purest Attic authors. Greece became, even to ecclesiastical scholars and students, an enchanted land, whose treasures were suddenly thrown open for the enjoyment of the whole learned world.

Capture of Constantinople

The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, was the culmination of the great movements which brought about a love for the classic studies in Italy. It was, in fact, of more weight than all other agencies combined. The flight of Greek Christians westward amounted almost to a national migration. Large numbers fled to Italy, settled along the Adriatic coast, swarmed into all the interior cities, and soon began to be felt as a political and

* Kurtz says John VII., Palæologus; others say John VI., Palæologus.

spiritual force throughout the peninsula. Rome, Florence, Siena, and all of the larger cities became the home of learned Greeks, who brought with them the classic treasures of their former country, and cultivated them in their new home with such zeal that the Greek writers, who had been in obscurity for a thousand years, were soon familiarly known to the Italians. Even before the capture of Constantinople, Greek scholars from the Eastern Empire had entered Italy. Between 1420 and 1430 George of Trapezium, Theodore Gaza, and John Argyropylus had taken up their residence in Italy; and, after the capture, there came a multitude, represented by such men as Constantine Lascaris, Demetrius Chalkondylas, and Emanuel Moschopylus. No branch of Greek letters was overlooked. Poetry, eloquence, art, and philosophy came in for full recognition. Each department had its enthusiastic representatives. What Bessarion and Gemistius Pletho accomplished, in infatuating large numbers of Italians with the new mania for the Platonic philosophy, was achieved by others in every sphere of Greek culture.

Revival of Latin Classics

The revival of the Latin classics came in as a competing factor with the Greek. The Italians were too jealous of the triumphs of their own immortal ancestors to permit the Greeks to monopolize attention. Hence we find a great school of learned Italians laboring earnestly for the re-enthronement of their writers of the Augustan age. Gasperinus, John Aurispa, Guarinus, Poggius, Laurentius Valla, Nicholas Perothes, Christopher Laudinus, and Angelo Politianus were representatives of this class. The Italian princes favored the revival of both Greek and Latin letters. The Medici of Florence, from 1429 to 1492, gathered about them the most learned men of Italy, and patronized every department of classic science and art. Their court was the most splendid literary centre of modern times. In their gardens the princes of thought convened,and held communion on all the great themes of science, literature, and art which were then agitating Europe. From the Medicean gatherings many young minds, like Raphael, derived an inspiration for great work, which afterwards took form in art and poetry and philology. They constituted the literary exchange of the century.

The religious tendency of Humanism in Italy was purely

negative. The general spirit was not alone indifferent to Christianity, but positively hostile to it. The influence of the Medicean court, and even of the papacy, was exerted simply to revive the classics, and so put an end to the theological discussions which had absorbed attention. There was no disposition to resort to the Bible, but, rather, to make the famous writers of the pagan times a substitute for the inspired authors of the Scriptures. Scepticism was the craze of the hour. Even learned hierarchs considered it well enough at once to hold office in the Church and observe a suspicious silence on the divine origin of Christianity. The expression is ascribed to Leo X.: "What little use the fable of Christ is to us and our people has been known to all centuries." Whether the charge be true or not, it is a fact that it expresses the theology both of Italian Humanism and the papal court of the fifteenth century. Erasmus, who resided for a time in Rome, wrote in lamentation over the blasphemous expressions which he constantly heard from prominent ecclesiastics.

Religious Tendency of Humanism

Humanism elsewhere in Europe was very different from that of Italy, so far as sympathy with evangelical religion was concerned. North of the Alps the taste for the classic languages and masterpieces spread with great rapidity, but it was turned into a theological and religious channel, and served to hasten the Reformation. The Scriptures were studied with all that new interest which came from the revival of philological learning. Panzer relates that one hundred editions of the Latin (Vulgate) Bible were printed between the years 1462 and 1500. The first edition of the Greek Testament, however, which was printed was not edited by a sceptical Humanist, but by Erasmus, and appeared in 1516. Hebrew received profound attention, and hence the Old Testament became a book of minute and laborious study. This new attention to the Bible led immediately to a comparison of its high standard of morals and doctrine with the present fallen state of the Church in both these fundamental departments. The invention of the art of printing was highly favorable to the new intellectual departure, and Humanist works soon spread throughout Western Europe. Heidelberg and Erfurt became centres of German Humanism. Maternus Pistorius, of Erfurt, stood at the head of the German poetic

Humanism elsewhere

group. Konrad Muth, of Gotha, led in the same direction, and assailed the prevailing scholasticism with irresistible satire. Rudolf Agricola, of Heidelberg, was a profound scholar, and turned his attention chiefly to the promotion of Greek criticism. He was a versatile character, and was well worthy of Guizot's eulogy: "A good painter, a good writer, a good poet, and a learned philologist." He died in 1485.

Reuchlin, More, Erasmus

John Reuchlin, of Germany, Erasmus, of Rotterdam, and Thomas More, of England, were champions of the new Humanism. Reuchlin's service lay in the department of Hebrew studies. He issued a strong protest against the prevailing neglect of the study of the Old Testament in the original Hebrew. His Hebrew Grammar, 1506, was a masterpiece of learning, and long remained the favorite text-book in that field throughout Europe. Erasmus confined his philological labors chiefly to the Greek, and was the principal promoter of New-Testament studies for the first generation of Protestants in every land. He turned the New Testament, as one would a powerful piece of artillery, against the whole fabric of the ignorance, superstition, and immorality of his times. His Greek edition of the New Testament, enriched with notes and paraphrases, constituted a scriptural arsenal for fighting the battle of the Reformation. Thomas More was the friend of Erasmus, and became, late in life, an earnest literary worker for the cause of reform. The chapter in his "Utopia" which is entitled "The Religion of the Utopians" is a shrewd and correct picture of the corruption of his times, and of the demand for a new order of morals and learning.

CHAPTER III

THE REFORMATORY COUNCILS

[Authorities.—Milman, Latin Christianity, book xiii., chaps. v., viii.–x., xii., tells the story of these Councils. Prof. Fisher gives an excellent account of the Council of Constance in his Discussions in History and Theology (N. Y., 1880). Hardwick, Middle Ages, chap. xiv., may be read for an instructive view.]

The Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel were formal acknowledgments, on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, of the evils within its pale, and the necessity of relief from them. The fourteenth century opened with a bitter controversy between the Church and the leading civil rulers. It was the old question of authority — whether pope or king was the supreme head. The struggle centred in Pope Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair of France. In a bull issued in 1302, Boniface condemned Philip's declaration that the civil ruler is independent of papal authority. Thereupon Philip caused the arrest of the pope, on the ground of his shameless life. The pope was rescued, however, by his Italian supporters, and died shortly afterwards. His successor lived but a short time, and, in 1305, the French Archbishop of Bordeaux was chosen pope, and bore the name of Clement V. He was thoroughly identified with the French policy, and, in 1309, removed the papal see from Rome to Avignon, in France. This was the beginning of the Avignon papacy, popularly called by the Romanists "The Babylonian Captivity," from the light in which it was held as an ecclesiastical calamity, and from its continuance of nearly seventy years (1309 to 1377). The whole period was one of great spiritual decline. At no time have the morals of the papacy been at a lower ebb. Meanwhile the German rulers came into angry collision with the popes.

Various Councils

Ludwig of Bavaria was a bitter opponent of the claims of

the papacy. In Rome, and even throughout Italy, the divisions were very violent, and the whole papal structure was threatened with destruction. Gregory XI. put an end to the Avignon papacy in 1377. Immediately after his death the Romans elected an Italian pope, but the French elected a pope of their own, who resided in Avignon. There were, therefore, two popes, one in Rome and another in France, each claiming the supreme authority, and each surrounded with his court and a college of cardinals. This papal schism lasted thirty years. Its effects were widespread, the entire Roman Catholic world being drawn into the strife. The only possible relief seemed to lie in a general council. The Paris theologians, with Gerson in the lead, were the principal agents in securing it. This council convened in Pisa, in the year 1409. The rival popes were summoned to attend it, in order to have their competing claims adjusted. Each feared for his position, and both refused to attend. Another pope was accordingly chosen, Alexander V. There were, therefore, at this time, three rival popes, all regularly elected, all claiming infallibility as the Lord's anointed vicegerents, and each fulminating maledictions upon his rivals and their supporters. The Council of Pisa failed of its end, for it was wrested from its original intent—that of reforming the Church and healing its dissensions—into a contest of parties.

Double Papacy

The Council of Constance, 1414–18, was called to heal the scandal of the three-headed papacy, which still continued, and to bring about reforms. All the three popes were called to the council, but only John XXIII., the successor of Alexander V., responded. John was a dissipated and accomplished rascal, but shrewd and full of makeshifts. He hoped to win his point by filling the Council with Italians, but the Council resolved to vote by nations, each nation having but one vote. Through the influence of D'Ailly, the decision was reached that all three popes should be compelled to abdicate, and that a new election take place. This programme was carried out, and on Nov. 11, 1417, Odo Colonna was elected as Martin V. This Council is famous for passing the decree that an œcumenical council, rightly constituted, has its authority immediately from Christ, and that therefore even the pope himself is subject to it. It was also famous, or, rather, infamous, for condemning Huss to death.

Council of Constance

In the face of D'Ailly's and Gerson's hopes for reform, Martin, with true ecclesiastical prudence, prorogued the Council.

Council of Basel

The Council of Basel, 1431–49, was convened by Martin's successor, Eugene IV. It took the Constance programme of reform as its basis of operations, and aimed at a thorough regeneration of the Church, from its papal head to the secular clergy. The pope was alarmed at the persistency and depth of the reformatory spirit, and declared the Council dissolved, and called another, first at Ferrara and then at Florence. But the Basel Council would not break up, even with the disadvantage of a rival council and the absent pope. The pope therefore issued his ban against the Council, whereupon the latter removed the pope, and elected a new one, Felix V., in his stead. But the disadvantages were too great for the Basel delegates to resist. They lacked cohesion, and too many of them were open to overtures from Rome. One by one its members slipped off, and in time it was compelled to cease for lack of numbers. It performed, however, an immense service. Its place of session, just across the Rhine from Germany, made it an object of profound attention throughout the freer Europe north of the Alps, while the evils which the Council labored in vain to remove became more than ever a source of sorrow and of heroism in dealing with the universal spiritual declension. All these three councils failed of their prime object, but they revealed to the world the fact that no prospect for reform could exist in any new council. The only way open for improvement was now clear—the independence of the individual reformer. The personal conscience was compelled to fight, with single lance, for the revival of truth and virtue. It was the hour when the fate of modern times depended on the one man.

CHAPTER IV

THE GERMAN REFORMATION: MARTIN LUTHER, FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE RETIREMENT IN THE WARTBURG CASTLE—1483–1520

[AUTHORITIES.—Besides the histories of the Reformation, where full information can be had, the story of the life of Luther has been often told. Julius Köstlin's shorter biography has appeared in English (N. Y., 1883), with authentic illustrations from old documents and prints. Köstlin is the best modern authority on Luther, and it were well if his larger Life and his Theology of Luther were also translated. Peter Bayne, an ardent admirer, has written an extensive work in two volumes, The Life and Times of Luther (London and N. Y., 1887). Dr. Wm. Rein's admirable Life of Luther has been translated by G. F. Behringer (N. Y., 1883). Froude has paid his respects to Luther in his comparison of Luther and Erasmus in his Short Studies, vol. i., and in his Sketch of Luther's Life (London and N. Y., 1883). Edwin D. Mead has given a Study of Luther from the Unitarian point of view—Luther: a Study of the Reformation (Boston, 1884). Charles Beard left a valuable book, published after his death: Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany until Close of Diet of Worms (London, 1889).]

ALL the Teutonic countries had been getting ripe for the great ecclesiastical revolt, and Central Germany now became the theatre for the Reformation. The popular mind was so fully ready that the only great need now was a man of sufficient courage, ability, and singleness of purpose to become the representative of his generation. Martin Luther responded to the universal aspiration for a leader, to guide into new and safe paths.

Early Life of Luther

Luther was born in Eisleben, Saxony, November 12th, 1483, and died in the same place, February 18th, 1546. His father—first a slate-cutter in Möhra, and then a miner in Eisleben—was a man of humble tastes and scanty means. He belonged to the peasant class. The boy Martin, in later life, recalled the fact that his mother used to carry on her back the wood necessary for the comfort of the humble home. In this son were combined the characteristics of both the northern and the southern German. There were the calm

judgment, the solid sense, and the sturdy valor of the colder blood of the North. But with these he possessed a gentle, cheerful, and tuneful nature, a sympathetic and social feeling, which stood him in good stead in his later struggles. As a boy, he was fond of the village sports, had an ardent love for his friends and as keen an antipathy towards his foes, possessed a quaint and grotesque humor and innocent wit, and to the day of his death took pride in his lowly ancestry and modest home. His nature seemed to derive its very grandeur and ruggedness from the neighboring Harz Mountains, and its depth from the mines beneath his father's thatched cottage. When the burden of his great mission was upon him, and he was the trusted friend of princes and the learned, he was accustomed to say: "I am a peasant's son; my father, grandfather, and remote ancestors were nothing but veritable peasants."

But little liberty was granted to the boy of genius and destiny. His parents made free use of the rod, and thereby nearly spoiled their child. The least indiscretion brought severe castigation. His mother once punished him, because of some trouble about a nut, until the blood flowed. In the years of his strong manhood, when looking back upon this harshness, he saw the mistake of his parents, and said: "My parents' severity made me timid; their sternness and the strict life they led me made me afterwards go into a monastery and become a monk. They heartily meant it well, but they did not understand the art of adjusting their punishments." But, with all the severity of the home, these parents seemed to recognize the genius of their son. They determined that he should have an education, and designed him for the law. In 1497 he was sent to Magdeburg, in order that he might prepare for the university. But the expense was too great for the means of his parents, and he was removed to Eisenach, where he could live with relatives and attend school at less expense. It was then the custom of the poorer scholars in Thuringia to go about the streets and sing at the doors of the people for alms. Young Martin needed such help, and a wealthy lady, Ursula Cotta, was so charmed by his singing that she took him to her own home, where he had the advantages of an excellent teacher.

Home and School

In 1501 he went to the University of Erfurt, one of the centres of Humanistic learning in Northern Europe. He here

came in contact with the advancing learning of the times, and was captivated by it. Neither mind nor heart had rest.

At the University

With great nervous power, he went from one science to another, and mastered each with a thoroughness and despatch which amazed the professors. The department which he made his specialty was philosophy. On finishing his course, and taking his degree as master of arts, he bade the world farewell, and in 1505 entered the Augustinian cloister as a monk. The resolution seemed to be instantaneous, but his later confessions reveal the fact that he had been led gradually, by certain providential experiences, such as the death of a friend at his side by lightning, to take this step. He now subjected himself to severe discipline, denied himself all comforts, tortured his body, and fasted and prayed to a degree that almost proved fatal to his life. But he kept at his studies, in this respect differing from his brethren, who said: "If this brother studies, he will rule us." The words were a prophecy which was literally fulfilled.

In 1508 Luther was called to Wittenberg as professor. While in Erfurt he had come to a knowledge of the Bible,

Luther in Wittenberg

and had seen the difference between the simple gospel and the life and practice of the Church of his times. His mind was in doubt. He continued his ascetic life, and waited for the light. The University of Wittenberg had been founded by Frederick the Wise in 1502, and, like Erfurt, was now alive with the new learning of the age. Here Luther had a field, the first in his life, for his remarkable powers. He carried with him the timidity of the monk, but the fire and magnetism of the master mind. He was so diffident that only the greatest persuasion could induce him to preach. "You will kill me," he said to Staupitz, who had been the cause of his call to Wittenberg; "I shall not go on with it for a quarter of a year."

Luther had been in Wittenberg two years, when he started on a journey to Rome. To one of his thirsting mind and religious fervor such an opportunity was hailed with inexpressible delight. He had been doubting the practices of the Church, but no thought of keen criticism had arisen in his mind. He was still the devoted servant of his order, the Augustines, and a firm and full believer in the one Roman Catholic Church. When he caught his first view of the Eter-

nal City he fell upon the earth, and, with uplifted hands, cried out: "I greet thee, Holy Rome, thrice holy from the blood of the martyrs which has been shed in thee!" The scenes which now passed before his eyes had but little influence in strengthening his love for the Church. He saw too much ostentation and pride to satisfy his self-denying nature. While ascending the Scala Santa, or Pilate's Staircase, as a reverent and penitential pilgrim, the words came to him, "The just shall live by faith." He descended the steps, left Rome, and betook himself back to Germany. But he did not repudiate the authority of the Roman Church at that time. Köstlin says: "The exhibition of ecclesiastical corruption which he saw did not at the time occasion any revolt in his mind."

Luther was still a devoted monk, but had felt the power of a new life. He did not dream of separation from the Church.

The Theses

He continued his lectures on the Biblical books, and fascinated his hearers by the boldness and novelty of his views. His life now moved on without excitement or serious change for seven years. All the while he was growing in the confidence of the students and in fame abroad. His lectures were attractive beyond those of any one else, while his sermons, differing, by their plain speech and direct presentation of the truth, from the current preaching, were heard with an intensity of interest new in Wittenberg, or any other part of Germany, since the Mystics. During this quiet interval a new indulgence was published in Germany, and the tickets of pardon were sold in the public places of the land. Between 1500 and 1517 no less than five indulgences extraordinary had been published, and put up for sale to any buyer. They were wonderfully successful. The money flowed in from every quarter. The cause of the indulgences was alleged to be for defence against the Turks, but it was a singular fact that it had to go by the very circuitous way of Rome and the papal treasure-box. The bishops cried out, half in joy and half in complaint, against the weight of the silver: "Hundredweights of German coin fly light as feathers over the Alps, and no bearer of the heaviest burdens, not even Atlas himself, can drag such heaps of money."

The sale of the indulgences aroused Luther's nature to a high pitch of excitement. He was now ready for his mission. He went over the whole case against Rome, as he saw it, and

arraigned the Church in a bill of charges which he called his Ninety-five Theses. They were directed principally against the sale of indulgences, but they included the whole burden of Luther's soul. He insisted that the Church taught the truth, but that there were excrescences which must be removed. On October 31st, 1517, he nailed his Theses to the door of the Schlosskirche of Wittenberg. Now began the storm which lasted until the day of his death. The Theses were soon heard from in Rome, where the pope wrote of him to the Elector of Saxony as that notorious "son of wickedness." He was ordered to recant, but replied, "I cannot recall." He was ordered to Rome, but only wrote a respectful letter in reply to the command. He was summoned to a disputation in Leipzig, in 1519, with Eck, where he attacked the doctrines of the primacy of the pope, indulgences, and purgatory. The Humanist Mosellanus thus described the young monk on this first great appearance before the world: "He was of medium height. His face and whole body were as thin as a skeleton, caused by long study and much care. His voice was clear. His address bore every mark of great learning and acquaintance with the Bible. His bearing was friendly and attractive. He was full of vitality, and calm and joyous amid the threats of his enemies, as one would be who undertakes great things with God's help. In controversy he was defiant and incisive, as a theologian ought to be."

Luther left Leipzig with a deeper determination than ever to continue his work. He still had no thought of leaving the Church. He would be an obedient son and servant, and thought only of ever remaining in fellowship with the received faith. But he was carried on by the force of his convictions, and by some providential occurrences, in which, indeed, he seemed to have little part. He now struck the most vital blow of all. He attacked Rome in a new department. He wrote an "Address to the Nobles of the German People," in which he advocated the suppression of nunneries, abolition of the interdict and ban, independence of the temporal power, and the denial of transubstantiation and other false teachings of Rome. This was rebellion, and shortly afterwards brought its natural punishment from Rome — excommunication. Luther said: "I would regard the pope as pope, but they want me to regard him as God."

Appeal to the German Nation

He posted a notice on the church door, inviting the people to go out with him, in solemn procession, through the Elster gate, and, in presence of the citizens, professors, and students, publicly burn the papal bull. This notice was observed, and, in presence of the multitude, Luther burned the bull on December 10th, 1520. But Rome was even worse off without him than with him.

Diet at Worms

Charles V. had been elected Emperor of Germany on June 28th, 1519, and it was now a serious question what position he would take as to the Reform. He was a Hapsburg, and therefore a rigid Roman Catholic; but he was also diplomatic, and was determined to do nothing that would endanger his political strength. He turned the matter over carefully in his mind, and, as at the Diet at Worms, April, 1521, his election contract was to be signed, and such additional business transacted as related to the affairs of the Church, he resolved, before the Council met, that he would give Luther a hearing, and condemn his doctrines. Luther was summoned to Worms, and promised a safe-conduct. Before starting he wrote to Spalatin: "If his majesty calls me to account, so that I am ruined, and am looked upon, on account of my answer, as an enemy to the empire, still I am ready to come. For I have no intention of fleeing, nor of leaving the Word in danger, but I mean to confess it unto death, so far as Christ's grace sustains me. But I am certain that the bloodhounds will not rest until they have put me to death." His friends reminded him of Huss's death at the Council of Constance, but their remonstrance had no influence. He would go to Worms though "the devils were as many as tiles on the house-tops." Every argument was used; threats were multiplied; but all to no avail. When he had finished his defence, he said: "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise. God help me! Amen." Carlyle describes the historical significance of this occasion, and the importance of Luther's firm attitude, in the following words: "It was the greatest moment in the modern history of men. English Puritanism, England and its parliaments, Americas and vast work these two centuries; French Revolution, Europe and its work everywhere at present: the germ of it all lay there; had Luther in that moment done otherwise, it had all *been* otherwise!" The decree of the Diet at Worms against Luther

was as follows: "Thus this individual, not a man, but one like the devil in human form, under a monk's cowl, has gathered into one noxious mass a number of heretics who have been long concealed, and hold most damnable heresies; and he has even devised some fresh ones, under pretence of preaching faith, which he has industriously made every one believe, in order that he may destroy the true faith, and, under the name and guise of evangelical doctrine, put an end to all evangelical peace, and love, and all good order." The sentence of ban and double ban was pronounced on him and every friend and adherent to his heresy, and, after a certain date (May 14th), all persons were cautioned against harboring or protecting him, and he was ordered to be delivered up to the officers, wherever found.

When Luther was returning from Worms, and before the publication of the ban against him, some knights, at the instance of Frederick the Wise, took him to the Wartburg Castle, on the heights above Eisenach, lest he might be captured by his enemies, and possibly suffer death. He here lived as "Junker Georg" (Squire George), a sobriquet given him by the jovial knights. He used his pen vigorously during his eight months "in Patmos," as he called his sojourn. No day was without its line. While here he translated the New Testament entire, and parts of the Old.

The New Testament was printed in September, 1522, and did more than anything else to make the Reformation permanent. It went through sixteen original editions in ten years, so great was the thirst for the Word; and the reprints in the same time amounted to fifty-four. Luther's Bible was translated directly from the Hebrew and the Greek, with wonderful clearness and force of style, and is a fairly faithful version. It almost created the German language, crystallizing it in forms of strong, pithy, and expressive speech.

CHAPTER V

LUTHER: FURTHER LABORS AND PERSONAL CHARACTER—1520–1546

[AUTHORITIES.—See bibliography to preceding chapter. For able and intelligent estimates of Luther's personality, work, and influence from different points of view the reader should consult Mozley, Essays (London, 1878); Tulloch, Leaders of the Reformation (3d ed., enlarged, Edinb., 1883); Hedge, Martin Luther and other Essays (Boston, 1888). Luther's contributions to Hymnology have an adequate memorial in Leonard Woolsey Bacon's The Hymns of Martin Luther set to their Original Melodies, with an English Version (N. Y., 1884). Luther as a Bible Translator is the subject of an article by Dr. Edward Rhiem, translated for the *Baptist Review*, Oct., 1884. A thoroughly sound estimate of Luther and a most interesting view of special aspects of his career are given by the late Principal Tulloch in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1884. Carlyle found in the great Reformer a character in which his sombre and rugged genius could take delight, and he has paid a noble tribute in his Heroes and Hero-Worshippers. The four-hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth brought out some fine additions to the Luther literature.]

Reformation Endangered by its Friends

LUTHER was now compelled to pay the penalty of every great reformer. He had to shield his work from the errors of his friends. Carlstadt, a firm adherent of the Protestant cause, began to think that Luther did not go far enough. He declared that the Reformation was still tinged too strongly with Romanism, and, at the head of a fanatical band, the Zwickau Prophets, he made a fierce fight against Luther. Luther wrote to them from his "Patmos," in December, 1521, as follows: "This business has been undertaken in a harum-scarum fashion, with great rashness and violence. I do not like it at all; and, that you may know it, when it comes to the point, I will not stand by you in this business. You have set about it without me, and so you may see how you can get out of it without me. Believe me, I know the devil well enough. It is he alone who has set out to bring disgrace on the Word." The fanatics would tear

down every reminder of Romanism—the ornamentation, pictures, and everything else but the bare walls of the churches. They would make such a thorough work with Rome that not a trace would be left of the old order. They would destroy every work of Christian art, in sculpture or on canvas, wherever found. They turned prophets, and saw visions. Luther, from his watch-tower, saw the danger that threatened the whole Protestant cause, and was ill at ease. He could stay no longer in the Wartburg. Duke George was ready to arrest him, wherever he could be found at large, but Luther was willing to take the risk. His true friend, the Elector, cautioned him of his danger from Duke George, but the Reformer wrote back: "One thing I can say for myself: if things are at Leipzig as they are at Wittenberg, I would still go there, even if it rained Duke Georges for nine days, and every one of them were nine times as fierce as he." He plainly told the anxious Elector that he did not want his protection, that there was no real protection in a ruler of such faith, and that he, Luther, would go under God's protection to Wittenberg. He kept his promise.

On March 3d, 1522, he left the Wartburg, and, proceeding without a guard, reached Wittenberg in safety. The condition of things was alarming. The Zwickau Prophets had frightened the Reformers. Melanchthon was too weak in nerve to withstand their boldness. He could not resist them, and trembled for the whole Protestant fabric. The Prophets declared that they had received special revelations from God to go even further than religious reform, to resist all civil authority, and set up a temporal kingdom. When Luther appeared in Wittenberg it brought confidence to his friends, and to Protestants. He was wise in every movement, and did not even mention the names of the fanatics. For a week he publicly preached against them, but with consummate tact, and, as a result, they left the city a disorganized mass.

The German peasantry had long been oppressed by the princes, and had several times risen in revolt. In the years 1476, 1491, 1498, and 1503 they had rebelled against their rulers, but were overcome, and yet were kept down only by violent means. The peasantry saw, in the present religious convulsion, another opportunity for revolt. A league was formed in 1514; by 1524 the insurrec-

Peasants' War

tion broke out publicly; and by the spring of 1525 it was general. The peasants were largely in the Protestant interest. They pleaded the Bible as their justification in demanding liberty of conscience and freedom from civil oppression. Luther was now put upon trial in a new direction. He studied the matter closely, and then took the side of law and order, but in an address to the princes told them of the wrong of oppression, and cautioned moderation in dealing with the fanatics. The peasants were fully conquered, and their leader, Münzer, was beheaded.

Luther now addressed himself more than ever to severe literary labors. He saw that his work needed consolidation. He must instruct the people, who were looking to him for spiritual guidance. The Münster fanaticism was proof of the great need of Protestantism for the most judicious and safe instruction. So, by pen and speech, he wrought with prodigious vigor. Through the kindness of friends, his sermons and lectures were published immediately after delivery. They were robust in style, and consisted of strong and often homely speech. The people read each word with the gladness that came from an immediate understanding. His translation of the Bible, the strongest and most nervous and comprehensible ever executed, went all over the land. His principle in translation was contained in his own words: "For translating the Bible, we must have a pious, true, industrious, reverent, Christian, learned, experienced, and disciplined heart. We must ask the mother in the house, the children in the alley, the common man in the market-place, how to speak German, and put the language they speak in his own jaws."

Luther's Literary Labors

As a specimen of Luther's care that he might translate the Bible into a language which the people might understand, he had a butcher "kill some sheep for him," and tell him the names of every part, in order that he might translate accurately those parts of Leviticus relating to the Jewish sacrifices. He wrote his friend Spalatin a request to give him the names and minute descriptions of all the precious stones mentioned in Revelation xxi., as constituting the walls of the celestial city.

Luther's works multiplied rapidly. About one hundred and twenty separate writings appeared from his pen. His Smaller

and Larger Catechisms became a household possession throughout German Protestantism. His thirty hymns were sung in palace and hut with equal joy. The favorites were, his martial hymn,

Hymns and Other Works

"A mighty fortress is our God,
A bulwark never failing;"

his Christmas Hymn,

"From heaven above to earth I come,
To bear good news to every home;"

his Children's Hymn,

"Sleep well, my dear;"

and the Hymn of Providence,

"Flung to the heedless winds,
Or on the waters cast."

Luther's writings were born of the occasion. He saw deeply and felt intensely. He held himself ready to sing, or speak, or write, as he perceived a need and felt an inspiration. He thought in images, and all his works abound in striking pictures. To him the devil was no myth, but a visible creature, whom his own eyes had seen all too frequently. Hence he frequently addressed him as Mr., or Madam, Devil. Luther's commentaries were practical expositions, little space being given to philological discussions. It was his habit to present the argument of a book in a full introduction, and in language that the uneducated could understand. His interpretations were crisp and strong declarations of the author's meaning. He gave conclusions, and but little of the process by which he reached them.

Luther's personal characteristics were of a very striking character. He was of ardent and impulsive nature, and called things by the first name that came to him. He was born for war, and yet was always sighing for peace. His element was the smoke and flame and violence of the hot battle-field. Yet, strangely enough, he thought himself very mild in language. When a friend once expostulated with him on the harshness of his language against the papacy, he replied, in all seriousness, "On the contrary, I complain that, alas! I am too mild. I wish that I could breathe out lightning, and that every word were a thunder-bolt!" A hair-splitting theologian once quoted to him St. Augustine's reply to the

Luther's Personality

question, "Where God was before heaven was created?" that he was in himself; and then asked the Reformer what his answer would be. Luther replied, "He was building hell for such idle, presumptuous, frivolous, and inquisitive spirits as you!" His opinions were very decided concerning some physicians: "Alack for him that depends on physic! When I was sick at Smalcald, the doctors made me take as much medicine as though I had been a great bull. 'Tis these wretches that people the graveyards; though able, cautious, and experienced physicians are the gift of God, those without fear of God are mere homicides. I consider that exercise and change of air do more good than all their purgings and bleedings. When I feel indisposed, I generally manage to get around by a strict diet, going to bed early, and keeping my mind at rest."

In faith, Martin Luther was as fervent as any crusader in the heat of conflict. The time of prayer was his supreme hour.

Luther's Faith

Every prayer was an importunity. He would not think of silence, much less refusal. He argued with God, and showed him how unlike himself it would be not to grant his petitions. He caught hold of the very robe of the Master, and would not let it go. Or, rather, he violently grasped the divine arm with both hands, and held it until his prayer was answered. He had the habit of recording his wants in the form of a catalogue, and taking them to God in order, as petitions which God could hardly be true to his own honor if he failed to answer. He was overheard to offer the following prayer just before his appearance in the presence of the Council at Worms: "Almighty, Everlasting God, how terrible this world is! How it would open its jaws to devour me! And how weak is my trust in thee! O thou my God, help me against all the wisdom of this world! Do thou the work; it is thine, not mine. I have nothing to bring me here. I have no controversy to maintain—not I—with the great ones of the earth. I, too, would fain that my days should glide along, happy and calm. But the cause is thine. It is righteous; it is eternal. O Lord, help me! Thou that art faithful, thou that art unchangeable! It is not in any man I trust. O God, my God, dost thou not hear me? Art thou dead? No, thou art hiding thyself. O Lord my God, where art thou? Come, come! Thou hast chosen me for this work.

I know it. O, then, arise and work! Be thou on my side, for the sake of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, who is my defence, my shield, and my fortress. I am ready—ready to forsake life for thy truth—patient as a lamb. Though the world should be full of demons; though my body should be stretched on the rack, cut into pieces, consumed to ashes, the soul is thine. For this I have the assurance of thy Word. Amen. O God, help thou me! Amen." . . . (and then, as if in soliloquy) "Amen, Amen—that means, Yes, Yes, this shall be done!"

When Luther saw the great need of sustaining and building up the people who were following his leadership, he devised wise plans for ecclesiastical organization. In 1527 he and Melanchthon, at the instance of the Elector John, drew up a plan of general visitation. An order of doctrine and service was established. Parochial schools were instituted, catechetical service was enjoined, and full arrangements made for a complete ecclesiastical life. At the Diet of Augsburg (1530) the Augsburg Confession, drawn up by Melanchthon, was adopted for the Protestants of Germany. In the Convention at Smalcald the Protestants formed a compact, which was the basis of their subsequent civil and ecclesiastical unity. The theological standard of the Protestants was the "Loci Theologici" of Melanchthon. Luther never undertook a systematic treatment of doctrine, but committed this work to his nearest friend, Melanchthon, who was a complement to him in many other respects.

Organization of German Protestant Church

Luther's private life was of a piece with his public career. His labors before the world drew all their inspiration from his pure and simple home-life. In 1525 he married Catherine von Bora, a nun of the cloister of Nimptchen, and henceforth his home became the centre of his labors and the rallying-place of friends. His children were his loving companions. In the intervals of his engrossing labors he would sing, and, getting new inspiration, would again take up his pen. Walther, the electoral chapelmaster, who was deputed to assist Luther in the arrangement of music for public worship, thus wrote of him: "Many a precious hour did he sing. I have often seen him, the dear man, become so happy and transported in spirit that he could not get enough of it. He knew how to say wondrous things

Luther's Private Life

of music." Luther was especially fond of having the students visit him, and sit at his table. He was always thinking of others, and how he might instruct and comfort. His engrossing labors wore heavily upon him. His early ascetic life left an impaired constitution, which he was never able fully to restore. He went on a journey to assist in reconciling a difficulty between the Mansfeld counts, and died from home, but in the place where he was born. He breathed his last, after thanking God for the revelation of his Son, and for having given him the privilege of testifying for him before the world and the pope.

CHAPTER VI

MELANCHTHON AND OTHER GERMAN REFORMERS

[Authorities.—We are indebted to Dr. F. A. Cox, a devout and scholarly Baptist minister of London in the first half of the nineteenth century, for first making English readers familiar with the Life of Melanchthon (2d. ed., London, 1817). Ledderhose's Life was translated by Krotel (Phila., 1855). Dr. Schaff gives an interesting and valuable sketch in his Three Biographies: Augustine, Melanchthon, Neander (N. Y., 1886). A full and excellent article (5 pp.) by Landerer, revised by Herrlinger, appears in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia. D. F. Strauss's Life of Ulrich von Hutten has been translated by Mrs. G. Sturge (London, 1874). Compare the Rev. G. W. Kitchen, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th edition. In the same work J. A. Crowe traces the influence of the Reformation on the work of Cranach. It is an interesting fact that the Duke of Saxony conferred on Cranach the monopoly of selling medicines in Wittenberg, and that his chemist's shop existed till destroyed by fire in 1871. He also gave him exclusive privilege as to copyright on Bibles. Luther used his presses.]

Philip Melanchthon

The friends and helpers of Luther came from every class. Of all these, Melanchthon was destined to be of most service, not only as an immediate co-laborer with Luther, but as a promoter of the general cause of Protestantism. He was born in Bretten, South Germany, in 1497,* and was educated at Pforzheim, Heidelberg, and Tübingen. When only seventeen years of age he became a professor in the Tübingen University, and began to attract atten-

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* Some say 1498. Landerer, Fisher, Hardwick, say 1497.

tion by his remarkable knowledge of the classic writers. He edited Terence and other authors, and threw a new light upon both Greek and Roman writers. His fame spread abroad into other countries. Erasmus wrote of him the following: "What hopes may we not conceive of Philip Melanchthon, though as yet very young, almost a boy [he was only eighteen], but equally to be admired for his proficiency in both languages! What quickness of invention! What purity of diction! What vastness of memory! What variety of reading! What modesty and gracefulness of behavior! And what a princely mind!" To Œcolampadius the same man, Erasmus, wrote: "Of Melanchthon I have already the highest opinion, and cherish the most magnificent hopes; so much so that I am persuaded Christ designs this youth to excel us all. He will totally eclipse *Erasmus*." He was called to Wittenberg as professor in 1518, and the same week began to lecture. He produced a profound impression immediately. Luther heard him, and was charmed by him. A friendship immediately sprang up between them, which was never broken until death terminated the union of twenty-eight years. The annals of literature and theology do not furnish a more beautiful illustration of the manner in which a great work can be performed by the combined action of two men than we find in the case of Luther and Melanchthon. There was no resemblance between them in quality of mind or temperament. The one thing which they had in common was the great cause of reform, and to that all other interests and gifts were made subordinate.

Melanchthon's Labors

The labors of Melanchthon were directed at once to the improvement of the methods of study in the university. His students increased rapidly, and soon rose to about twenty-five hundred. He insisted that the old scholastic philosophy was ridiculous and consisted of terms rather than ideas. He urged the students to the fountain-heads of truth, and placed before them the Bible as the only source of real knowledge. He then entered into the strife concerning indulgences, Luther going before him, and Melanchthon following closely with his philological lore, his fine logic, and his marvellous unfoldings of scriptural truth. The life of Melanchthon was now so thoroughly identified with that of Luther that it is difficult to separate the two.

They lived in the same town, Wittenberg. They were in constant consultation, each doing what he was most able to do, and both working with unwearied zeal for the triumph of the cause to which they gave their lives. During Luther's stay in the Wartburg, Melanchthon was sorely grieved. He needed Luther's martial spirit, his strong will, his quick intuitions as to the best measures to win new victories. Hence he wrote such words as these: "I feel the need I have of good advice. Our Elijah is confined at a distance from us, though we are expecting and anticipating his return. What shall I say more? His absence absolutely torments me." On the other hand, Luther felt the need of Melanchthon's calm spirit, and, among many other words of the same character, he wrote him from the Wartburg: "For the glory of the Word of God and the mutual consolation of myself and others, I would rather be consumed in a blazing fire than remain here half alive and utterly useless. If I perish, the prophet of Christ will not perish, and you, I hope, like another Elisha, will succeed Elijah." Luther, however, was sometimes out of patience with Melanchthon's great infirmity, despondency, and wrote him the following, in reply to Melanchthon's gloomy picture of the Protestant outlook: "Let those who please talk against us. But why are we to be always looking on the dark side of things? Why not indulge hopes of better times?" He compared Paul's appearance with Melanchthon's in the following words: "Paul must have been an insignificant-looking person, with no presence; a poor, dry, little man, like Master Philip." While Luther was still in the Wartburg, he, nevertheless, longed for the society of his "poor, dry, little man" more than for all the robust men of the Fatherland. So, when he returned to Wittenberg, and put the fanatics to shame and flight, he wrote with great joy to a relative: "I am in Amsdorff's house, with my beloved friend, Philip Melanchthon."

Melanchthon's regularity in work was a marvel. He was seldom known to miss a lecture from any cause. On the day, in 1520, when he was married to Catharine Crappin, the burgomaster's daughter, he departed for once from his inflexible punctuality, and posted on the roster the following release of his students from hearing him on Paul's Epistle to the Romans:

"A studiis hodiè facit otia grata Philippus,
Nec nobis Pauli dogmata sacra leget."

"Rest from your studies, Philip says you may;
We'll read no lectures on St. Paul to-day."

Year after year passed by, and Melanchthon was always at his post, lecturing to the many students who had come from different countries to hear him. If, in the interests of the good cause of reform, he was absent for a day or two, he always returned to his post with renewed vigor. His lecture-room was his throne. He was devoted to theological students, and made them his trusted friends. In his last illness he thought of them, and wished, when too weak, to be dressed, and deliver a lecture to them. He died in 1560. A short time before his death he wrote his reasons why it is better for the Christian to die than to live, the column on the right containing the blessings gained by dying, and that on the left the evils avoided:

Evils Removed.	*Advantages Gained.*
"You leave your sins. You are delivered from controversy and the rage of theologians."	"You come to the light. You will see God. You will contemplate the Son of God. You will understand those wonderful mysteries which you cannot comprehend in this life: namely, why we are made as we are, and the union of the two natures in Christ."

No man appreciated Melanchthon's character and work more highly than Luther. Of his "Theological Commonplaces" (*Loci Theologici*), Luther said: "For theological study it is the best book, next to the Bible. Melanchthon has no ground for fear." Of Melanchthon's books, as a whole, he said: "I love his books better than my own. He ploughs and plants and sows and waters with joy, while I am only a coarse forester, digging up the roots and tearing out the thorns."

Melanchthon was the theological builder for the German Reformation. He wrote the two symbols of the Lutheran Church, the Augsburg Confession (1530) and the Apology for the Augsburg Confession, both admirable statements of doctrine; and he presented the so-called Saxon Confession, a

declaration of the Protestant faith, to the Council of Trent (1551).

The friendship between Luther and Melanchthon, as a powerful factor towards the success of the Reformation, was only an illustration of a general fact. There were other attachments not less charming. The whole period of the planting of Protestantism abounds in remarkable adjustments and surrenders of individual tastes and capacities for the achievement of a great end. Each man was as necessary to the rest as their joint work was necessary to the success of the whole movement. It was a harmony of opposites, and as complete a providential blending of diverse natures as the world had seen since the days of the apostles. All temperaments and all classes of society were drawn upon to make the one harmonious picture of a young and vigorous Protestantism. Some of Luther's first and strongest friends were of the princely and noble class. Of the rulers, we count no less than six who were devoted friends of the new movement for the liberation of the conscience, and followed the leadership of Luther, namely: George, Maurice, Frederick the Wise, John, and John Frederick, all princes of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse. While enjoying the full confidence of these men, Luther never faltered in the assertion of personal independence. He never compromised a principle. In fact, he gained the confidence of the princes not merely by his valiant defence of the truth, but by his candor towards them.

Other Friends of Reform

With the princes, we must not omit to join two fearless knights as friends of Protestantism—Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen. These men offered Luther the use of their swords and a home in their castles, but he declined them both, saying that his was a spiritual conflict. In Luther's immediate circle, as coworkers with him, the scholars Justus Jonas, George Rörer, Cruciger, Forster, and Bugenhagen stand next to Melanchthon. These men were mostly won to the cause of reform by the reading of Luther's writings, or the hearing of his lectures, or by his hymns; and, having once come within the charm of his person, became his willing co-operators in the various departments for which each was fitted. Bugenhagen was elected pastor in Wittenberg through Luther's influence, and was a powerful organizer of the new Protestant Church

Von Hutten and Von Sickingen

in North Germany. Jonas was a professor in the university, and through his eloquence the city of Halle was led to adopt the Protestant cause. Lucas Cranach, the most celebrated German painter of his times, was an intimate friend of Luther, and through him we have accurate portraits of the parents, the entire family of Luther, and nearly all his friends and fellow-workers. Cranach had a keen sense of the grotesque and satirical, and it was his pleasure to furnish woodcuts as adjuncts to Luther's stinging words against the abuses of the times.

CHAPTER VII

THE REFORMATION IN GERMAN SWITZERLAND

[AUTHORITIES.—An excellent article on Zwingli, by the Rev. Henry S. Burrage, calling special attention to his relations with the Anabaptists, appears in the *Baptist Review*, Jan., 1884. Güder has a comprehensive treatment in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia. His Life has been written by Grob (N. Y., 1883), Blackburn (Phila., 1868), Christoffel (Edinb., 1858), and Mrs. Hardy (Edinb., 1890).]

THE political condition of Switzerland was highly favorable to the introduction of Protestant ideas. The country was divided into cantons, or districts, an arrangement that had existed from early times. Each canton was, in a measure, independent of the rest, and yet was connected in a federation with all the others. While the Roman Catholic Church held sway over all, the people of each canton claimed the right of deciding what their confession should be. The spirit pervading all the cantons was that of civil liberty; and so, when the Protestant doctrines descended from the North the Swiss saw in them a system of religion closely allied to their political traditions and preferences. Freedom in the State, as the Swiss mind saw it, was inseparable from freedom of conscience. In Zurich, the largest city in Eastern Switzerland, the doctrines of the German Reformers, and especially the works of Luther, took strong hold. The people, speaking the same language with the Germans, read the earliest

Political Condition of Switzerland

Protestant writings with interest, while correspondence with the Reformers fanned the flame.

Zwingli

Ulric Zwingli was the leader of the new movement in Switzerland. He was born in Wildhaus, in 1484. In his ninth year he went to Wesen, where he enjoyed the instruction of his uncle, the dean of that place. He was designed by his parents for the priesthood, and no pains were spared to fit him for his calling. In 1494 he went to Basel, and for three years was a student in the St. Theodore School. He then went to Berne, where the celebrated Humanist Heinrich Wölfin introduced him to a profound knowledge of the classics. He then went to Vienna, where, having Latinized his name, he appeared as the student Cogentius. In 1502 he returned to Basel, and, in addition to prosecuting further studies, taught in the Latin school of St. Martin. Wyttenbach came to Basel as professor, and he entered a bold protest against indulgences. Zwingli came under his influence, and from that time onward it is likely that the seeds of Protestantism lay in his mind. In 1506 he became priest in Glarus, and remained there ten years. All the while he was an ardent student. He was enraptured with the new Humanism, and yet he regarded it only as an aid to the study of the Bible. He wrote at this time: "Nothing but God shall prevent me from acquiring Greek; not for fame, but for the sake of the Holy Scriptures." In 1516 Zwingli went to the celebrated Abbey of Einsiedeln, which is situated on a lofty mountain on the north side of Lake Zurich, and is still visited annually by many thousands of pilgrims. Zwingli, seeing the blind idolatry of the worshippers of the miraculous image of the Virgin Mary in that abbey, began to preach against the superstition.

Zwingli's Rupture with Rome

Zwingli awakened violent opposition in Einsiedeln. He was branded as a heretic, and yet was made by Pucci, the pope's agent, the object of great attention and flattery. The hope was, to conquer him by dissimulation. But Zwingli saw through the deception, and kept steadily on in his course. He did not remain, however, any longer in Einsiedeln, but removed to Zurich (1519), where he was priest in the cathedral. Here his sermons created the greatest sensation for their freedom of utterance and evangelical tone, and were attended by multitudes from all parts of the country. Indulgences were just now sold in public in that

city, and Zwingli proclaimed against them. Zurich was ready for the Reformation, and was only waiting for a leader. The Humanist circles were tired of the old darkness, and were eager for the light of the gospel. The uneducated masses were overwhelmed with the oppression of the Hapsburgs and the priesthood. "I wish," said Zwingli, "that they had bored a hole through the pope's letter, and hung it to his messenger's back, that he might carry it home. If a wolf is seen in the country, you sound an alarm, that it may be caught, but you will not defend yourselves from the wolves that ruin the bodies and souls of men. How appropriate their red hats and cloaks! If you shake them, out fall ducats. If you wring them, out flows the blood of your sons, brothers, and friends."

Such language could not be tolerated. Maledictions were hurled against Zwingli. But he continued to preach, and the people thronged to hear him. He was fearless, scriptural, and discreet. He was now drawn within the circle of Reformers, and at once became their head among the Swiss. He preached strongly against indulgences, Mariolatry, clerical celibacy, and, indeed, the whole cluster of those perverted doctrines against which Luther was warring in the North. Mass was abolished in Zurich, and, one by one, the institutions of Romanism fell to the ground. Zwingli's "Sixty-seven Articles" committed him so thoroughly to the Protestant cause that no retracing of his steps was supposable. He was very busy with his pen. His "Choosing and Freedom of Foods," his "Christian Introduction," and "True and False Religion" were masterpieces of polemical literature.

Variations from the German Reform

The simplicity of Zwingli's views of worship was a fundamental quality. His repugnance to Romanism was so strong that he resolved on a complete renunciation. He would have no pictures or organs or bells in the churches, or any reminder of the old faith. He was morbidly intense in his dread of all materialistic elements. He differed radically from Luther on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the German Reformer holding to consubstantiation, while Zwingli regarded the bread and wine as only symbols of the body and blood of Christ. The two Reformers came into open difference. A discussion was arranged, and they met in the Castle of Marburg, October, 1529, where each defended his views. No compromise was reached. Luther, with

a piece of chalk in his hand, wrote in great characters on the table, "Hoc est corpus meum" (this is my body), and with this appeal to Christ's own words by which to defend his belief in consubstantiation, the discussion closed. Henceforward there was no agreement between German and Swiss theology on the Lord's Supper. Luther and Zwingli returned to their fields of labor, each as firmly intent upon the one work of reform as though he did not differ from his brother on non-essentials in theological interpretation. Bucer tried very hard to harmonize the Swiss and German differences, but failed completely. The Helvetic Confession, adopted in 1536, became the final standard of doctrine for the Protestants throughout Eastern Switzerland.

Eastern Cantons

The religious conflict in the eastern cantons became so bitter that it grew into an appeal to arms. Zurich, which had been included in the bishopric of Constance, threw off all episcopal allegiance, banished Latin from its churches, and burned the time-honored relics. Some of the eastern cantons followed the lead of Zurich, while others remained firm to Catholicism. The result was a civil war. The Roman Catholic cantons were aided by the pope, the Austrian empire, and even by Spain, while France and England helped the Protestant cantons. In the battle of Cappel, near Zurich, October 11th, 1531, the Protestant army was almost annihilated and Zwingli was killed. Yet a moral victory remained with the Protestants, inasmuch as they were allowed by the Treaty of Cappel the free exercise of their religion in their own cantons, while restoring Catholicism in the five cantons.

Basel

Basel was an important centre of Protestant movements in German Switzerland. The council which had been held there in the preceding century had left a strong desire for reform among the people. The university was a rallying-place of minds intent upon the liberty of science. Erasmus lived in its cloisters for a time, and gave his scholarly energies to the good work. Hedio, Capito, and Roublin preached the new doctrines with energy and success. Œcolampadius, though a German by birth, became pastor of St. Martin's Church, and was the acknowledged leader of the cause in the city. In other parts of Eastern Switzerland the Reformation spread with amazing rapidity, and, in addition to

Zurich and Basel, the cantons of St. Gall and Schaffhausen renounced allegiance to the Roman Catholic faith, and introduced Protestant worship and doctrines throughout their territory.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REFORMATION IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND

[Authorities. — There are numerous monographs on Calvin. The elaborate Life by Paul Henry (London and N. Y., 1852) is valuable for its materials. The author was an ardent admirer of Calvin. Dyer's Life is valuable and impartial (London, 1849; N. Y., 1851). Bungener has written, in a sympathetic spirit, Calvin (Edinb., 1863). Bungener was a native of Geneva, an enthusiastic Protestant, and a man of wide historical and literary learning. Thomas McCrie has written a book on The Early Years of John Calvin (London, 1880). Principal Tulloch, with his usual lucidity and impartiality, discusses Calvin in his Leaders of the Reformation (Edinb., 1883). Renan has a brilliant essay in his Studies of Religious History and Criticism (N. Y., 1864). He calls Calvin "the most Christian man of his generation." Guizot wrote a fine essay on Calvin, in which he gives a sober and fair estimate of the man and of his theology (London, 1869; N. Y., 1880). For the relations of Calvin and Servetus see Dr. R. Willis, Servetus and Calvin (London, 1877). Compare *Popular Science Monthly*, Nov., 1877. There are admirable articles in the Cyclopædias—by Dr. McClintock himself in McClintock and Strong, by Dr. W. L. Alexander in the Britannica, and by Herzog and Jackson in the Schaff-Herzog, the latter especially valuable for its bibliography. The Life of his friend Beza was translated for the Calvin Translation Society (Edinb., 1844). On Farel, see Kirchhofer, Life of Farel (London, 1837); Blackburn, Life of Farel (Phila., 1865). For the Life of Beza consult the long and well-written article in McClintock and Strong, and Cunningham's Reformers and Theology of the Reformation (Edinb., 1862), essay vii.]

Two Protestant Currents

The influence of the German Reformers was felt more slowly among the French-speaking people of Switzerland than among those who spoke German. The difference in language made the work of indoctrination no easy process. The course of Protestant evangelism in French Switzerland was simple—an eastern current setting in from German Switzerland, and a western one coming directly from France, and entering by Geneva as a door. The two met in Berne, which city at once became a centre for the dis-

semination of new doctrines throughout the French cantons. After the battle of Cappel the movement spread rapidly, and went as far as Geneva, where it allied itself with the forces already in operation there. Very soon a strong Protestant party arose in that city, which was firm in the beginning, and never wavered until it gained a complete victory.

Geneva had been long an object of the ambition of the dukes of Savoy, an historical struggle later commemorated by Byron in the incident which suggested his "Prisoner of Chillon," an historical poem, in which Bonnivard tells the sad story of a long period of persecution for conscience' sake:

"My limbs are bow'd, though not with toil,
But rusted with a vile repose;
For they have been a dungeon's spoil,
And mine has been the fate of those
To whom the goodly earth and air
Are bann'd and barr'd—forbidden fare;
But this was for my father's faith
I suffer'd chains and courted death:
That father perish'd at the stake
For tenets he would not forsake;
And for the same his lineal race
In darkness found a dwelling-place.
We were seven—who now are one,
Six in youth, and one in age,
Finish'd as they had begun,
Proud of Persecution's rage;
One in fire, and two in field,
Their belief with blood have seal'd;
Dying as their father died,
For the God their foes denied;—
Three were in a dungeon cast,
Of whom this wreck is left the last."

A religious convention was held in Geneva in 1534. Farel, who was the representative of the new doctrines, labored by speech and pen for their introduction. As in Eastern Switzerland, so here, the people were their own rulers, and had resisted all attempts at absorption by ambitious princes. Popular meetings were held, where both Romanism and Protestantism were discussed freely. The doctrines of the Reformers spread, however, until the majority of the citizens declared in favor of them. Anton Froment and Peter Viret co-operated with Farel in prosecuting the one work which lay near their hearts.

All the great Reformers had a prompt and subtile perception of character. They seemed to recognize their helpers by unerring instinct. One July evening, in 1536, a French stranger called on Farel, asked advice, expressed sympathy with the Reformation, and was about to take his leave and proceed on his journey. But Farel was so attracted to him that he invited him to spend a few days. This stranger was John Calvin. He was born in Noyon, France, 1509, and died in Geneva, 1564. He received an excellent education, and was thoroughly prepared for the practice of the law. His acquaintance with the classics was intimate. His first work, written when a young man of twenty-three, was a critical edition of Seneca's essay on "Clemency." He studied in Paris, Bourges, and Orleans. While in the last place, and about the year 1532, he came in contact with a German Reformer, who told him more fully than he had known the great doctrines of the Protestants of Germany. Calvin resolved to turn his attention to theology, and to accept the doctrines of the new reform. In due time we find him going abroad. There was no peace for his soul, nor any rest for his body. He went southward, and for a time stayed in Angoulême, where, for a century, there lingered certain pleasant traditions of the quiet stranger, who studied hard by day and night. He left Angoulême, and knew not whither to go. In the preface to his "Psalms" he spoke of this period of early uncertainty and anguish of soul: "God led me about by so many circuitous paths that I could nowhere find rest." During 1534 he wandered about in many directions, conversing with the most cultivated people, and doing all that lay in his power to communicate a knowledge of Protestant doctrines. We now find him suddenly in his native Noyon, now publishing a little book (the "Psychopannychia") against the French Anabaptists, now halting awhile in Paris, and now—with a good prospect of being cast into prison with the rest of the outspoken foes of the papacy—resolving to go "to some hidden corner" in Germany, where he could study theology in quiet.

John Calvin

Of all Calvin's friends, only one accompanied him—Louis du Tillet. He was in full sympathy with him, and the two resolved to travel together and share each other's fortunes. The two fugitives had no easy task to reach the limits of France. A servant stole all their

Calvin in Basel

money and ran away. They reached Basel in 1535 in a penniless condition; but the Protestants of that hospitable city had welcomed Farel ten years before, and also, later, both Cop and Courault, and now they welcomed with the same cordiality both Calvin and his friend. While here he devoted himself with passionate eagerness to Biblical studies, for he knew that the Bible underlay the entire Protestant fabric. He heard unfavorable news from France. The Protestants were thrust into prison, and their lives were in constant danger. They were without cohesion, guidance, or intention. Calvin resolved to write a theological system for their special benefit. He now conceived the idea of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," which he published in 1536, and which became the doctrinal standard for all the Reformed churches of the Continent and Great Britain.

Return to Geneva

Calvin had no great sense of relief when his book was completed. His work was published under the assumed name of "Martianus Lucanius," and so retired had been his manner of living, and so timid his nature, that no one knew of his plan or who this new author might be. Probably to avoid discovery, as much as for any other reason, he determined to leave Basel. He, in company with his friend Du Tillet, journeyed to Italy, and stayed awhile in Ferrara, where Renata, the Protestant daughter of Louis XII. of France, was duchess. He then quietly returned to his native town, Noyon, and arranged the affairs of his now broken home, and left it forever. He took with him his brother Anton, who was in full sympathy with his views. He now turned his face towards Germany again, intending to make Strasburg, or perhaps Basel, his permanent home. The war of this time, 1536, made his journey a dangerous undertaking; and, the way to Strasburg being closed against him, he was compelled to go southward through Savoy. One evening, about July 1st, he arrived at Geneva. He expected to stay one night, and in the morning to proceed northward. Farel was fascinated by his scholarship and spirit.

Calvin and Farel

Farel invited Calvin to settle in Geneva, and take charge of the new Protestant Church of that city. Calvin refused. He pleaded his youth, inexperience, constitutional timidity, and the need of continuing his studies in a place where he could have perfect quiet. He begged to

be spared. But Farel saw in all these reasons only the better ground why Calvin should stay in Geneva. He said, in great excitement, to him: "You plead your studies. But, in the name of the Almighty God, I say to thee, God's curse will overtake thee if thou deprivest God's work of thy help, and seek thyself more than Christ!" Farel's threat accomplished what his persuasion could not do. The call of an hour lengthened into a visit, and the visit into a whole lifetime. The acquaintance between Farel and Calvin ripened into one of those beautiful friendships with which Christianity has always abounded in its periods of throe and agony. By a natural gravitation of his genius, Calvin assumed the direction of the Protestant movements from Geneva as a centre. He was soon in charge of the civil administration of the city, and remained identified with the interests of its citizens until his death. Without knowing it, the group of Genevan Reformers were rather waiting for guidance than following a settled policy. They were pausing for a leader, and now they found one in Calvin.

Calvin and the Genevese Church

To a man of less nerve and wisdom than Calvin, the work of organizing the Protestants of Geneva into a compact and aggressive Church would have been a hopeless undertaking. He saw that the first need was a common platform of faith — a Confession. In three months' time the Genevese possessed their Confession, in twenty-one articles. Farel's name stood as the responsible author, but Calvin's exact style and strong spirit pervade every part. On November 10th it was placed before the city council for adoption, and was accepted. Then came new measures, one after another, in rapid succession—a plan for popular education, a scheme of organization of the Church in Geneva, measures of discipline and support, and a catechism. Civil regulations were shaped according to the new ecclesiastical constitution, and some of the regulations were severe and exacting in the extreme. The theologians were novices at civil legislation, but there was no want of Spartan inflexibility.

Exile of the Reformers

The Libertines, a political party of Geneva, who were opposed to the strict life of the Reformers, and saw in the Reformation a restraint on the morals of the people, arose against both Farel and Calvin, and secured their banishment. Farel, after a stay of seven

weeks in Basel, went to Neuchâtel, and thence to Metz, where, and in the neighboring Gorze, he labored zealously for the gospel. Calvin went to Strasburg, where he had once found a refuge from persecution at home. The two Reformers were at once brought into close relations with the Strasburg circle of Protestant leaders—Bucer Capito, and Hedio. It was a happy company. Calvin calculated on a permanent stay there, for they saw little hope of the early rise of Protestant authority in Geneva. He took papers of citizenship as a Strasburg resident, and, later, in 1540, was married to Idelette von Buren, a lady in every way worthy of his confidence and affection. He became pastor of the French Emigrant Church, and, with his practical duties, was absorbed in his studies.

Calvin's Recall to Geneva

In due time the people of Geneva repented of their error in banishing the two Reformers, for they found they needed them for the government of the city. Calvin was recalled, but, with true nobility of soul, refused to accept the offer unless Farel, his early benefactor, was also permitted to return. The same liberty was therefore granted Farel, though it is not known that he accepted the privilege.* But Calvin was welcomed back to Geneva amid the rejoicings of the whole population. Henceforth Calvin stood at the head of affairs, and continued in that relation until his death. He "belonged to Geneva henceforth, and Geneva to him." The organization of the Genevese Church was perfected in directions where it had proved to be weak; Calvin preached repentance, that the entire population should repent of their sins of many years, and begin to serve God anew. Viret became a powerful aid to him, and there was no want of strong and wise leadership. Laws relating to the clergy, the church, divine service, and schools were enacted, and there was no department passed by in the new administration under the direction of Calvin. A Protestant university was established in that city, where young men were trained in the new doctrines of Protestantism. A theological seminary was organized in Lausanne, under the direction of Viret, and strongly aggressive measures were employed to extend the work throughout the French cantons.

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* According to Hagenbach and Kurtz, Farel did not return to Geneva.

The work left unfinished by Calvin at his death was taken up by Beza. His nature was different from that of Calvin. The latter had a broader mind, was stronger in purpose, and could have ruled a kingdom had he been born to an earthly crown. He was a master in the management of men, less by accommodating differences than by inducing men to accept his own views. His theology found its way into Germany, where it produced the Reformed Church; was taught in the University of Heidelberg; extended to Holland; formed the basis of the prevailing confession there; crossed the Channel into England; exerted a marked influence on the new Anglican Church; ascended into Scotland; became the theological foundation of the Scotch National Church; came over to this country with the Pilgrims in the *Mayflower* in 1620; and has had no small share in moulding the faith of the people in the colonies, and the states and territories which have grown from them.

Influence of Calvin

Beza (1519–1605) carried on the incomplete labors of Calvin. He was a man of noble birth, trained for the law, of fine gifts, a scholar and a poet. In 1549 he was appointed professor of Greek in the Academy of Lausanne. He revived the sacred dramas of the Middle Ages, wrote a successful one himself, in which he cleverly contrasted Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, aided Calvin in his "Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles," and completed a metrical version of the Psalter. He made a notable defence of Protestantism before Charles IX. and a brilliant assembly of nobles and clergy in the Abbey of Poissy, near Paris, September 9th, 1561. His great service to the Reformed faith, however, was rendered in his Latin version of the New Testament (1556) and his edition of the Greek Testament (1565), both fully annotated. The later editions of his Greek text were the main basis for the Authorized Version, and his Latin version also exerted a great influence upon the King James translators.

Beza

The second Helvetic Confession, adopted in 1566, became the formula of faith for the Protestants of all French Switzerland. It was in general harmony with the Augsburg Confession, but with more emphasis on the doctrine of election. The Protestantism of Geneva and other parts of French Switzerland exerted a strong influence on the cause in France. The intercourse was constantly

Second Helvetic Confession

maintained. The works from the Genevan press, and especially the tracts, were carried by tradesmen and others into most of the southern provinces of France, and aided largely in creating a French sentiment and giving courage to the rising Huguenots. Thus Geneva, which became a refuge for the fugitive Calvin and other French Protestants, became a fort which, for generations, and, indeed, down to the present time, has discharged its Protestant artillery against the very country which produced and drove out its best sons and daughters.

CHAPTER IX

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION—FIRST PERIOD, 1509–1553

[Authorities.—On the reform of Wycliffe, among many first-class works, the three following will be sufficient: R. Lane Poole, Wycliffe and Movements for Reform (London and N. Y., 1889); G. V. Lechler, Life of Wiclif (London, 1878); T. L. Wilson, Life of Wycliffe (N. Y., 1884). From the copious literature of the English Reformation it is hard to make a selection. For the general reader, these works can be cordially commended, as at once popular, scholarly, and sympathetic: Perry, History of the Reformation in England (London and N. Y., 1886, in Creighton's Epoch Series); Perry, Student's Manual of English Church History (London, 3d ed., 1885); Williams (Bishop of Connecticut), Studies on the English Reformation (N. Y., 1881); Geikie, The English Reformation (N. Y., 1879); W. H. Beckett, The English Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, with chapters on Monastic England and the Wycliffite Reformation, with maps and portraits (London, 1890). On Colet, Erasmus, and More, see Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers of 1498 (London, 1869). T. E. Bridgett has published an exhaustive study, from a Catholic standpoint, of the Life and Writings of More (London, 1891). On the disputed character of Cranmer, let the Histories of Macaulay, Green (the larger), and Gardiner (London, 1890–91), also Hume and Froude, be compared. The best book on the English Bible Translations is Dr. J. I. Mombert's Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible (N. Y., 1883), who has given much original research to the theme, especially on the work of Tyndale. Moulton's Hist. of the English Bible (London, 1878) and Westcott's General View of the History of the English Bible (London, 1868) are also admirable works. See Demans's Tyndale: a Biography (London, R. T. S., n. d.).]

The early attempts at reformation in England were in advance of those in any other part of Europe. To that country belongs the honor of having discovered the need of a univer-

sal religious regeneration in Europe. The beginnings of reform centred in Wycliffe, born about 1315. He was a student, and afterwards professor, in Oxford. His first position of hostility to the prevailing doctrines was his declaration against the mendicant monks, who went up and down the land, extorting money from the people, and preaching against learning and progress in every form. He issued several pamphlets against them, and called loudly to his countrymen to get rid of them. So signal was his service that he was promoted to a wardenship in Oxford—namely, of Balliol Hall, or College. Four years later, in 1365, he became master of Canterbury Hall, or the Christ College of a later day.

Wycliffe

Schemes were soon in progress on the part of Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury, to eject Wycliffe, and the pope issued a bull to that effect in 1370. Wycliffe replied by a tract against the papal policy arraying itself in hostility to the nation. The king, Edward III., was already in revolt against the pope, and took up the cause of Wycliffe, who was appointed a royal chaplain and rector of Lutterworth. Wycliffe gained a clearer view every year of the corruptions of the Church, and preached boldly against them. He was summoned by the authorities of the Church for trial for heresy, but the meeting ended in a violent dispute between the Bishop of London and the Duke of Lancaster, and nothing was done. He was indicted before the pope for nineteen alleged heresies, and in 1377 the pope issued no less than five bulls against him. A second time he was tried, and escaped through the sympathy of the people. The court, which was held in Lambeth Palace, broke up in disorder, but not without commanding Wycliffe to stop preaching and writing. But he was, if possible, more industrious than ever. He spared no evil that he saw about him, and hurled anathemas against wilful pope and deluded priesthood. He died a natural death in his own house in Lutterworth. The same council which executed Huss, that of Constance, in 1415, condemned the writings of Wycliffe, and in 1428 his dust was taken from the grave and cast out upon the Avon. The event gave rise to Fuller's lines:

Attacks on Wycliffe

> "The Avon to the Severn runs,
> And Severn to the sea;
> And Wycliffe's dust shall spread abroad,
> Wide as the waters be."

Wycliffe's greatest service to the coming Reformation was, first, his translation of the New Testament, and afterwards the whole Bible, into English. It was the first attempt at reproducing any considerable portion of the Scriptures into the popular tongue, and was a new revelation to the English people. The original of his translation was the Latin Vulgate, a very faulty source, but yet good enough to create a thirst for better things and prepare the way for the pure Word. Between Wycliffe and the Reformers of Henry VIII.'s reign lay a period of nearly two centuries. But through all those years the seeds planted by Wycliffe never died. No great interval passed without some bold spirit arising, and saying strong words of protest against the errors of the times. The age was not ripe, as yet, for organized effort. The herald's mission must first be wrought out.

Wycliffe's English Bible

The political character of the English Reformation was a striking feature from the outset. In this regard the new movement differed from that in all other countries, except Holland. While the people were fully ready for religious revolt, the first organized rupture with Rome came from the king, Henry VIII. The influence of his court was favorable to the cause, not as a spiritual necessity, but as a means of national independence. Then came the inflow of Protestants from the Continent. Many learned men crossed the Channel, and settled in Oxford and Cambridge, and conducted discussions in favor of the Reformation. Among them may be mentioned Ochino, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, and Tremellius. But greatest of all the men from abroad was Erasmus, whose Greek New Testament found a ready entrance into England. He settled in Cambridge, and taught there.

Agencies of Reform

Henry's grievance against Romanism was purely personal. He wanted more wives than Rome was willing to grant him. He had been married, while his father was yet king, to Catharine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the widow of Henry VII.'s eldest son, Arthur. The king, for political reasons, chose Catharine as wife for his second son and successor on the throne, Henry VIII. After a marriage of nearly twenty years, Henry VIII. resolved on a divorce from Catharine, and the disinheriting of their daughter Mary. His object was to

Henry VIII.'s Patronage of the Reformation

marry Anne Boleyn. But the question was, how to get the pope's consent. Wolsey was deputed to do this work, and to proceed in person to Rome. Should the pope consent, he would offend the Emperor Charles V., who would be insulted by the divorce of Henry from Catharine. Should he refuse, he knew that it would be an affront to England. He chose the latter, as by that course he thought he would have less to lose. What should Henry VIII. do? He had made public his determination. The religious revolt in Germany proved to him that rebellion against the papacy was in the air of the age. His own people were eager for reform. So he determined to put away his wife, disavow his daughter, and make Anne Boleyn his queen. This brought about an open rupture with the pope. Henry's real purpose was a National Roman Catholic Church, with himself as head. But this proved an impossibility. He saw there could not be two independent Catholicisms, one on the Tiber and the other on the Thames. He was borne along by the current of his people, and found himself finally compelled to link himself ostensibly with the new Protestantism, and yet, in reality, deeply in sympathy with the old Romanism. Henry VIII. was a Roman Catholic in all but name and endorsement of the papacy. He despised the Lutheran doctrines, and even wrote against them. His book against Luther was so fully Romanist that it was hailed in Rome as a powerful attack on Protestantism, and it even secured to Henry VIII., from Leo X., the title of "defender of the faith." Luther, however, went on steadily. He was master of his theme, and, besides refuting the positions of Henry, paid him the compliment of saying: "When God wants a fool, he turns a king into a theological writer."

There was no positively settled policy on the part of king or Parliament. One day the Roman Catholics, under the lead of Cardinal Pole and Bishop Gardiner, had the confidence of the king, and on another Thomas Cromwell and Cranmer were the stronger. Parliament was the willing servant of a capricious tyrant, and at one hour was ready to revoke its work of the preceding one. As a proof of how nearly England remained Roman Catholic under Henry VIII., we may mention the fact that, at his dictation, in 1537, Parliament established the following six articles of faith :

1. Transubstantiation, or the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper.
2. Sufficiency of communion in one kind only.
3. Illegality of the marriage of priests.
4. Obligation of vows of celibacy.
5. Propriety of retaining private masses.
6. Necessity of the confessional.

It must be remembered, however, that, notwithstanding all these attachments to the old Romanism, the country was gradually drifting away from it. The old order was breaking up. The Bible was publicly distributed, and Protestant doctrines were gaining more friends every day.

Colet and More

Colet (1466–1519) and Sir Thomas More (1480–1535) were of great influence in bringing about the revolution in the popular mind. The former had studied the classics in Italy, and brought with him to Oxford an ardent love for the new Humanism. He introduced expository preaching, and a perpetual divinity lecture three days of each week in St. Paul's Church. His great object of attack was the profligacy of the Church, from the papacy down, through all grades of priesthood, as he had witnessed it in Rome. He cried aloud for the redemption of his beloved England: "Oh, Jesu Christ, wash for us not 'our feet only, but also our hands and our head.' Otherwise our disordered Church cannot be far from death!" Sir Thomas More was a student in Oxford when he imbibed the new learning and became intimate with Erasmus and Colet. He was made Lord Chancellor of England on the fall of Wolsey, and was held in high esteem by the king. He strongly opposed Protestant doctrines, however, and could never bring his conscience to assent to the supremacy of Henry over the Church. He incurred the king's displeasure by disapproving the latter's divorce from Catharine of Aragon, and absented himself from the coronation of Anne Boleyn. He refused to take the oath of allegiance to her as queen, and was sent to the Tower of London, and afterwards beheaded. He was a model of eloquence, purity of heart, domestic virtue, simplicity, and tenderness. After kissing his executioner, he said, "Thou art to do me the greatest benefit that I can receive; pluck up thy spirit, man, and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very short; take heed, therefore, that thou strike not awry, for saving of thine honesty."

Cranmer was, of all men of his time, most powerful in hastening the English reform. He erred in favoring the divorce of Henry and Catharine. He was rewarded by the king with the highest ecclesiastical preferment in his gift, the archbishopric of Canterbury. But Cranmer was a pure and unselfish man, and expressed only his real convictions. When he afterwards yielded to Henry so far as to pronounce his marriage with Anne Boleyn void, he was still the same pure man, but unwisely and irresolutely submitted to the pressure of the king. Cranmer became one of the regents of the kingdom after Henry's death. The young Edward, who succeeded Henry, was a Protestant, but he died early, and was succeeded by Mary, a rigid Roman Catholic. The court was at once filled with men in sympathy with her. The Reformers were now in danger. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were thrown into the Tower. Cranmer, in a moment of weakness, signed a recantation, but soon withdrew it. He, with Latimer and Ridley, was burned at the stake in 1556. His last words were, as he held in the flames the hand with which he had written his recantation, "This unworthy hand! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"

Cranmer

The publication of the Bible in the language of the people was the most powerful single agency in bringing about the English Reformation. Tyndale translated the New Testament, which was printed in Worms in 1526, and introduced into England, and circulated quietly over the country. Miles Coverdale's translation of the entire Bible appeared in 1535. This was the first complete English Bible ever printed. Without bearing any imprint of place or printer, the evidence is strong, founded on the resemblance of types, that it was printed in Zurich, by Christopher Froschover. Coverdale also published several of the Psalms in verse, with musical notes. The date is not known, but it was probably before 1538. The following was the way in which he sent out his little book on its singing mission:

Publication of the Bible

> "Be not ashamed I warande the
> Though thou be rude in songe and ryme,
> Thou shalt to youth some occasion be
> In Godly sportes to passe theyr tyme."

The following is his first stanza of Psalm cxxxvii.:

"At the rivers of Babilon
there sat we doune ryght hevely
Even whan we thought upon Sion
we wept together sorofully
for we were in soch hevynes
y^t^ we forgat al our merynes
and left of all our sporte and playe
on the willye trees y^t^ were therby
we hanged up our harpes truly
And morned sore both night and day."

Matthew's Bible appeared in 1537, with the royal sanction. Cranmer's translation of the Bible had, likewise, the royal approval, and was powerful in gaining many minds to the cause of reform. In addition to the Scriptures, other writings were circulated, as formularies of doctrine and the public services. Among these must be mentioned "The Ten Articles," "The Bishop's Book," "The King's Book," and "The King's Primer." Then comes Erasmus's "Paraphrase of the Scriptures," which, in 1547, was placed in the parish churches. In the same year the first "Book of Homilies" went out, with the royal approval. In 1549 the "First Communion Office," "Cranmer's Catechism," and the "First English Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer," were issued. In 1552 the "Second English Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer," was ordered for use, while, in 1553, the "Forty-two Articles of Religion" and the "Larger Catechism" were approved and enjoined.

Condition of the Reformation

At Henry's death Protestantism in England still continued to be an uncertainty. Much had been done, but no fixed state of things had been reached. Protestant influences were permeating the masses, and this was the most hopeful sign. Both the king and his subjects had rejected the pope's supremacy. The people had become acquainted with the Bible, and many now possessed copies in their own tongue. The monasteries had been suppressed, and their vast wealth secularized. A visitancy, to arrange services and preach Protestantism, was ordered throughout the kingdom. Religious formularies were made binding upon the people, and all the ecclesiastical offices were filled with Protestants. But Rome was still watchful for the opportunity of restoration in England. It was too fair a land to lose. Besides, there was a powerful party at home which was eager to restore the old order, and, by so doing, to bring itself to power and wealth.

CHAPTER X

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION—SECOND PERIOD, 1553–1603

[AUTHORITIES.—See bibliography of preceding chapter. For works on the Puritan and Pilgrim Fathers, see later chapters.]

THERE was great uncertainty as to the succession to Henry VIII. On the occupant of the throne depended largely the question of Protestantism in the British Isles. Henry had left three children—Mary, whose mother was Catharine of Aragon; Elizabeth, whose mother was Anne Boleyn; and Edward, whose mother was Jane Seymour. It was now a question as to whether Mary, Elizabeth, or Edward should rule. The result proved that each one wore the crown. But who should first wear it? Henry VIII. and Catharine had been divorced, and hence that ruled out Mary. Anne Boleyn was condemned to death, and that was a declaration that her child, Elizabeth, was illegitimate. Against Edward no such objection could be made. His mother died a natural death, too early and too young to be cast away by the king. All England was divided into parties. The friends of Edward were shrewd and bold. They won at last, and seated the boy on the throne, in 1547, when he was only ten years of age. There was a protectorate over him, the first protector being the king's uncle on his mother's side, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset; the second, Dudley, Earl of Warwick. In addition to these men, who were Protestants, and gave a Protestant direction to the administration, Cranmer was the constant and practical adviser of young Edward. In due time England was brought into strong Protestant sympathies, and special efforts were employed to indoctrinate the people in Protestant principles. An improved catechism was used for popular instruction; the Lord's Supper was administered in both kinds; and the mass, clerical celibacy, the worship of images, and the invocation

Reaction under Edward VI.

of saints were abolished. The Protestant ascendency was marked by cruel repression. Many Catholics, and the more radical Protestants as well, were put to death.

Edward VI. died in 1553. There now arose new troubles about the succession, and it was a question as to whether a Protestant or a Romanist should wear the crown. The strongest party would again win, and this time it was Mary's friends. Mary had been a sufferer on account of her Roman Catholic faith. The daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, she carried to her new position the bitter memory of the injustice done her, and a determination to restore the land to the faith of her mother and her remote Spanish ancestors. A formal alliance with Spain was brought about through her marriage with Philip II. of Spain. No pains were now spared to bring into force the old order. Parliament hesitated; but its members, finally fearing for their heads, tamely submitted. Power was restored to the ecclesiastical courts to depose and punish as they might judge best. No less than sixteen thousand clergymen were deposed from their positions. Strict celibacy was enjoined on every pastor. The oath of royal supremacy was no longer required. The English language was banished from the public services, and the Latin restored to its old place. All the old ceremonies in use before Henry were brought back again. Protestant teachers were ejected from the universities. A commission was appointed to suppress heresy, and martyr-fires were kindled in various parts of England. A low estimate of persons burned places the martyrdoms at two hundred.* The number would have gone to thousands had not many leading Reformers fled to the Continent. Strasburg, Zurich, Geneva, and other places became their homes, where they established services in the English language, and waited until the time might come when they could return home.

Queen Mary

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* Most of the authorities do not give any number. Worman, s. v. "Mary" in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, says that "most Protestant writers reckon that about two hundred and eighty victims perished at the stake" during Mary's reign. Lingard, on the other hand, puts the number at "almost two hundred." Green, Short History (London, 1875, p. 361), at three hundred. Massingberd (Engl. Reformation, p. 423, quoted by Archdeacon Hardwick, Hist. of the Reformation, revised ed. by Stubbs, p. 218, note 4) gives the same number.

Elizabeth succeeded Mary in 1558. She was gifted with rare caution, strong will, and a quick and accurate perception of character. She was a devoted Protestant, and immediately set to work to complete the interrupted fabric of reform in her dominions. The country was desperate because of material reverses. England was losing at home and abroad, and the people were ready for any change. Roman Catholic rule had proven its inability to make them prosperous and happy. The queen at once recognized Protestantism as the national faith. The "Articles" and second "Book of Homilies" were adopted in parliament and convocation in 1563, and Protestants were placed in charge of all the churches. The exiles came home from the Continent, and were among the most zealous in promoting the work of reform.

Final Triumph of the Reformation

The Independents were a growing class of people, who believed that neither Henry nor Elizabeth had broken fully from Rome. They looked upon the elaborate ceremonial, the episcopacy, the use of robes, and the mild observance of the Sabbath as wretched remnants of the evil times, and would do away with all such reminders of Antichrist. They refused to adopt the new order, and would establish one of their own, in harmony with the example of the Genevan Church. Elizabeth took strong ground against the Independents. Variation from the established order, either to the side of Rome or of Puritanism, was punished with torture or death. The Act of Uniformity was enforced in 1563, and this was the first stroke of separation. By this act two thousand clergymen, some of them the most learned and pious in the kingdom, were driven out of their churches and homes. Lords Burleigh and Walsingham endeavored in vain to secure a compromise. The first English presbytery was organized at Wandsworth, and was the practical beginning of all the non-conforming bodies of England. But, despite all the internal divisions of English Protestantism, the Reformation became a fact under Elizabeth. Her long reign brought to England material prosperity; but, still more, a strong and enduring Protestantism.

Independents

The most important event of the English Reformation, in its relation to America, was the rise of the Brownist sect. Robert Brown, born about 1550, was a student in Cambridge

While there he adopted Puritan views, and became a warm advocate of them. His followers went by the name of Brownists, and were alike firm in their hostility to the Church of England and to Romanism. The Brownists were persecuted, not so much by royal order as by the ecclesiastical courts. Unable to circulate their writings or hold public services, they fled from England, and organized a Church in Amsterdam, and afterwards in Leyden. In the latter place John Robinson was their pastor. They resolved on leaving Holland, and set sail for the New World. They landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, and became the chief factor for the civil and religious development of the colonies and the United States. Holmes, in his "Robinson of Leyden," thus pictures the hour of their departure:

Puritan Pilgrims

"No home for these! Too well they knew
The mitred king behind the throne;
The sails were set, the pennons flew,
And westward ho! for worlds unknown.

"And these were they who gave us birth,
The Pilgrims of the sunset wave;
Who won for us this virgin earth,
And freedom with the soil they gave."

CHAPTER XI

THE SCOTCH REFORMATION

[Authorities.—The best biography of Patrick Hamilton is that by Lorimer (Edinb., 1857). Lorimer was a faithful historical student, and his work is based on a careful study of the sources. Prof. A. F. Mitchell has a fine article on Hamilton in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia. A fresh review of the time has recently been made by J. Herkless, Cardinal Beauton, Priest and Politician (Edinb., 1891). The life of Mary, with the burning disputes which it has occasioned, can best be read in the History or Scotland by Burton (London, 1867–70), on the one side, and in Hosack's Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers (new ed., Edinb., 1889) on the other. The reader will then have the whole evidence before him. An excellent summary of the situation, with the opinions of historians, is given in Prof. Fisher's History of the Reformation, chap. x. The latest book, T. F. Henderson's Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots (Edinb., 1889), concludes that, on the whole, the letters were written by Mary, yet admits that "up to the present time her guilt has been more manifest than the genuineness of the letters." Froude's discussion, in his History of England, has been traversed by James F. Meline in his Mary Queen of Scots and her latest English Historian (N. Y., 1872). For John Knox, McCrie's Life is still valuable (Edinb., 1841). Later works are Lorimer's John Knox and the Church of England (London, 1875); Wm. M. Taylor's admirable biography, John Knox (N. Y., 1885). For a general view of the Scotch Reformation, Lorimer's The Scottish Reformation (London, 1860) and the late Prof. J. C. Moffat's The Church in Scotland (Phila., 1884), both works which display the true historic temper, may be consulted. Dr. Moffat has done good work in tracing the constitution of the early Scotch Church, as well as in his treatment of the later periods.]

Scotch Reformers

The Scotch Reformers were of sturdy type, like their own rugged hills. Their country was not as yet under the English crown, but was a separate kingdom, divided into fierce and warlike clans, and ruled by the Stuarts, a royal family in full sympathy with Rome. The bishops and the rulers were in close league to resist all Protestant encroachments. The new doctrines, however, did cross the Tweed, and were adopted there in various parts of the coun-

try. Cardinal Beatoun was appointed leading inquisitor, and he did not hesitate to kill heretics, and even to burn at the stake George Wishart, one of the most celebrated preachers and devout Christians of the time. Patrick Hamilton was the first Protestant leader. He was for a time on the Continent, and, though the movement was hazardous, he returned to Scotland, to carry out the cause that lay near his heart. He was not long permitted to preach and teach the new doctrines. He suffered martyrdom, and his followers were left without a guide.

Mary Queen of Scots

Mary Stuart was the daughter of James V., King of Scotland. Her father said of her: "The kingdom cam' wi' a lass [daughter of Robert Bruce], an' it wull gae wi' a lass." His words became a correct prophecy. The country was under a protectorate during her minority, about nineteen years. Through this period the drift was constantly towards Protestantism. The Scotch had imbibed the Calvinistic doctrines, and were growing firmer in their attachment every year. Mary, on her reception as queen, caused great offence to them. Her French confessors and courtiers gave extreme Roman Catholic color to the very first days of her reign. Knox expressed the deep feeling of the people when he prayed: "Purify, O Lord, the heart of the queen from the poison of idolatry. Release her from the bondage of Satan in which she was brought up, and in which, from want of true teaching, she still remains." Mary's life was not blameless. In 1565 she was married to the Earl of Darnley. A disagreement took place between them, and, the queen being attached to an Italian, Rizzio, Darnley headed a conspiracy which murdered him. Darnley himself, according to the general opinion of the Scotch at the time, was put to death by Bothwell, at Mary's instance, through the combined method of strangling and the explosion of the house in which he lay ill. Shortly afterwards Mary married Bothwell. The people had endured her rule as long as possible. The illustration of Romanism in the rule and life of their queen was enough to make the whole land thoroughly Protestant. The revolution broke out with great violence, and Mary fled to England. She had been invited by Elizabeth, and, when the invitation was accepted, Elizabeth showed her hospitality by throwing her into prison. Mary hoped that, Elizabeth having once been

declared illegitimate, she might lead the Roman Catholics of the country to revolt against Elizabeth's rule, and herself become queen of England. But Elizabeth was too shrewd to allow such a plan to succeed. Mary was tried, and put to death in 1587, and Elizabeth became practically queen of both England and Scotland. Mary's revenge came, however, after her death, when her son succeeded Elizabeth, as James VI. of Scotland and James I. of England.

John Knox was Hamilton's natural successor. He began just where his predecessor had left off, and very soon the Scotch Protestants felt the power of his genius. He was born in 1505, and in 1542 publicly proclaimed himself in Edinburgh as a Reformer. His studies had been leading him thither for some time, but from the moment of his public renunciation of Romanism he never wavered. His heroism was as intense as that of Luther. He felt, and therefore he spoke. He was, while preacher in St. Andrews, taken prisoner and sent to France, where he was subjected to nearly two years' hard labor in the galleys. As soon as he was released he promptly returned to England, and preached the doctrines of the Reformation with great eloquence. When Queen Mary ascended the throne, he fled to Germany, where he established himself in Frankfort-on-the-Main, as one of the three hundred Protestant exiles. He became pastor of the little colony of English refugees. From there he went to Geneva, where he imbibed from Calvin himself the Calvinistic type of Protestantism. He was burned in effigy in Scotland by Mary's order—a very harmless proceeding on her part. In 1558 he published his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women." The Protestants formed an organized body, and bound themselves to resistance by a covenant. The country became involved in civil war, and, when peace was restored, Mary Queen of Scots had six interviews with him, and, though moved to tears by his eloquence, afterwards caused his arrest on the charge of treason. But the court acquitted him. He was fearless in all his work. His life was in constant danger, but he at no time hesitated to preach and teach the Protestant doctrines. He died in Edinburgh in 1572. By the time of his death the triumph of the Scotch Reformation was complete. It was the victory of the people, under the leadership of a brave and true man, against

John Knox

the combined forces of a queen, a court, and a powerful nobility. The Scotch Reformers did their work so thoroughly that it was never necessary to do it over again. They had written their protest with their own blood, and it stands to this day.

CHAPTER XII

THE REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

[Authorities.—The Dutch Reformation is the theme of a thorough work by W. Carlos Martyn (N. Y., 1868). See also M. G. Hansen, The Reformed Church in the Netherlands (N. Y., 1884). The fascinating subject of Erasmus has been treated most fully by R. B. Drummond (London, 1873). An excellent sketch is Pennington's Life (London, 1875), the author of a work on Wycliffe. Froude has drawn the comparison between Luther and Erasmus in a keen and interesting way, and with general fairness, in the first volume of his Short Studies (London and N. Y., 1873). He is one of the three men taken up in Seebohm's Oxford Reformers (London, 1869).]

The union of the Netherlands under the Spanish crown was a firm bond with the old order of monarchical and hierarchical despotism. Charles V., King of Spain and Emperor of Germany, received the country as an inheritance from his grandmother, Maria of Burgundy. The Dutch had always been distinguished for their love of freedom, and, even as far back as the Roman period, Julius Cæsar was compelled to annex Batavia to his dominions, less as a conquered than as an affiliated province. The same love of independence still prevailed through all the mediæval period, and expressed itself in both civil and religious life. The Brothers of the Common Life, a society which was founded in 1384, made it their chief aim to improve the morals of the people, and looked intently upon a thorough reform. Gerhard Groot and Florentius Radewin represented the order, and the Brothers' House, in Deventer, was a centre for both laymen and preachers to teach and preach, and send their evangelists through the country. In the two schools of Deventer and Herzogenbusch alone there were, at one time, as many as twelve hundred students in attendance. When the news of the Wittenberg revolt from Romanism came, the whole country was eager for co-opera-

Brothers of the Common Life

tion. In fact, in no land was there such a complete and popular preparation for the Reformation as in the Netherlands. Luther's writings were caught up with avidity, while his hymns were sung with fervor along the Dutch dikes, in the boats, and in the cottages of the whole country. The Reformation assumed a political character. The people were prohibited from adopting Protestantism, and were slaughtered for disobedience. Charles V.'s measures were cruel and unremitting—a course which he continued until his abdication. Even among the last words spoken, in the far-off Spanish monastery of Yuste, to his son, Philip II., he urged no leniency to his heretical subjects. So violent was the opposition to Protestantism that the people were driven to revolution, and the Spanish army marched thither, under the cruel Duke of Alva, to reduce the people to submission.

The Edict of Worms, the cruel order against all sympathy with the Protestant cause, was made binding upon the Netherlands. The Inquisition was established, and the fires of martyrdom blazed all over the land. To be known as a Protestant was certain death. Not less than one hundred thousand people are computed to have been put to death for professing the new doctrines. After Charles V. abdicated, and Philip II., his son, succeeded him, there was even greater cruelty. After 1555 not a vestige of civil or religious liberty remained in the country. The Protestant nobility formed themselves into the Beggars' League, otherwise called the Compromise, by which they made it their object to overthrow the Spanish authority and establish Protestantism and national independence. They were derisively called "Beggars" by their oppressors. They adopted the term for their entire league, wore plain clothes made of the coarsest cloth, and carried a wooden bowl, hung to a wooden chain, as an emblem of their simplicity, and of their readiness to be called poor for conscience' sake. The Duke of Alva, at the head of the Spanish army, succeeded in conquering the Beggars. But the peace was of only short duration. The seven northern provinces united in a league, the Utrecht Union (1579), and in due time conquered the Spanish army. William of Orange stood at the head of the movement for national independence, and he was succeeded, in 1584, by his son Maurice, who completed the work begun by his father.

Inquisition

Erasmus, of Rotterdam, belongs in the front rank of Reformers. He was the one cosmopolitan character of the times, and was Holland's greatest gift to the ecclesiastical scholarship of Europe. He did more than any man of the period of the Reformation to disseminate a knowledge of the New Testament. His pen touched all the lands which showed signs of awaking to the new life, for it was he who handed over to the Protestant cause the best and purest philological learning awakened by the Humanists. He was born in 1467, and died in 1536. After a thorough training in the University of Paris, he went to Oxford in 1498, through the influence of Lord Mountjoy, one of his pupils, where he taught privately for a short time. Here began his attachment to Sir Thomas More, which was only interrupted by the latter's death. Erasmus went to Italy for further studies, and took his doctor's degree in Turin. He stayed for a time in Bologna and Venice, at which latter place he published his first books. Henry VIII. invited him to England, and while on his way thither he wrote his "Praise of Folly," the most satirical work of the times. In this he makes Folly speak her own mind, and boast of her silliness. The work is a picture of priestly superstition, ignorance, and corruption.

Erasmus

Erasmus returned to the Continent, and dwelt a long time in Basel, where he enjoyed the friendship of Œcolampadius and Beer, then prominent Reformers. He divided his time chiefly between Basel and England, all the while writing with great industry, and spreading a knowledge of the New Testament. His chief works were his "Colloquies," his edition of the Greek Testament, his Paraphrase on the same, and his "Praise of Folly." He was a profound and versatile scholar, and it was alone as such that he was important as a Reformer. He was always hesitant about withdrawing from Rome, allowed himself to come into opposition to Luther, and had no clear conception of that firm and strong theological basis which underlay the Protestant structure. He placed much faith in a compromise, and had not that clear vision to see that such a course was an impossibility in a grave crisis of principle.

Erasmus in Basel

One of the most unpleasant chapters in the history of the Reformation, abundant as it is in beautiful and lasting friendships, is the unfraternal relationship between Erasmus and

Luther. There was a time of cordiality, but this gave place to coldness, and even to bitterness. At the first Erasmus held that Luther's course was right, only that he was too vehement; but he came to differ radically from his old friend. Doctrinally, they differed on the freedom of the will, Luther taking the Augustinian view in almost its full force. Besides, Erasmus hesitated to break openly with Rome, and so the distance between them widened. In the latter part of his life, in fact, Erasmus looked upon the Reformation as a calamity, and broke off all communication with the Reformers. Luther wrote the following of Erasmus, a proof of how unable men of genius often are to appreciate each other: "I have cracked many hollow nuts, which I thought had been good, but they fouled my mouth and filled it with dust: Erasmus and Carlstadt are hollow nuts. Erasmus is a mere Momus, making his mows and mocks at everything and everybody, at Papist and Protestant, but all the while using such shuffling and double-meaning terms that no one can lay hold of him to any effectual purpose. His chief doctrine is, Hang the cloak according to the wind. He only looked to himself to have good and easy days, and so died like an Epicurean, without any one comfort of God. I hold Erasmus of Rotterdam to be Christ's most bitter enemy. I leave this as my will and testament." This was harsh language, unjust towards Erasmus, and not at all in harmony with Luther's generous nature. But it was called out by the Dutchman's profound estrangement from the new reforms. Erasmus's great services to the Reformation consisted in his breaking the spell of priestly influence by the bitterness of his satires, and in the increased Bible study which resulted from the publication (1516) of his fine edition of the Greek Testament.

Erasmus and Luther

CHAPTER XIII

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE

[Authorities.—The bloody annals of early French Protestantism can be read in the great work of Prof. Henry M. Baird, History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France (N. Y., 1879), and in De Félice's History of the Protestants of France (4th ed. N. Y., 1851). See also the general histories of France. On the Bartholomew slaughter, besides the above, see Henry White, The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, preceded by a History of the Religious Wars in the Reign of Charles IX. (N. Y., 1871), a work written in a judicial spirit and after the most painstaking investigation. It is highly commended by Prof. Baird in an elaborate account of the massacre in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, July and October, 1869, where he gives the conclusions stated later in his History. Prof. Fisher has an essay in his Discussions in History and Theology (N. Y., 1880), where the events are set forth with his usual clearness and impartiality. In one of the latest monographs, Vor der Bartholomäusnacht (Strasburg, 1882), Hermann Baumgarten supports the view of Ranke, Soldan, and White, that the massacre was not premeditated, but that the treaty with the Huguenots was sincere and their assembling at the marriage in good faith; that the queen mother brought about the attempted assassination of Coligny on account of his increasing influence with the king and her insane jealousy, and that this precipitated the wholesale slaughter. For the noble Coligny, read Besant, Coligny and the Failure of the French Reformation (N. Y., 1879), and Eugene Bersier, Coligny (London, 1884).]

The outlook for Protestantism in France was very favorable at the beginning. The conditions were such that no violent opposition could be expected, especially along the Seine and in the southern provinces. The seventy years' residence of the popes in Avignon had inflamed the people with a desire for a national Roman Catholic Church, and a corresponding hostility to Rome. The "Gallican" as against the "Papal" Church had long been a hope of French kings and people. There was abroad a spirit of dissatisfaction with the existing order, and an ardent craving for religious liberty and freedom from the despotism of provincial princes. There were six principal causes which led to

The Protestant Ferment in France

this desire for Reformation: the remaining influence of the early Paris Reformers, which was still powerful in private circles; the religious fervor of the inhabitants of the Cévennes Mountains, in the south; the example of the heroic Waldenses in the Vaudois Alps; the example and force of the Genevan Reformers, with Calvin at their head; the great work of the German Reformers, with Wittenberg as their centre of life and force; and the literary spirit, or free tendency towards inquiry, which radiated from the university into every part of the kingdom.

Nothing was more dreaded by the Romanism of France than the work which was done by the German Reformers. The books of Luther found their way into France, and were translated and read extensively. By an order of the Sorbonne they were publicly burned in the year 1521, and violent threats made against any French person reading them. Francis I., who succeeded to the throne in 1515, was a mixed character, now half Protestant, and again thoroughly Roman Catholic. In 1535 he was lenient enough to invite Melanchthon to a conference on religious affairs in Paris—a bait which that calm German was too shrewd to accept, gladly replying that the Elector of Saxony refused permission to leave Wittenberg. It will add emphasis to the real meaning of this generous patronage of German scholarship when we remember that, in that very year, Francis I. burned to death from twenty to thirty of his own subjects, because they were Huguenots.

Measures against Protestantism

The real danger to the Protestants came from a firm alliance between the authorities at Rome and the French throne. Francis I., whatever pleasant exterior he presented, remained, at heart, a bitter advocate of oppressive measures against Protestantism in his own dominions. But the Protestants, who in France were called Huguenots, proceeded to the work of evangelization and organization. In 1553 their first church was established and recognized, and the first pastor installed, in Paris. They also had fifteen other societies in various parts of the kingdom, those in Meaux, Angers, and Poitiers being among the chief. But there was no cohesion between them. They were simply isolated Christian bodies, tired of Romish supremacy, and in thorough sympathy with the great Protestant cause in other lands. How-

Activity of the Huguenots

ever, the scattered Huguenots soon coalesced, and in 1559 the General Synod of Paris met, and the Gallic Confession was adopted as the creed of French Protestantism.

The Huguenots possessed a martial spirit. Many of them had a military education, and their fundamental error was their hope that, by political and martial measures, they might succeed in the end. The royal family was divided between Huguenots and Romanists. The Bourbons were with the Huguenots, and the Guises with the Roman Catholics. The subdued opposition came to violent outbreak. The appeal was to arms, and in 1561 the land was convulsed by a civil war, which lasted thirty years. Three wars were carried on, and three times a peace was patched up. The third peace, that of St. Germain, in 1570, guaranteed liberty of doctrine and public worship to the Huguenots, with the exception of the residence of the court and the city of Paris. Catharine de' Medici became regent in 1560, her son, Charles IX., being only ten years old. She professed profound sympathy with the Huguenots, but was only playing a shrewd game of deception. She was waiting for an opportunity to deal destruction on every side.

Opposition to the Huguenots

The increase of Protestantism at this time was remarkably rapid. The Synod of 1559 had not only adopted a Confession, which bore every mark of Calvin's hand, but had also thoroughly organized a Protestant Church, with a provision for provincial synods throughout the kingdom, and a complete system of Church discipline and liturgical order. When the war began, in 1561, there were, according to Beza, four hundred thousand Huguenots throughout France, and Condé's list of their churches, presented as an exhibit to Catharine de' Medici, comprised two thousand one hundred and fifty names. They were distributed chiefly through the south and west. Normandy also possessed many of their societies, but in the north the Huguenots were less represented.

Spread of the Huguenots

It was arranged by Catharine that the semblance of a thorough reconciliation between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics should take place. Charles's sister was to marry Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Huguenots. Brilliant festivities were arranged, and the whole land was alive with new joy that, at last, the Hu-

Massacre of St. Bartholomew

guenots and Roman Catholics could live henceforth in peace, and each worship with equal rights before the law. The marriage was celebrated August 18th, 1572, but on the night of the 24th a bell in the palace belfry gave the signal for general slaughter. This was the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve. The Huguenot chiefs were all in Paris, and their whereabouts was known. Admiral Coligny, an intrepid warrior and a firm Huguenot, was murdered in cold blood, and cast out of the window into the stone court below. For seven days and nights the streets ran with Protestant blood. Outside of Paris the massacre was sudden and overwhelming. The Loire and the Rhone ran red and thick with the blood and bodies of victims. The cities of Meaux, Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Rouen, Toulouse, and Bordeaux were centres of the persecution. Not less than thirty thousand Huguenots fell beneath flame and sword.* The pretext for the universal murder was, that Coligny had concerted a secret conspiracy against the crown. There is not, and never was, a vestige of authority for even the suspicion of such a thing. At Rome there was great rejoicing over the bloodshed. Pope Gregory ordered the ringing of the bells of the city, and a special medal to be struck in honor of his triumph.

The Huguenots were not willing, even yet, to surrender. They had lost immense numbers, but were eager to renew the conflict. The struggle began again, and in 1576 the Peace of Beaulieu guaranteed the Huguenots once more the liberty of worship and doctrine. Henry of Navarre ascended the throne in 1589 as Henry IV. He renounced his Protestantism, as the price of his crown; but, by the Edict of Nantes, in 1598, he gave full liberty to the Huguenots to worship in places where they had established services, and to stand equal with Roman Catholics before the law. Protestants now increased very rapidly. Henry IV. granted them personal safety and the right of worship in one hundred and fifty places throughout the kingdom, the chief of

Huguenot Uprising

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* The number is variously estimated from 20,000 to 100,000. Prof. Fisher (Reformation, 2d ed., pp. 276, 277) puts the number at "not less than 2000 in Paris, and as many as 20,000 in the rest of France." Jervis, in Student's Hist. of France, p. 343, quotes De Thou as an authority for 30,000.

which were Bordeaux, Poitiers, and Montpellier. By the year 1628 they possessed six hundred and eighty-eight churches, and by 1637 these had grown to seven hundred and twenty. For nearly a century they enjoyed comparative peace, and rapidly multiplied in every department of ecclesiastical prosperity. When Louis XIV. came to the throne he strongly opposed them. No wrong was spared to make France an unwelcome home. There were at this time about two million Huguenots throughout the country, though at one time they had numbered at least one third the entire population of the country. In the quarter of a century preceding 1685, not less than five hundred and twenty of their churches were destroyed. They were permitted to leave the country, and the exile began in 1666. It continued not less than half a century, during which time a low estimate of the number of Huguenots who forsook France places it at one million. But still many remained, and, to give a finishing stroke to them, the Edict of Nantes was revoked in the year 1685. This act destroyed the last vestige of civil and religious rights now remaining to the Huguenots. There were still about one thousand of their pastors, and of these one hundred were sent to the galleys or put to death, six hundred fled the country, and the other three hundred disappeared in unaccountable ways. For a century Protestantism was almost blotted out of the country. Only at the close of the eighteenth century was there a comparative revival of the old Protestant spirit.

CHAPTER XIV

THE REFORMATION IN ITALY

[Authorities.—The notable work of Villari, The Life and Times of Savonarola (rev. ed., enlarged, London and N. Y., 1889), remains the best authority on the great Florentine. Prof. Wm. Clark, of Toronto, has written the best short Life (Chicago, 1890). It interprets his relation to his times in a very satisfactory manner. See Mrs. Oliphant, Makers of Florence (London, 1881). George Eliot's portraiture in Romola (1863) is founded on studies prosecuted in Florence. Roscoe, in his Life of Leo X. (London, 1805, 6th ed., 1846), opened up to English readers the hollowness of the Italian revival of letters. This, as well as his greater work on Lorenzo de' Medici (London, 1795), is still indispensable for a knowledge of this movement. See further at Chap. II. above. For the Reformation itself, the work of McCrie, Hist. of the Reformation in Italy (Phila., 1856), has had no successor. See, however, Stoughton, Footsteps of the Italian Reformers (London, 1881). The history of the Italian Reformation can best be read, however, in the lives of its heroes. For this we have these noble works: Wiffen's Juan Valdez (London, 1865), Young's Paleario (London, 1860), Bonnet's Paleario (Paris, 1862), Benrath's Ochino (London, 1876), Strack's Renata of Este (translated by Catherine E. Hurst, Cincinnati and N. Y., 1873), and Bonnet's Olympia Morata (Edinb, 1854). The literature of the Trent Council will be noted in the next part (Chap. I.).]

The Italians were prepared by Savonarola to give hearty credence to the new doctrines. He was born in Ferrara in 1452, and was executed in Florence in 1498. In 1484 he began to preach in Brescia on the Book of Revelation. In 1489 he removed to Florence,* and became a monk in the Convent of St. Mark. He was an eloquent pleader for reformation in the Church, and showed no mercy in declaring against the corruptions of Rome. His great

Soil Prepared by Savonarola

* The date of Savonarola's removal to Florence is an illustration of singularly discordant voices by the historians. Kurtz (last ed.) says 1481; Philip Smith, Student's Ecclesiastical History, a work written with constant reference to the best authorities, 1482; and Schaff, 1490. Consult Villari's Life, revised edition, 1889.

error lay in having interfered with the political convulsions of Florence. Not for his bold protest against immorality alone was he compelled to suffer: he became an object of political hostility on the part of Lorenzo and Pietro, of the Medici family, who had stood in charge of the republic of Florence. Savonarola was at the head of a revolution against them. The people of Florence, who were witnesses of his pure and sacrificing life, believed in him fully, and supported him by their sympathy. Pietro de' Medici, unable to resist Savonarola alone, called to his aid the pope, Alexander VI., who was already eager to suppress the Florentine monk. The brave Reformer fell beneath the power of Rome. Savonarola had wrought alone. He held a free lance, and the power of his speech and the heroism of his life long survived his death. For the moral greatness of the man there was not, and could not be, a martyrdom.

Protestant Books from the North

Venice was at this very time in the throes of the religious revolution. The works of Luther and his coadjutors were not only circulated, but even printed, along the Grand Canal. Some little skill was needful to escape papal interdiction. For example, the "Loci Theologici" of Melanchthon — the Greek term into which he translated his name, after the usage of scholars, from his German name of Schwarzerd, or Black Earth—was translated into Italian, and published under the almost undistinguishable, but accurately Italianized, name of "I Principii della Theologia di Ippofilo de Terra Nigra." This work reached Rome, and was sold and read for a whole year with enthusiasm. When the copies were exhausted an order was sent to Venice for a new supply. A Franciscan friar discovered the identity of the author with the German Melanchthon, and exposed it. Of course, Rome was not long in seeing the heresy and ordering the burning of the dangerous book. Chardon de la Rochette wrote: "My hostess, the good mother Coleti, says her prayers every day before a beautiful miniature, which represents Luther on one side and Melanchthon on the other." Zwingli's works were circulated under the name of "Coricius Cogelius," and Bucer's "Psalms" went abroad in Italy and France as the commentary of "Aretius Felinus." Melanchthon was not astray when he wrote to George, Prince of Anhalt: "What libraries have been carried from the late fair

into Italy, though the pope has published fresh edicts against us!"

The war between the German Empire and Italy broke out in 1526, and in 1527 the imperial army sacked Rome itself, and for a long time occupied Naples. With this army there was a large number of Protestants. They carried the Reform south of the Alps, and the contagion spread among the Italian peoples. We have positive proof that Melanchthon corresponded with the Venetian Reformers in 1529, and that Modena was a Lutheran city.

The Sceptical Humanism

Italy was the native country of Humanism. But the new scholarship was so negative, and manifested itself in the cultivated circles by such positive indifference towards all religious life, that the land, though rising in intelligence, drifted far from the gospel. The poems of Pontano, Sanazzaro, and Marcellus were nothing but fulsome praises of the gods of Greece and Rome. The clergy introduced the whole dead mythology of the pagan times into their sermons, and drew parallels between Jupiter Maximus and God the Father, Apollo and Jesus, and Diana and the Virgin Mary. The people were left in profound ignorance. Dante said of the preachers of his day:

> "E'en they whose office is
> To preach the gospel, let the gospel sleep,
> And pass their own inventions off instead."

In another place he became still more bold:

> "The preacher now provides himself with store
> Of jests and gibes; and, so there be no lack
> Of laughter, while he vents them, his big cowl
> Distends, and he has won the meed he sought.
> Could but the vulgar catch a glimpse the while
> Of that dark bird which nestles in his hood,
> They scarce could wait to hear the blessing said,
> Which word the dotards hold in such esteem."

Of the moral condition of Rome, Petrarch exclaimed:

> "Foul nest of treason! Is there aught
> Wherewith the spacious world is fraught
> Of bad or vile—'tis hatched in thee;
> Who revellest in thy costly meats,
> Thy precious wines and curious seats,
> And all the fruits of luxury."

The Protestant doctrines spread rapidly through every part of Italy. In the extreme south, or Calabria, where the descendants of some Waldensian emigrants lived, the sympathy with the new doctrines was prompt and strong. In the north every important town numbered among its people some disciples of the German Reformers. Ferrara, Modena, Florence, Bologna, Padua, Verona, Brescia, Milan, Lucca, and Venice had large numbers of devoted Reformers, who were reading, praying, and consulting, hoping that the same good providence which had favored their spiritual fathers in Germany would bless their country. Lucca had, perhaps, more adherents to the Reform than any other city. But Venice excelled all others in the distribution of the Scriptures. To Florence belonged the great honor of having three of its sons—Brucioli, Marmochini, and Teofilo—prepare, each, an Italian translation of the Scriptures. The version of Brucioli became the favorite. Among the firmest Reformers were Ochino, Peter Martyr, Paleario, Paschali, and Vergerio. None were more fully the objects of suspicion than the two former, both of whom succeeded in leaving the country before the officers could arrest them.

Spread of Protestant Doctrines

In no country of Europe were women so prominent in the advocacy of the Reformation as in Italy. There was one court, Ferrara, where the duchess, Renata, was a firm adherent, and her court was in a quiet way a rallying-place for all Protestants. Calvin visited her once, and afterwards kept up a correspondence, until the poor woman was banished for her loyalty to Protestantism. Other women were none the less true, and, either socially or by their writings, did all in their power to advance the new measures. Olympia Morata, Isabella Mauricha, Lavinia della Rovere, Madonna Maddelena, and Madonna Cherbina (both of the Orsini family), the learned duchess Julia Gonzaga, and the brilliant Vittoria Colonna, were representatives of a large class of noble and heroic women, who were among the first to welcome the doctrines from the North, and also among the first to suffer for their devotion to them.

Woman's Work

The cause of the Reformation advanced just far enough to be recognized as an opposing and dangerous religious factor, when the orders went out from Rome for its forcible suppression. There was nowhere sufficient momentum to the new

cause to organize a Church or establish a formulary of doctrine. But there were indications enough to begin the work of resistance. In 1542 the Inquisition, which was already in operation in Spain, was ordered to begin in Italy. Caraffa was put in charge of the work, and a more competent man could not be found. In every city where Protestants could be found they were publicly executed, and without delay. Antonio Paleario, a prominent Humanist, but of intense religious convictions, was burned. The powerful little treatise, "The Benefit of Christ's Death," was formerly attributed to him. It had an immense circulation, but was suppressed, and every copy, as was supposed, destroyed. A copy was discovered in Cambridge, England, in 1853, and it has been sent back to Italy to shed its light again in sweet revenge. The book issued from the reformatory circle at Naples, and was written by a disciple of Valdés. Paschali suffered a like fate. As a result, by the end of the century nearly every trace of Protestantism was suppressed.

Oppression of Protestantism

The Council of Trent was the papal method of dealing with Protestantism outside of Italy. It was a recognition by Rome of the necessity of adopting a new course to arrest reform. It convened in December, 1545, and adjourned in 1547. One of its first acts was to revoke the old method of the rule of the majority, and to order that the pope's consent was necessary to every decree. Reforms in a small way were ordered. The two principal reformatory measures were, that better teachers and preachers should be provided by the bishops, and that bishops should be punished for neglect of their duties. But, with these concessions, the work of reform ended. The general spirit of the council was relentless in its opposition to Protestantism.

Council of Trent

Many Italians escaped death. Owing to the difficulty of detecting them, so soon as they reached the Alps they were generally safe from arrest. Italy was an aggregation of little duchies and republics, which were often at war with each other, and this want of civil connection favored their escape. The larger Swiss towns and cities had little groups of fugitive Italian Protestants, who received a cordial welcome, and to whom avenues of trade and industry were opened. The canton of the Grisons,

Italian Protestants in Exile

in the Eastern Alps, was almost populated by them. Its population consisted of three folk-stems—the old Rhetian, the Italian, and the German—and when the Protestants from the south took their place among them, they gave their impress to the faith and language of the whole people. A body of exiles from Locarno settled in Zurich, and established a Protestant service and organization there. Peter Martyr accepted an invitation of Cranmer to go to England, and became a professor in Oxford. Ochino also went to England, and preached in London. Exiles from Italy, likewise, among whom may be named Paolo di Colli, Grataroli, Corrado, Teglio, Betti, Celso, and Curio, went to Basel, and settled there. All these men were talented, some being authors who had made themselves objects of suspicion at home because of their heroic devotion, by pen and speech, to the new Protestantism.

CHAPTER XV

THE REFORMATION IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

[Authorities.—Prescott's History of the Reign of Philip II. (Boston, 1855–58; Phila., later editions) is the best authority for the Reformation struggle in Spain. The Scotch historian McCrie, who did such good pioneer work in writing the history of the Reformation in countries where the Reform proved abortive, as well as in Scotland, where it did not, has had no successor for Spain. His History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain (Edinb., 1829, new edition, 1855) is still about our only available work. The work of De Castros, The Spanish Protestants and their Suppression by Philip II., was translated and published in London in 1851. The interesting work of Stoughton should not be overlooked: The Spanish Reformers, their Memories and Dwelling-places (London, 1883). Our American historian, Henry Charles Lea, has put a great deal of research into the by-paths of history in his Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected with the Inquisition (Phila., 1890), the prelude to his forthcoming History of the Inquisition in Spain.]

No country in Europe was under a more complete despotism than Spain. It was too far removed from the life and heart of Europe to respond aggressively to any profound movement elsewhere. The Church and the State were attached together as by hooks of steel. Charles V., and later his

son, Philip II., ruled in harmony with the spirit of mediæval oppression and superstition. There was no need of counsel from the pope, for they carried out every extreme measure which could be acceptable to Rome. The completeness of the hierarchical rule in Spain can be seen from the statistics of the clergy and minor priesthood of this time. There were 58 archbishoprics, 684 bishoprics, 11,400 monasteries, 23,000 brotherhoods, 46,000 monks, 13,800 nuns, 312 secular priests, and over 400,000 ecclesiastics of other grades. With such a machinery as this, it can easily be imagined that to introduce Protestant ideas was no easy task. Still, in spite of the distance of Spain from the general intellectual activity of Europe, so powerful was the Protestant movement in the north and east that a sympathy with it was awakened even among the people of the Spanish peninsula.

Religious Despotism in Spain

Spanish Mysticism, a peculiar phenomenon, indicative of coming religious life, had already permeated many classes. The new prosperity that came from discoveries in America created an intellectual activity which took note of every new movement in other countries of Europe. The writings of Erasmus, and even of Luther, found their way south of the Pyrenees, and were read in secret by many persons of the more cultivated classes. A taste for them had been awakened by the Mysticism, which was a popular aspiration for purer morals and ecclesiastical government. The officers of Charles V., and other members of his military court, came in contact with Luther's doctrines while in the German wars, and when they returned they brought this new attachment with them. As representatives of this class may be mentioned Alphonso de Virves and Ponce de la Fuente. Translations of the Bible into Spanish were a powerful auxiliary. Francis Enzinas, of Burgos, issued the first Spanish Bible in Antwerp, in 1543. Knowing that his emperor, Charles V., was a patron of learning—some kinds—he had the simplicity to dedicate his version to that ruler. His reward was a confinement of fourteen months in a Brussels prison, on the ground that he had printed in capital letters the passage, "Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? Of works? Nay, but by the law of faith." (Romans, iii. 27.)

Spanish Mystics

Entire cloisters, such as San Isidoro del Campo, threw off the authority of Rome and adopted the Protestant doctrines.

Valladolid, Seville, and Medina del Campo became centres for the distribution of Protestant writings. Rodrigo de Valero, Juan Ægidius, Augustine Cazalla, and Diaz were representatives of the new measures. Small societies were organized in many places, and public worship was held.

Spread of the Reformation

Just as soon as the Spanish people expressed sympathy with the Reformation in an organized and public way, violent means were employed to arrest the work. The Inquisition was ordered from Rome. Fernando Valdez was appointed Grand Inquisitor. He was the very man for the work, having an indomitable will, blind zeal for Roman Catholicism, and intense hostility towards the cause of Reform. Autos da Fé (Acts of Faith), or public burnings of heretics, were kindled in twelve cities. All spectators of these scenes were granted plenary indulgences. The first prominent martyr was Carlos de Seso. Then came Domingo de Roxas, Garcia de Arrias, Montanos, and Hernandez, as leaders of a great host of victims. Even women were not spared, whether from the nobility or lower classes. Maria Gomez, Maria de Boborguez, and Eleonora de Cisneros were noble representatives of their sex, in joyful readiness to endure martyrdom for their faith. Englishmen temporarily in Spain were likewise executed when known to be in sympathy with Protestantism.

Suppression by the Inquisition

Portugal was much less affected by the reformatory movement than Spain. Still, there were indications enough to excite alarm. Diego de Silva was appointed Grand Inquisitor. He performed his work thoroughly, and soon all Protestant traces were destroyed.

The causes of failure in the whole Spanish peninsula are not difficult to find. Protestantism was largely a measure of scholars and thinkers. No Spanish Protestant was gifted with popular powers. There was not a strong preacher or a powerful speaker among them. They were men of the study, quiet authors, who thought that they could win by the pen alone. They wrote in the language of the learned, and their writings never pervaded the masses. In Spain there was no exception to the general law, that no reform succeeds which is confined to the educated and to the aristocracy. The persistent energy of the Spanish authorities,

Causes of Failure

reinforced from Rome, made thorough work of suppression. The rights of conscience and intellectual liberty shared a common fate. Even all lectures on morals were prohibited in the universities, as favoring, by implication, the Protestant cause.

CHAPTER XVI

THE REFORMATION IN SCANDINAVIA

[Authorities.—Besides the chapters in the Histories of the Reformation, see Geijer, History of Sweden (London, 1845); C. M. Butler, The Reformation in Sweden (N. Y., 1883); Paul Barron Watson, The Swedish Reformation under Gustavus Vasa (London, 1889). The last two works are specially important.]

The groundwork of Protestantism in the three Scandinavian countries—Sweden, Denmark, and Norway—was already laid in the dissatisfaction of the people with the prevailing order of civil and ecclesiastical government. The barons and priests had long since united in popular oppression. The masses were ground down, and centuries had passed without an improvement in their condition. When the people learned of the Reform in Germany, they hailed it as a blessing to them. They eagerly listened to its first representatives in their own country.

Olaf and Laurence Petersen were the first native Swedish Reformers. They went to Wittenberg as students of theology, returned to Sweden, and after 1519 were devoted preachers of the new doctrines. But many of the people were reluctant to give up their old faith, which, indeed, was intermixed with traces of the old Gothic paganism. The king, Gustavus Vasa, was a firm Protestant, and was greatly beloved by his people. He told them that unless they would become Protestants he would abdicate. This he proposed in public, at a great meeting held in Westnaes (1526). The people then declared in favor of Protestantism; and at the Diet of Orebro, in 1529 and 1537, and of Westnaes, in 1544, the Protestant doctrines were declared to be the faith of the kingdom. The Augsburg Confession was endorsed in 1593, and the Form of Concord in 1663. Apostasy

The Petersens

from the State (Lutheran) Church to Romanism or to any Protestant sect was punished with exile and confiscation of property, and this continued till 1877.

Denmark and Norway

Protestantism in Denmark and Norway was introduced by men who had studied in Wittenberg, and brought back with them the new doctrines. Christian II., King of Denmark, publicly adopted them, and took measures for their approval by the whole people. John Tausen, who had studied under Luther, was appointed pastor in Copenhagen. The Roman Catholic bishops were deposed, and the property of the monasteries was appropriated to the national treasury. Protestantism was publicly adopted in Copenhagen in 1536, and the Diet of Odensee, in 1539, completed the work. In Norway the Reformation was introduced, and formally adopted in 1528. Danish missionaries carried it to Iceland in 1551, where an ecclesiastical constitution, similar to that of Denmark, was adopted.

CHAPTER XVII

THE REFORMATION IN THE SLAVIC LANDS

[Authorities.—E. H. Gillett's Life and Times of John Huss (3d. ed., N. Y., 1870) is a monument of patient and painstaking research. An excellent shorter work is Wratislaw's John Hus (London, 1882). See Lechler's art. in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, and the literature at Chap. III., above. A summary view can be found in Loserth's Wiclif and Hus (London, 1884), book i. Valerian Krasinski wrote a History of the Reformation in Poland (London, 1838), and D'Aubigné did the same for Hungary, History of the Protestant Church in Hungary to 1850 (London, 1844).]

Reform Movements

The Hussite preparation was a powerful aid towards introducing the new measures. John Huss was born about 1369, and burned at Constance in 1415. He became acquainted with Wycliffe's writings when at Prague, as a professor of theology and philosophy in the University, through students who had brought them from England. He eagerly adopted them. In 1402 he was appointed preacher in the Bethlehem Chapel, where he preached in the Bohemian language. He afterwards became rector of the Uni-

versity. He attacked all the chief evils of the Church in his day, and in due time the opposition to him became intense. The King of Bohemia took his part. The struggle between the pope and Huss was long in doubt, the people being with the latter, and the priesthood with the former. Pope John XXIII. summoned a general council, which met in Constance in 1414. Huss was ordered thither, and was promised personal safety. But the pledges were violated, and on July 6th, 1415, he was publicly burned, and his ashes cast into Lake Constance. But his cause did not die with him. His followers lived as a political and ecclesiastical party in the retired parts of the country. They withdrew to the rugged mountains of Moravia, and lived in quiet. The Moravians who afterwards went from there, and settled in Herrnhut, in Saxony, and, under Zinzendorf, became known as the United Brethren, are the spiritual descendants of John Huss.

German Protestantism in Bohemia

The Protestantism of Germany had warm sympathizers in every part of Bohemia. Preachers went back and forth between Bohemia and Wittenberg, and Luther was in frequent consultation with them as to the best means of introducing the reform. The Calvinistic theology, together with that of Luther, was likewise introduced. So successful was the work that the greater part of the country became Protestant. The Jesuits, however, made this one of their favorite fields, and, with the emperor on their side, gradually gained the upper hand. In 1627 Protestants were declared heretics, and had to choose between Romanism and death. A universal exile was the result.

Poland

Bohemian Protestants carried the doctrines of Protestantism into Poland, at this time a powerful and independent kingdom. The crime of the partition and absorption of that country by Prussia, Austria, and Russia was reserved for a later and more enlightened century, being begun in 1768 and completed in 1795. Luther's writings were introduced with great success, but opposed by the king, Sigismund I. His successor, Sigismund Augustus, was favorable to Protestantism, but the movement was weakened by a strife between the Lutheran and Calvinistic confessions, which was closed by the Synod of Sendomir, 1570. The Protestant nobility formed a league, by which a compromise between the Catholics and Protestants was reached, in 1573. But there was no general

prosperity of the Protestants. They grew in Livonia and other parts of the Baltic coast, but in the interior they led a feeble existence, being ground beneath the schemes of Jesuits and the political revolutions that came from the efforts of Poland to preserve her independence. The work of Protestant disintegration was greatly aided by a colony of Italians, who were so permeated with the sceptical Humanism of their country that they were illy prepared for an evangelical Protestantism.

Reform in Hungary and Transylvania

Hungary and Transylvania were early fields for the Reformation. Many students went from those far-off regions to Wittenberg, and carried back with them a warm admiration of Luther and an inborn devotion to his cause. Martin Cyriaci was one of the number, and he began to preach, in 1524, in favor of the reform. Matthias Devay, for a time an inmate of Luther's house, came to Hungary full of zeal for the new doctrines, and mightily aided them by voice and pen. He was the first to set up a printing-press in Hungary, and the first book issued contained, besides a Hungarian grammar, extracts from Luther's Smaller Catechism, written in the vernacular. In 1541 Erdösy published, probably from Devay's press, the first New Testament in Hungarian. In 1545 the Synod of Erdod formally adopted a creed, in twelve articles, in substantial agreement with the Augsburg Confession as the theological standard of the country. Much of the favor which was shown to Protestantism came from the merchants who had attended the Leipzig Fair every year since Luther had begun to preach. When these returned, they not only brought back with them books in favor of the Reformation, but a profound sympathy with the doctrines. Reformers went from Basel, which was in the Protestant ferment, and did much to aid in the good work of propagation. The kings Lewis II., Ferdinand, and John Zapolya opposed the reform, while Maximilian I. favored it. The Peace of Vienna, however, in 1606, resulted in its favor. Both the Lutheran and the Calvinist type of theology were represented. The people who spoke the German language, and heard of the Reformation from preachers who had studied in Wittenberg, adopted the Augsburg Confession, while those who were under the teaching of Swiss preachers adopted the Helvetic Confession.

CHAPTER XVIII

SURVEY OF RESULTS

The fruits of the Reformation are not difficult to find. Hitherto there had been but little liberty granted the common people. They were oppressed both civilly and ecclesiastically, and all the political convulsions were of little fruit for them. The Hanse or Free Cities constituted a confederation of powerful centres, extending from the North Sea down to the Alps. They arose as a reaction against despotic measures, but no sooner did they gain independence than they were as repressive as their masters had been. The effect of the Reformation was to elevate the people to a thirst for liberty and a higher and purer citizenship. Wherever the Protestant cause extended, it made the masses more self-asserting. Social respect and order were introduced, and subjected to firm regulation. Nations were taught a higher regard for each other's rights, and kings learned that their subjects were no longer mere playthings or serfs. In some countries the aspiration for independence took organized shape. The Reformation became the mother of republics. The Dutch Republic was born of the efforts of the Protestants of the Netherlands to secure liberty of conscience. No thought of civil independence animated the Dutch at the outset. They simply fought for liberty of doctrine and worship. But once in the current, they were carried on. They builded more wisely than they knew, and so founded a nation whose commerce covered every sea, whose discoveries reached the antipodes, and whose universities became the pride and wonder of Europe.

Advantages of the Reformation

The American Union owes a large measure of its genesis to the European struggle for reform. The Germans who came with Penn to this country were strongly attached to the doctrines of Luther, and immediately began to build churches

and establish schools in that interest. The Dutch who settled in New York and the adjacent country brought with them a fervent love of Protestantism, which had been the creative force of their nation at home, and which their fathers had bought at the price of their treasure and blood. The Swedes of New Jersey and Delaware were animated with the same attachment which they had enjoyed in Scandinavia. The Huguenots, who came here and settled in many places along the coast, from Massachusetts down to Georgia, found that safe asylum which was denied them at home because of their fidelity to their conscience. The Pilgrims who came over in the *Mayflower*, and became the strongest nucleus in the development of our Northern colonies, were fugitives from oppression in their native England. All these elements, the finest wheat from the trampled harvest-fields of Europe, combined on these shores, and became a unit in this western planting of evangelical Christianity. Villers says with truth, after speaking of the debt which the United States owes to the Reformation: "Powerful republics are based on the Reformation. Republican principles, more powerful than weapons of steel, have been introduced among all nations. Great revolutions have come from this source, and those yet to come are innumerable."

Benefit to America

The promotion of learning was not the least benefit conferred upon the world by the Reformation. Cultured men were its first advocates. The universities were the cradles of Protestantism. Wherever superstition and other abnormal tendencies appeared, the Reformers promptly rebuked them. The translation of the Scriptures had the effect to formulate and solidify the languages as no other literary movement had been able to do. Wycliffe's Bible preserved the Saxon tongue, and our Authorized Version, or King James's version, shows its constant dependence upon his translation. Luther found the German a mere conglomeration of rude and coarse dialects, and, in his translation of the Bible, he grouped the best and purest idioms, and, for the first time, made the German language a unit.

Learning Promoted

Universities sprang up throughout Germany as an immediate fruit of the Reformation. The University of Leyden was the first creation of the new nation which was born after the siege of that city was raised and the Spanish troops left

the land. Not until now, and only as a fruit of the Reformation, was the gospel generally preached in the popular language. When Œcolampadius, in 1522, began to preach in German, in the castle of Franz von Sickingen, even the friends of the reform regarded it as a dangerous procedure. His friend Caspar Hedio, for example, thought it hurrying matters too rapidly. In 1515 Leo X. issued his prohibition against the printing and publication of all books translated from the Greek, the Hebrew, and the Arabic languages; but when the Reformation was once in progress the printing-press was free. The study of all the languages became a new fascination, which no edict could destroy. Public schools were introduced, though crudely at first, in Germany, directly through Luther's labors. The intermediate schools, between the lower and highest education, were established. The German gymnasium of our times owes its real origin to the period of the Reformation. During the centuries since the Reformation over twenty universities, three fourths of which are Protestant, have been founded in Germany alone. Holland has built up, in addition to the University of Leyden, five other universities, and all are the direct result of her Protestantism. Everywhere, where the Reformation triumphed and became a permanent force, the cause of education, good morals, and political liberty advanced securely and rapidly.

Literature

CHAPTER XIX

THE FOUR-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF LUTHER'S BIRTH

[Authorities.—Dr. Schaff has a few words on the Celebrations of 1883 in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, appendix to art. on the Reformation. It was the occasion of a very extensive literature. See the Bibliographie der Luther-Litteratur des Jahres 1883 (Frankfort, 1883); Reading Notes on Luther, by John Edmunds (Phila., 1883); W. E. Foster, of Providence, R. I., Luther bibliog. in Monthly Reference Lists (*Literary News* office, N. Y.), November, 1883.]

The memories of the Reformation have been renewed by the celebration on November 11th, 1883, of the four-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Luther. The day was observed with becoming festivities in all the Protestant countries of the

world. In Germany, as might be expected, the enthusiasm was more intense than anywhere else. In Berlin there was a procession of children, numbering nearly one hundred thousand, to whom the Emperor William distributed copies of the works of the Reformer. Services were held in all the Protestant churches, and eulogies were pronounced on Luther and his achievements in behalf of all Teutonic peoples. In anticipation of November 11th, the Crown-Prince of Prussia, Frederic William, proceeded to Wittenberg, taking with him a laurel wreath, which, amid the silence of the multitude, he laid upon Luther's grave, in the floor of the Castle Church. Immediately afterwards the people sang Luther's martial hymn, which was caught up by the throngs in the streets and along the country roads. In Eisenach, which claimed the honor of having discovered Luther's genius when a choir-boy singing for his bread, the festivities were such as to attract people from every part of the Thuringian Forest. In Eisleben, where he was born and died, there was a popular rejoicing not excelled in any part of Germany. The entire day was devoted to the celebration. The nobility and peasantry vied with each other in doing honor to the miner's son. Scenic representations, in which all the leading participants of the Reformation were personified, and marched at the head of a great procession through the streets, constituted the chief feature of the ceremonies by which the quaint town did honor to its own child. Even the Old Catholics of Germany, through the example and encouraging words of Döllinger, paid a tribute to Luther's memory, because of the service he had done to the language and spiritual life of the Fatherland.

Services In Memory of Luther

In all the Slavic and Scandinavian countries the same regard was paid to the memory of Luther. Even in the very lands where his writings had been burned, wherever a little Protestant society exists, by whatever denominational name it may be called, religious services were held and tributes to the Reformer pronounced. Such celebrations were observed in Spain, where the Protestants in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Bilboa, and other cities united with their brethren in Germany and the whole world in honoring Luther's name and memory. In Paris and other parts of France, where his doctrines had been despised, and from which Calvin, and, later, hundreds of thousands of Huguenots, had been driven, the

same rejoicings took place. In Italy there was a thoroughly organized plan to celebrate the Reformer's birthday wherever Protestantism had gained a foothold. In Florence there was first an immense children's meeting, which was followed by a general gathering, where missionaries from foreign countries united with the Waldenses and other native Protestants, each making an address in his own language, and the people singing Luther's hymn in Italian:

"Forte Rocca è il nostro Dio."

In Rome a large memorial service was held, where a sermon was preached, addresses made, and hymns sung. In Naples there was a similar celebration, where representatives of the Protestantism of many countries united in doing honor to the memory of Luther. Even as far south as Sicily, where, in the sixteenth century, it was certain death to profess sympathy with the Wittenberg heretic, there was a large meeting in Palermo, under the presidency of the venerable patriot, Emmanuele Sartorio. In the United States all Protestant denominations united in doing honor to the memory of Luther. Every department of his great work and character was made the subject of special consideration, in churches from the Atlantic across to the Pacific Ocean. It is a striking proof of the growing interest, even in secular circles, that, on the morning following this unique celebration in Eisleben, all the details appeared, in both English and German, in the New York daily papers. History nowhere furnishes a higher tribute to the recognition of the worth of the worker for his fellow-men than in the fact that multitudes of Americans gathered in the churches and public halls to recall in gratitude and love the life and service of a miner's son, who was born when there was not a Christian on this Continent, and nine years before Columbus set out on the voyage that led to its discovery.

THE MODERN CHURCH IN EUROPE

A.D. 1558-1892

We have no single work on Modern Church History that covers the ground in a satisfactory manner. The General Church Histories, however, of Alzog [Roman Catholic], vol. iii. (Cincinnati, 1878), Gieseler, vol. v. (N. Y., 1879), Mosheim, vol. iii. (London, 1863, edited by Stubbs, who has brought the history down to the present time), and Blackburn (N. Y., 1879) bring the modern period into their view. The German historians are meagre, and not of great value when treating of affairs out of their own country, and especially of the evangelical movements of the last two centuries. The last volume of Gieseler, as well as of Kurtz (N. Y., 1890) can be read with advantage, but also with caution. For the religious and theological movements of the Continent (but particularly of Germany) see Hagenbach, History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, translated, with additions, by John F. Hurst (N. Y., 1869).

CHAPTER I

RECUPERATIVE MEASURES OF ROMANISM

[Authorities.—For Histories of the Council of Trent, see Buckley (London, 1852), Bungener, edited by McClintock (N. Y., 1855), Littledale (London and N. Y., 1889). An excellent edition in English of the Canons and Decrees, with a History of the Council, is furnished by Waterworth (London, 1848).]

The territorial expansion of Protestantism, combined with its rapid organization, in various confessional forms, produced great alarm in Rome. Even lands which had been supposed to be firm in their old attachments had become intensely Protestant. There was no criterion by which to determine where or when the moral revolution would cease. The division of the German Protestants into the two great bodies of Lutheran and Reformed did not seriously diminish the aggressive power of the Protestants in the heart of Europe. But there was little thought taken of the propagation of the gospel in heathen lands. Had the Protestants on the Continent adopted measures for the evangelization of heathen countries, especially the East and West Indies, they would have achieved a task which has been left for their successors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to undertake. Even meagre beginnings would have been an expression of confidence and heroism. The Roman Catholics, in this respect, were controlled by greater wisdom. It is natural, however, that, the work of conquest being so new, the Protestant bodies should think the consolidation of their work at home their most serious work.

Protestants and Catholics

The Roman Catholics looked, first of all, to a general council as the best measure to arrest the increasing force of Protestantism. But a council was known to be always a dangerous experiment. It was never adopted except as a last resort. It never failed to have two parties—

Council of Trent

radical and conservative. Still, so serious was the issue that Paul III. called one. It met, in 1545, in Trent, a town on one of the eastern Alpine passes between Italy and Germany. The most of the delegates were Italian, and were devoted to the conservative interests of Rome. But the Spanish and French bishops favored reformatory measures. They declared that the Church must take advanced steps, and adapt itself to the new needs of the times. The pope found the council troublesome, and removed it to Bologna in 1547, and dissolved it in 1549. Pius IV., however, convoked it again in 1562, in Trent, and dissolved it in 1563. The result was the condemnation of all Protestant doctrines, and the assumption of an aggressive attitude in every country. The doctrines of purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the worship of images and relics were reaffirmed. At the same time the Council abolished some crying abuses, and brought in disciplinary reforms in regard to sale of indulgences, morals of convents, and education of clergy. In this and other respects the Reformation produced a beneficial effect upon the Roman Catholic Church.

There was no disposition on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to withdraw from even the countries whose governments had boldly committed themselves to the Protestant faith.

Old Orders Revived

The more devout minds in the Roman Catholic Church looked to the revival of the monastic orders as the most promising source of strength in counteracting Protestantism. The strict rules of the Franciscans were revived in the Capuchin order, founded by Matthew de Bassi. The main object was care of the poor and needy. Ochino, of Italy, was a Capuchin, but left Romanism, and became a celebrated Protestant. The Carmelites were revived by Theresa of Spain. They devoted their attention principally to humane labors and the instruction of the young. The Cistercians were reorganized by Jean de Barrière.

Smaller New Orders

Neither these nor the restored old orders had any bearing on foreign missions, but were limited to the home field. The Theatines were founded by Gaetano de Thiene. Their chief objects were the care of the sick and criminals, and the education of the clergy. Preaching was an important factor in their work. The Angelicas, founded by the Countess Guastalla, devoted themselves chiefly to women. The Priests of the Oratory, organized by Philip de

Neri, were learned men, for the most part, and devoted themselves to Biblical studies. The Barnabites were so called from the Church of St. Barnabas, of Milan, which was given to them. The order was founded by Antonio Maria Saccaria. The Ursulines, a female order established by Angela of Brescia, applied themselves to the education of young women and to sufferers. The Brothers of Mercy were organized by John de Dio, a Portuguese. They devoted their attention to the poor and the sick. All these orders arose about the same time, during the former half of the sixteenth century. All Europe was covered by the new monastic network. No class of sufferers was overlooked. The hut and the palace were alike visited.

This multiplication of societies of mercy and instruction showed the wonderful religious power which still lived in the old Church. These energies seemed to be stimulated, rather than weakened, by the great Protestant defection.

CHAPTER II

THE ORDER OF JESUITS

[Authorities.—One of the best short accounts of the Jesuits is found in Stephen's Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography (London, new ed., 1875). For a history the work of Theodor Griesinger, The Jesuits (London and N. Y., 1883), may be read for an elaborate and bitterly hostile narrative, and that of Dauvignac, History of the Society of Jesus (Cincinnati, 1865), for an apology by an equally enthusiastic advocate. Read Macaulay's Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes. Schem has a fair and well-balanced treatment in the article "Jesuits," in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, and Littledale, the veteran anti-Roman controversialist, gives the bright and dark sides of the order in the Encyclopædia Britannica. For Rome's effort to recover her lost ground read Fisher, Hist. of the Reformation, ch. xii., and Ward, The Counter Reformation (London and N. Y., 1889). Ward's book is one of the best of the Church Epoch Series, to which it belongs.]

Jesuit Order

The Society of Jesus, or the Order of Jesuits, was the most powerful and far-reaching counteracting agency adopted by the Roman Catholic Church in this great crisis. It originated in the purpose to compensate, in distant lands, for the losses at home. But, secondarily, the order pro-

posed to operate in all countries, even in the midst of those most intensely Protestant. The founder, Ignatius Loyola, born in Spain, 1491, was a soldier by profession, but, being wounded in battle, gave himself to religious meditation, and resolved upon establishing a new order—the Society of Jesus. He was general of the order. The members pledged themselves to poverty, chastity, and the will of the pope. The order was confirmed by Paul III. in 1540. Its avowed object was the care of the sick and the salvation of souls. The members divided themselves into the Professing, the Coadjutors, the Scholastics, and the Novices. They laid down as their ethical creed the doctrine of probabilism, mental reservation, and the distinction between theological and philosophical disobedience. This system was defended by their strong writers: Toletus, Vasquez, Sanchez, Suarez, and Busenbaum. Their political creed was the power of the people. They cultivated the republican element, and brought themselves frequently into collision with the rulers of the countries where they labored.

Opposition to the Jesuits

The opposition to the Jesuit order arose among such rulers as found their authority and succession endangered by it. The climax was reached by the order about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The kings arrayed themselves against it, and the papacy was won over to their support. Benedict XIV. began an attack on it, and Clement XIII. suppressed it, first in Portugal, whence the Jesuits were banished in 1759. In France they were banished, 1764; in Spain, 1767; and in the Sicilies and Parma in 1767–68. In Germany there was no direct suppression, but the friends of the order were surrounded with serious limitations. In 1773, by the brief of Clement XIV., the order was abolished as a menace to the Church. But Pius VII. restored it in 1814 by a decree —*Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum.* The order speedily extended into various countries. The late Pius IX. was devoted to its interests, and gave it great prestige.

Jesuit Missions

The Jesuit missions were rapidly organized. The military character of the order, and the disposition to follow the lines of commerce, led it into all fields. A network was rapidly spread over Austria, Bavaria, Poland, the Baltic Provinces, Sweden, and Great Britain. But these home missions were not of the striking character of the for-

eign ramifications. The lands of the long-prostrate Eastern Church received early attention. Pius IV. authorized Christopher Roderic, in 1562, to establish a mission among the Copts of Egypt. The Armenians also received prompt attention. The Nestorians had been divided, and their unsettled condition was an attraction to the order. Syrian scholars espoused their cause, but the mission failed, despite all efforts. Abyssinia was also visited, where a mission under Barretas, with two bishops and ten Jesuits of inferior orders, was begun in 1554. This endeavor also failed, because of the opposition of the Abyssinian kings.

The commerce of the Portuguese in Eastern Asia led to an important Jesuit mission on the new lines of trade. Francis Xavier landed at Goa, in India, in 1542. Bassein in the north and Goa in the south became the great distributing centres. Many churches were built around the western coast of India, and many thousands of the natives were baptized. Japan became an important field of Xavier's labors, where forty thousand natives were baptized in six years. China was also visited, and became a strong mission, under Xavier's successors. The conditions for baptism were easy. A slight disposition for renouncing heathenism was required. Many idolatrous practices were still permitted. Educational facilities for indoctrinating in the new faith were liberally provided. The Jesuits were successful in the Philippine Islands, but failed in the Carolines.

Xavier

The beginning of the Jesuit mission to Brazil was made by King John III. of Portugal, who sent over Emanuel de Nobrega and four other priests. Peter Clave labored in the Spanish provinces of South America, where three hundred thousand negroes were baptized by him alone. The Paraguayan missions were very successful. Whole tribes were grouped into missions. The Guaranis were brought in by multitudes. From thirty thousand to forty thousand families of these were organized into thirty-two towns. The order now moved northward, but with no loss of energy. It had a mission in Florida in 1566, and by 1570 had another on Chesapeake Bay. Florida was abandoned, Mexico offering a more inviting field. Here Kuno began in 1683. The French possessions of Canada were overspread with a network of Jesuit laborers. The whole line of the St. Lawrence was followed

The Americas

westward, which met the missionaries following the Mississippi River from its mouth to its head-waters. From Mexico a chain of missions was extended northward along the Pacific coast, which extended as far as the Columbia River. But all known lands felt the impress of the tireless Jesuit missionary feet. An admiring poet, Levi Bishop, thus describes the bound less map of his labors:

> "With all his faults, from pole to pole
> He spreads the truth and feeds the human soul.
> In Ethiope, on Chilian mount sublime,
> In Paraguay, in Congo's sunny clime,
> In Bactriana, and in China far,
> In Japan's thousand isles, in Caffrara,
> In California, on the Amazon,
> In Australasia, by the Oregon,
> In Nouvelle France, in Aztec Mexico,
> In Iceland chill, and wheresoe'er we go,
> To earth's remotest bounds, we find him there."

General Influence of Jesuitism

As a propagating force, the Jesuit order is the most powerful piece of ecclesiastical machinery ever organized by the Roman Catholic Church. Its methods have varied with the environment. The members have operated apart from diocesan limitations. The authority for their work, and for their field of operation, comes directly from the pope. No bishop can interfere with the exercise of their work. The recuperative power of the order is an historical marvel. Banished or imprisoned to-day, to-morrow it is again on the march, and powerful alike in the audience-halls of kings and emperors. The repressive measures adopted by Germany, under the lead of Bismarck, after the close of the Franco-German War, in 1871, were in due time revoked. The full favor now enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Church in the German empire is, most likely, due largely to the careful and untiring labors of this order. The present sympathy between the imperial court in Berlin and the papal court in the Vatican is an anomaly in ecclesiastical history. The Roman Catholic members in the German Parliament were needed to secure a majority for larger military armaments. The price to be paid was the old liberty to Romanism in Germany. The bargain was made, and has been kept. Among the most conspicuous objects of the jubilee celebration of the

present pope's entrance into the priesthood was the new tiara, resplendent with precious stones. It was the gift of the Protestant Hohenzollern, the late Emperor William, to the friend of the Jesuit order and the representative of Roman Catholic authority, Pope Leo XIII., and was worn by the latter on this memorable occasion of his official career.

CHAPTER III

THE ENGLISH CHURCH UNDER JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

[Authorities.—For this period see the thorough and important work of Dixon, History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction (London, 1878 sqq.); Perry, History of the Church of England from the Death of Elizabeth to the Present Century (London, new ed., 1881); and Stoughton, History of Religion in England, vol. i.: The Church and the Civil Wars (new ed., N. Y., 1881–82). The two best books on the Westminster Assembly are Hetherington, History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines (4th ed., revised, Edinb., 1878), and Mitchell, The Westminster Assembly: its History and Standards (London, 1883). Compare a valuable article by Prof. Briggs, the first American authority on the Assembly, "The Documentary History of the Westminster Assembly," in *Presbyterian Review*, January, 1880.]

James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England (1603–1625). The destiny of English Protestantism had appeared so often to be dependent on the caprice of the ruler, that both the dissenting bodies and the Church of England were anxious about the probable policy of the new king. It was understood that James, being a Calvinist in theology, would exhibit little sympathy with either the Roman Catholics or the new Church of England. But no man was ever wise enough to forecast the policy of James or of any other Stuart. With all his Calvinism, which he had brought down with him from Scotland to London, he was never known to show any favor to either the Puritans or the Presbyterians, but pursued the policy of conciliation towards the Roman Catholics in England and on the Continent. Whenever there was any way to injure the dissenting bodies, he did not hesitate to do it.

James I. and the Puritans

When Elizabeth was queen the whole weight of her influence was given in favor of the struggling Protestants on the Continent. Her aid to the Dutch, in their struggle to throw off the Spanish yoke, was one of the most brilliant deeds in English annals. But James I., the "wise fool" of English history, courted the favor of Catholic Spain, and was willing to make any reasonable sacrifice in that corrupt political interest. Whatever would crush the Puritans at home, and help the Catholics abroad, and aid in thrusting on Scotland an episcopal government, was his supreme pleasure.

Contrast with Elizabeth

The only hope of the nation lay in Parliament. The dissenting bodies were protected by it against the constant scheming of James I. The majority of its members were Puritans, and were distinguished for intelligence and an unconquerable devotion to the liberties of the people. They knew how to watch the king with keen vision. The Puritans had little to hope from James I. The Presbyterians, however, had been his devoted friends. But for their uniting with the Established Church in aiding towards his securing the English crown, it is not at all likely that he would ever have sat upon the English throne. They were willing to accept a moderate episcopacy, and had full faith in James I. But he betrayed them. When on English soil he showed no regard for them, and never seemed to remember his obligation to their loyalty.

Parliament the Pope of England

The work with which James's name will be forever and honorably associated is the so-called Authorized English Version of the Bible. This was a revision of the Bishops' Bible (1568), and was begun in 1607, finished in 1610, and published in 1611. It was the work of forty-seven scholars (fifty-four were originally appointed), divided into six companies, of which two met at Westminster, two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge. The work of these separate committees was afterwards supervised and brought into regularity by six persons, two from each company. Although it bears on its title the words "Appointed to be read in Churches," there appears no record of any royal or exclusive authorization. It won its way at length, though against much opposition, on the strength of its own intrinsic merits. It finally superseded the Genevan Bible, which had hitherto been

Authorized English Version of the Bible

the most popular English version, and it has ever since been the Bible of the English-speaking race. The purity and simplicity of its style, the beauty, vigor, and charm of its diction, and its general accuracy, have endeared it beyond measure to the hearts of the people.

Charles I. and the Revolution

The crisis of religious oppression was reached in the reign of Charles I. (1625–49). His policy towards Catholicism was little better than that of James I. No one knew what a day would bring forth. The wife of Charles was a devoted French Catholic, and she controlled his foreign policy. His claims of extreme royal power increased with his years, and his measures became oppressive to both the conscience and the political liberty of the people. The Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber were tyrannical measures to carry out his will against the voice of the people. He saw no need of a parliament. He persecuted the Puritans at home, and, in his sympathy with the Catholics of France, sent help to Louis XIII., in 1625, to aid him in wresting Rochelle out of the Huguenot hands. When parliaments were called which would not obey him, they were dissolved. Between 1625 and 1629 three parliaments were convened, and, because disobedient to the behests of Charles I., were disbanded. His cruelty to the Puritans, his despotic measures to raise money without authority of Parliament, his violent efforts to enforce the liturgy of the Established Church on Scotland, and the invasion of England by the army of Scotland, led to an extended civil war. In the battle of Marston Moor, in 1644, where Oliver Cromwell commanded the left wing, the Loyalists were defeated. In 1645, at the battle of Naseby, where Charles I. commanded in person, and Cromwell commanded the left wing of the Parliamentary army, the king was overwhelmingly defeated. He was tried by Parliament, and was executed in 1649. The successive failures of Absolutism and Catholic alliances augured well for the full establishment of Protestantism and religious liberty in England.

The Westminster Assembly

One of the most notable events of the reign of Charles was the convening of the Westminster Assembly. The Parliament, proceeding in its independent course, and without regard to the wishes of Charles I., ordered an assembly to meet, in 1643. It continued in session until 1647. It is known as the Westminster

Assembly. The Presbyterians were in the majority. The object of the convention was to reach some doctrinal formula which should express the Presbyterian doctrines, and also to aid in securing the adoption of the Covenant, by which both England and Scotland should adopt the Presbyterian polity. The Westminster Confession, the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, and the Directory of Worship were adopted, and Parliament endorsed these measures. As an assembly for the statement of Christian doctrine, the Westminster divines performed acts which have had, ever since, a most important bearing on the whole subsequent history of the Church. But as a political force, the effort to introduce the Presbyterian polity throughout England was a failure.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENGLISH PURITANS

[Authorities.—Neal, History of the Puritans (London, 1837: N. Y., 1844), is a thesaurus of information gathered and interpreted by a friendly hand. The brilliant articles by Bayne, The Puritan Revolution (London, 1878), are more popular, yet scholarly sketches from a similar standpoint. For short histories, see Stowell, History of the Puritans in England (London, new ed., 1878), and Marsden, History of the Early Puritans (London, 1850). Green's eloquent and interesting chapters on the Puritans should be read. He has a far keener and truer insight into the Puritan character than Macaulay.]

The early English revolt against Rome was the real origin of the later Puritans and all the non-conforming bodies of England. In the fourteenth century there had been strong tendencies among the more devout to protest against all superstitious and ritualistic practices. The movement crystallized in the Lollards, under Wycliffe as leader. When the Reformation on the Continent was in full force, these people, who seemed to see in the new Protestant Church which Henry VIII. would give to England but little improvement on that of Rome, organized themselves into a society which bore the name of the Christian Brethren. They did not break with the Established Church, but held themselves in

Origin of Puritans

reserve, to await events. Cambridge became their chief centre, but the movement soon extended to Oxford.

The sources of Puritan strength were very important, and were to be found for the most part on the Continent. The writings of Luther and Melanchthon were translated into English and read with avidity. Calvin, by an industrious correspondence, was of most valuable service. He boldly wrote to the king, and to the protector Somerset, and to Cranmer. His letters furnished powerful artillery for the Puritan campaign. Erasmus lived some time in Cambridge, and the weight of his influence, though without purpose, was with the Puritans. The prestige of foreign Reformers led to their being called to both the English universities. Peter Martyr, the Pietro Vermigli of Italy, became a theological professor at Oxford; Martin Bucer, of Switzerland, at Cambridge; and Ochino, of Italy, a canon of Canterbury. The indirect result of all these foreigners in England was against all the prelatical and ritualistic tendencies in the Church of England as organized by Henry VIII. and wrested from Rome by him as king. Edward VI. gave all promise of favoring a simple ritual and granting to the Puritans a full recognition. But he died after a short reign. Mary succeeded him. She aimed at the total overthrow of Protestantism. Death or banishment of all leading Protestants was the new order. Elizabeth succeeded her, and followed closely in the path of Henry VIII.

Grounds of Puritan Strength

The return of the exiles was a powerful accession to the Puritan party. Banishment had taken them to Geneva, Frankfort, and other Continental cities, where their associations were with the Reformed, and where they adopted all the tastes of Calvin. Fuller says: "They brought nothing back with them but much learning and some experience." They no sooner landed in England than they began a vigorous fight against what they believed to be the fearful formalism of the Church of England. The thing which they attacked with most vigor was the robes, or habits, worn by the clergy. The strife bears the name of the Habits Controversy. The Protestants declared that the compulsion to wear a certain kind of vestment was a violation of true liberty, and was nothing less than a continuance of Romanism. The strife was bitter. But the term was a misnomer. Behind

The Habits Controversy

the protest against a certain robe was the entire mass of ceremonials which the Puritans opposed. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity was passed, which gave the Puritans no chance. According to this act all ministers must use the Book of Common Prayer, and must declare their public assent to the same book. A like assent was required of all heads of colleges and schoolmasters. It was a bold attempt to banish all dissent and liberty of worship in the kingdom. As a consequence, more than two thousand ministers were turned out of their parishes.*

They were thenceforward called, in many cases, by the broader term of Non-conformists. In 1566 they formed themselves into a separate body, and boldly advocated the throwing off of surplices and all the ceremonial reminders of the Church of England. The queen and her Parliament resisted every measure adopted by the Non-conformists. A Presbyterian Church was organized, in Surrey, near London, in 1572, but was suppressed. The new High Court of Commission was the government's formal method of dealing with all Puritan measures. Their meetings were broken up, their books were prohibited, and imprisonment became the order. Robert Brown was one of the most ardent Puritans. His followers were called Brownists. They were driven out of the country, settled in Holland, and became the nucleus of the Pilgrim Fathers who landed in New England in 1620.

Puritans as Non-conformists

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* There were three Acts of Uniformity, 1549, 1559, and 1662. They were all similar in their provisions. See Low and Pulling, Dict. of English History, p. 1024.

CHAPTER V

THE QUAKERS

[AUTHORITIES.—Available books on the early English Quakers are: Cunningham, The Quakers from their Origin (new ed., Edinb., 1871); Frances Anne Budge, Annals of the Early Friends (London, 1877); Evans, Friends in the Seventeenth Century (Phila., 1875); Hodgson, Historical Memoirs of the Society of Friends (Phila.,1867). See Chase, in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, art. "Friends."]

THE rise of the Quakers was due to a latent spiritual desire to return to the primitive Christian faith. The long conflict between the Episcopalian and the dissenting bodies promised little for the growth of Christian life among the people. They labored in the same general direction with the Puritans and Presbyterians. All alike were nonconforming. But they had no visible connection with any religious body, and kept aloof from all political relations. They increased with great rapidity. Their heroism was of the loftiest type. The persecutions visited upon them nerved them for more daring deeds of faith and patience.

Causes of Quakerism

George Fox, born 1624, was the founder of the Quakers, or Friends. He was profoundly convinced that the office of the Holy Spirit was largely neglected, and that, in this regard, the Church had wandered from its original faith. He began to preach his doctrines throughout England, and many flocked to his standard. He gathered his followers from every class. The beautiful and calm life of his disciples, their devotion to the fundamental Christian doctrines, and their heroic meeting of persecution, gave them an additional charm. Soon there were Quaker preachers on the Continent as far east as Hungary. They spent but little time in answering the slanders of enemies. Their chief concern was a spiritual reformation of all Europe.

Fox and his Followers

While the principal part of the theological system of the Quakers related to the offices of the Holy Spirit, they laid

emphasis on other doctrines. The divine sovereignty, the need of constant prayer, the duty of meditation on divine things, the certain general judgment, the necessity of peace and good-will, the refusal to take up carnal weapons, the impropriety of oaths, and the choice of the ministry without regard to sex, were matters of fundamental importance.

Quaker Doctrines

The persecution of the Quakers in England was violent. No class of dissenters was visited with such gross treatment. Even the women were not spared. Many Quakers were driven out of the country. Many who remained were imprisoned and persecuted. A strong reinforcement came to the body by the accession of William Penn. He was the son of an English admiral. He secured the right to a large tract of land in America, which still bears his name—Pennsylvania. The settlement in Pennsylvania under Penn occurred in 1682. Many of his coreligionists in England, with others from Germany, came to America. But even here they met with cruel oppression everywhere, except in Penn's colony. Their experience in two towns in New England was of a piece with their tribulations elsewhere:

Penn and the Quaker Emigration

> "Old Newbury, had her fields a tongue,
> And Salem's streets, could tell their story
> Of fainting women dragged along,
> Gashed by the whip accursed and gory."

Though small in numbers, the Quakers have exerted a strong influence on the development of Christian civilization. Never were the rights of conscience more bravely asserted than by the original Friends, and they have constantly labored for the amelioration of suffering and the abolition of injustice. They have been the bitter enemies of the slave-trade, and the great trials of Penn and Mead in 1670 at the Old Bailey courts "will forever remain as noble monuments of their resistance to the arbitrary proceedings of the courts of judicature and the violent infringement of the privilege of jury." Many reforms in the treatment of the prisoner and the insane may be traced to their enlightened and uncompromising advocacy. They were the first to set on foot many movements, the beneficent results of which have spread far beyond themselves.

Influence of the Quakers

CHAPTER VI

CROMWELL AND THE COMMONWEALTH

[AUTHORITIES.—The second volume of Stoughton's work on Religion in England deals with this period. It is readable and reliable. An excellent Life of Cromwell has been written by J. Alanson Picton (new ed., London and N. Y., 1889). A very favorable view is that of Paxton Hood, Oliver Cromwell: His Life and Times (London and N. Y., 1883), and a less favorable one is given by R. F. D. Palgrave, Oliver Cromwell: an Appreciation Based on Contemporary Evidence (London, 1890). Palgrave reverses all the favorable estimates of the Protector, and claims that his investigation "discloses a Protector so unlike the image that modern fancy has set up, that he will deservedly be put to his purgation." With these books and the literature mentioned in the preceding chapters the reader should be able to form his own judgment on the much-abused and much-lauded Cromwell. The greatest work on Milton is that of David Masson, Life and Literary History of John Milton (London, 1859–80). Better for all but the special student are, Richard Garnett, Life of Milton (London, 1889); Pattison, Milton (in Morley's English Writers, London and N. Y., 1879); and **Masson, article "Milton," in Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed.; also Macaulay's famous essay.**]

Oliver Cromwell

CROMWELL was born in 1599, being connected by blood with the family of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, prime minister to Henry VIII. He was educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and on his father's death settled down to farm his own lands. He appeared first in public life as a member of Parliament, as early as 1628. He had been much with the Puritans, and imbibed their principles, and shared their hostility to Romanism. His appearance was plain and ungainly. He was clad in rustic and unfashionable attire. Sir Philip Harwick says of him, that he was inclined at first to treat him with contempt, but "I lived to see this gentleman, by multiplied successes and by more converse with good company, appear in my own eye of a comely presence, and a great and majestic deportment." Another of his contemporaries speaks of him in this picturesque language: "He was a strong man in the dark perils of

war; in the high places of the field hope shone in him like a pillar of fire, when it had gone out in all others."

Charles II. in Search of the Throne

The execution of Charles I. was not the destruction of the Royalist cause, nor was the new Parliament a unit in support of Cromwell. Though he repeatedly refused a crown, even the simple authority which he exercised as Protector of the Commonwealth was in constant danger. Charles II., son of Charles I., fled to the Continent, and joined his mother in Paris. The Scotch Parliament was devoted to the house of Stuart, but the Scotch were still more attached to liberty. They were willing to have Charles II. back again, and so put an end to the Commonwealth, but they wanted to be sure of his conduct. Charles II. was proclaimed king by the Scotch Parliament in 1649, but it was only "on condition of his good behavior," while the Covenanters required him to sign "articles of repentance." He was willing to submit to indignity, provided he could gain his father's crown. The army which gathered about him was defeated by Cromwell's army at Worcester in 1651. Charles escaped to France. Cromwell was now supreme in the land. In 1653 he entered the House of Commons, and dissolved it in these words: "You are no longer a Parliament." In 1654 he was formally proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth.

Policy of Cromwell

England's position was now entirely new. While Cromwell was intensely Puritan, the Puritans did not know how soon the day of retribution would come to them. All classes looked upon the period of his protectorate as a mere armistice in the hot warfare. But the six years which elapsed between the proclamation of Cromwell as Protector and the entry of Charles II. into London as king, or from 1654 to 1660, was a period of intense fermentation. Never, in the annals of the world, have events moved with more astounding despatch or the seeds of liberty ripened with greater rapidity. The colonies in America were rejoicing in their first lessons in religious liberty. The Protestants on the Continent, who had ceased to look to England for sympathy and help, now turned again with confidence. Cromwell's great name commanded respect from Calais to Constantinople. Catholic kings feared to maltreat their Protestant subjects, for they knew not at what hour an English army, by Cromwell's order, might invade

their realms. Foreign rulers craved alliance with him. When Spain applied to become an ally, Cromwell demanded as a condition that the Inquisition should be suppressed. No ruler was ever more unjustly censured by his contemporaries. But no hero ever moved more steadily in the path of duty to his own conscience and to the oppressed of all Britain. Milton, who knew him on all sides of his majestic character, paid this just tribute to him :

> "Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud,
> Not of war only, but detractions rude,
> Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
> To peace and truth thy glorious way hath ploughed;
> And on the neck of crowned fortune proud
> Hast reared God's trophies and his work pursued,
> While Darwen stream with blood of Scots imbrued,
> And Dunbar field resounds thy praises loud,
> And Worcester's laurel wreath. Yet much remains
> To conquer still; peace hath her victories
> No less renowned than war."

John Milton

Milton served Oliver Cromwell four or five years as his Latin secretary. While he is known to the world as the greatest epic poet produced by England, and the author of "Paradise Lost," he was distinguished during the stormy period in which his life was passed (1608–1674) as the strongest defender of liberty in the land. His words for liberty were as powerful as Cromwell's sword-strokes. His "Areopagitica, or Plea for Unlicensed Printing," was the blast of a trumpet in favor of political and religious liberty. Some of his other prose works were of hardly less value as an educational force for the future of the Anglo-Saxon race in all lands and for all times. Of his prose writings Macaulay says: "They are a perfect field of cloth-of-gold. The style is stiff with gorgeous embroidery." Grave doubt was manifested on the appearance of the "Paradise Lost." In 1667, when fifty-nine years of age, he sold the copy of this immortal work to Samuel Simmons for five pounds, but with the provision that the sum should be doubled after thirteen hundred copies should have been sold. He received the remaining five pounds, however, but it required eleven years for the publisher to dispose of three thousand copies. At the Restoration his prosecution, as a defender of the Protectorate, was ordered. But he

escaped by the passage of the Act of Oblivion. He died in 1674.

> "What was of use to know,
> What best to say could say, to do had done.
> His actions to his words agreed, his words
> To his large heart gave utterance due, his heart
> Contained of good, wise, fair, the perfect shape."

Milton had been a sufferer in many ways, and blindness was added to his other afflictions. His supreme ambition was to help the English people to larger liberty. We know him best as poet, but the world will love him most as an heroic defender of human rights.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH DURING THE RESTORATION

[Authorities.—Macaulay, who was the first to make English history popular, here begins his work, which is nowhere more interesting and suggestive than in his treatment of ecclesiastical matters. There has been a tendency of late to call in question the value of his historical judgments. There is no doubt that he is often too confident, and expresses himself without the reserve and qualification of a judicial mind, because, as Pattison says, his "was the mind of an advocate, not of the philosopher." But his history is still of inestimable value, not only for its entertaining narrative and life-like portrayal of men and events, but also for its substantial accuracy and general trustworthiness. Read here, Bayne, as above, and Stoughton, vols. iii. and iv.: The Church of the Restoration.]

In 1660 Charles II. was welcomed to London. The people gave him a cordial reception. Once more the religious uncertainty appeared. The contrast between the simplicity and seriousness of the Protectorate under Cromwell and the kingdom under Charles II. was great. The new king married Catherine of Braganza, the daughter of the King of Portugal. This being a Roman Catholic alliance, all the old fears of sympathy with that communion were aroused. The people did not have to wait long for royal developments.

Charles II. on the Throne

Among the most powerful agencies in bringing Charles II.

to the throne must be reckoned the Presbyterians. The Scotch were devoted to his interests. They could not believe that the time would ever come when their loyalty would be forgotten or visited with stripes. But they were dealing with a treacherous Stuart. Charles II. placed them and the Puritans in the same category for condemnation. As the sworn head of the Church of England, he was compelled to give open favor to it. But it would seem that in heart he was, during the most of his reign, a Roman Catholic. He confessed, towards the end of his life, that he had been secretly received into that Church. In 1662 an Act of Uniformity was passed which required all ministers of English churches to receive episcopal ordination, to adopt the use of the Book of Common Prayer, to pledge support to the Church of England, to discontinue to support the Covenant, and to profess adherence to the principle that under no circumstances was it lawful to take up arms against the king. The enforcement of episcopal ordination drove two thousand preachers out of their pulpits immediately. The episcopal form of Church government was forced upon all England. Scotland was compelled to submit to the same yoke. The Presbyterians were persecuted without mercy. A Mile Act was passed by which no minister, refusing to be episcopally ordained, could live within twenty miles of his former parish or within three miles of a royal borough.

Act of Uniformity

The Conventicle Act, which was adopted in 1664, was the culmination of violent proceedings. It was hoped that if a law could be enacted by which non-conformists could be prevented from assembling for worship the whole population might be made conformists. The Conventicle Act forbade the assembling for worship of more than five persons. The slightest pretexts were adopted for imprisonment. No clergyman refusing to sign the Act of Uniformity could even come within five miles of a borough or corporate town. A system of espionage was adopted which for rigidity and minuteness could hardly have been surpassed by the ingenuity of an Oriental prince.

Public Meetings

The hostility of the classes during this reign increased in intensity. The non-conformists were divided among themselves, one party hoping for the best and willing to compromise, with a view to even the least advantage. The other

party, headed by the Puritans, were determined to accept no moderate concessions. They were ready to go to prison, but not to surrender to corrupt masters. The king had proved unworthy of the crown he wore, and of the people over whom he ruled. His court was corrupt. His alliance with Louis XIV. was bought at the price of a promise that England should become a Roman Catholic country, and that Parliament—always an inconvenient thing for absolute rulers—would seldom be called on for its valuable services. The war with the Dutch was a failure. Without honor abroad, and with dissension at home, and the most conscientious people in the land in prison, or in danger of it, England was a pitiable spectacle. Her king was her curse.

Effect of the Reign of Charles II.

Charles II. had made some concealment of his Roman Catholic sympathy. But his brother, James II., on coming to the throne in 1685, had nothing to conceal. He was an outspoken Romanist. He was true to England, as against the French, but this was the only commendable characteristic of his foreign policy. He spared no pains to punish the non-conformists for their attitude of defiance. The members of the Church of England had no confidence in him. They knew he had no friendly feeling towards them, and would willingly surrender every church in the land to the Roman priesthood. His Court of High Commission was organized to carry out his plan to crush every sign of dissent throughout the land. Here the infamous Lord Jeffreys, impaled for all the future by Macaulay's pen, was called to preside. His name has become a synonym for cruelty and injustice, and must ever remain a foul blot on English history. His administration was destitute of a single mitigating element, and hastened James II. to his merited ruin.

James II.

James II. in due time lost all his supporters. There was no class of Protestants which had the least affection for his person, or respect for his authority, or confidence in his justice. The people, in this wretched condition, turned towards Holland. William, Prince of Orange, had married Mary, the daughter of James II. He was an intense Protestant, and represented in his own person the traditional Dutch love of liberty and devotion to Protestantism. The revolution of 1688 took place. William and Mary were in-

William and Mary

vited to assume the throne, and accepted the invitation amid the rejoicings of a redeemed and loyal people.

England, for the first time, was a Protestant land. Of the devotion of all later sovereigns to Protestant interests there has been no serious question asked or doubt expressed.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLISH DEISM

[Authorities.—See Farrar, Critical History of Free Thought (N. Y., new ed., 1883), lect. iv; Hurst, History of Rationalism (9th ed., N. Y., 1875), ch. xix.; Leland, View of the Principal Deistical Writers (new ed., London, 1837); Tulloch, Rational Theology in England in the Seventeenth Century (Edinb., 1872); Cairns, Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century (Edinb. and N. Y., 1881).]

Early traces of unbelief in England can be found as far back as the beginning of the thirteenth century. When the Middle Ages came to a close there was a strong sympathy with the free-thinking of Italy. The Humanism which was patronized cordially by the Medici of Florence and by the papacy, and which elevated the masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature above the Scriptures and theological writings, found its strong supporters on the banks of the Thames. Cambridge and Oxford were busily engaged in utilizing the results of the new Italian love for classical learning. When the Reformation came, all other interests fell into the background. The people divided into two great bodies—the new Protestant Church of England and the old Roman Catholic Church. Then the Protestant dropped into two great divisions—the Independents, or non-conformists, and the conforming Church of England. When these adjustments had taken place, the great bodies began to move on in a regular career.

Sources of Deism

The new philosophy of Bacon and Locke, while abounding in practical strength, was not without injurious effect upon evangelical Christianity. It was without proper safeguards; otherwise it might have become a tower of strength to Chris-

tianity. It gave great prominence to nature and to natural laws, and allowed too small a place for the operation of the divine. By his doctrine of ideas and by the absence of spiritual elements in his philosophy, Locke, though himself an earnest Christian, stimulated the sceptical reasoning of Voltaire and Condillac, and is charged by some with being both logically and historically the forerunner of Hume.

Bacon and Locke

English Deism was characterized by an absence of mystical and speculative elements. God was recognized as existing, but not immanent in nature and government. The following was its creed, so far as it had one: When the natural order of the universe was first established, everything was in force which was necessary for human development. Christianity is not at all a necessity. All the good which we find to obtain in Christianity existed originally. It is only a republication of the first order. Revelation is not only not a divine thing, but is positively superfluous. There is no such thing as a recreation of the moral nature of man. His highest development is the result of the happy growth of his native forces.

Principles of Deism

The Deistical writers were a remarkable group. They were distinguished for rich talents, wide and varied learning, and for a large measure of moral earnestness. The first of the group, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, was a devout and earnest Christian. He claimed to have received a special divine communication authorizing him to publish his plea for a Deistical faith. With Herbert, however, we find the last trace of an intense spiritual element in English Deism. Not one of the entire group was of that satirical and flippant spirit for which the French school, beginning with Voltaire, was distinguished. The period of Deism extended from the middle of the seventeenth century to the last quarter of the eighteenth. After Herbert came, successively, Blount, Shaftesbury, Collins, Mandeville, Woolston, Tindal, Morgan, Chubb, Bolingbroke, Hume, and Gibbon. Of all the Deists, Hume exerted, perhaps, the most pernicious influence. In his "Essays" he made miracles the object of his special attack. His "History of England," which, as he had prophesied, was "read like the newspapers," gave him a wide celebrity, and created a broad field for his opinions on miracles.

Deistical Writers

Many of the writings of the Deists were translated into the Continental languages, and circulated widely. They were cordially welcomed in Germany, where, owing to the general religious decline, there was an atmosphere ready for their reception. The English Deists, on this new field, exerted a great influence in preparing the way for the reign of Rationalism. Between the Deists of England and their brethren in France there was a profound sympathy. Much of the material which had been published by the English writers had been borrowed from the French, but had undergone a process of filtration by passing through the serious English nature.

Deism on the Continent

The evangelical opposition was by no means wanting. There was an array of Deistical learning, a persistence in the methods of attack, and a sanction of the aristocracy of the country, which gave to the new movement a remarkable degree of strength and success. So soon, however, as the evangelical mind of England awoke to the danger from this new foe, it adopted measures of defence. Deism was attacked on every side. The work of evangelical resistance had to be shaped according to the assault. Where the Gospels were assailed, their inspired origin was urged and proved. Where Hume endeavored to pull down the fabric of miracle, Paley, in his "Evidences" (1794), strove to furnish a new support. Baxter, Boyle, Sherlock, Leland, Warburton, and Lardner may be regarded as representative writers in reply to the Deists. The most powerful argument, however, and the one against which the Deists never rallied, was "Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion" (1736). The new Wesleyan movement, lying in the twofold department of practical life and theological discussion, excited a strong influence towards the final arrest of Deism. The masses had become thoroughly saturated with the unbelief, which constantly grew grosser, and more after the French type. The preaching of the Wesleys, Whitefield, and their adherents, reached the popular mind, and proved a powerful factor in leading it back to a taste for spiritual life.

Apologetic Writers

The North American colonies very promptly responded to all the intellectual movements of France and England. The Deists had their sympathizing friends in the new land. Many of their works were promptly republished in the obscure towns

of the colonies, and awakened an interest in the subject, if they did not win adherents. Tom Paine gained a wide popularity by his tracts in behalf of the independence of the colonies. He was a Deist, but reflected rather the coarse and bald French infidelity than the circumspect and learned Deism of England.

Deism in America

CHAPTER IX

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN GERMANY

[Authorities.—See the Church Histories mentioned in Chap. I., especially that of Hagenbach, and Hurst, Hist. of Rationalism, chaps. i., ii.]

The charge which Bossuet made against Protestantism had all the semblance of truth, so far as the German Protestants were concerned. But he overlooked one thing: That when a great system of superstition and false teaching is to be attacked, the assailants do more effective work when they attack on different sides and with a combination of varied views. The Reformers differed fundamentally, as a result of varied spiritual experiences and mental characteristics. But in all essentials the Reformers were a unity, from Geneva in the south to Stockholm in the north, and from Dresden in the east to Scotland in the northwest.

Varied Protestantism a Necessity

The curse of the varied Protestantism of Germany lay not in the thing itself, but in the wretched abuse. That Luther and Zwingli should differ seriously on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was not a serious factor. The truth would have been found by patience and devout study on the part of their successors. That the doctrine of election should excite antagonism among the Reformers was most natural. But the spectacle was pitiable when those who inherited the great work of the Reformers lost sight of the spirit, and wrangled wildly over the letter. The controversies which arose within the Lutheran fold were as numerous as they were trivial.

The Controversial Spirit

The *Antinomian Controversy* arose with John Agricola, while Luther was yet alive. He held that the laws of Moses

were intended chiefly for the Jews. The *Adiaphoristic Controversy* began immediately before Luther's death. It turned upon what might be brought over from the Roman Catholic Church — the use of candles, gowns, holidays, and the like — and proposed concessions on several doctrinal points. The *Synergistic Controversy* had reference to the relations of divine grace and human liberty in the salvation of the soul. The *Osiandric Controversy*, arising with Osiander, was a strife on the relation of justification to sanctification, or the meaning of justification in relation to the righteousness of Christ. The *Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy* turned upon the proper interpretation of the Lord's Supper. The *Syncretistic Controversy* was the best of all. It was a warfare, with George Calixtus as the leader, in favor of harmonizing all disputants on the basis of the Apostles' Creed.

Special Controversies

The Lutherans were the chief losers by these violent dissensions. The sections were arrayed against each other. There was no opportunity to make new advances against Romanism. The most of the vital force of German Protestantism was consumed in undesigned efforts towards suicide. With the Reformed, or Calvinistic, body, the case was different. The disciples of Calvin moved steadily on in their course. They followed the line of the Rhine, planting their doctrines on either side, and, after giving Holland their theology, proceeded to England and thence to the New World.

Effect of the Controversies

There could be but one moral result to the prolonged strife —a great spiritual decline. For about one century, or down to the close of the Thirty Years' War, in 1648, the strife of words and terms had been in progress. All the functions of the Church had been neglected. The pulpits were occupied by warriors, who fought as though the fate of the world depended upon the verbal form of a doctrinal statement. Practical religion was forgotten. The press teemed with angry theological diatribes. When the Thirty Years' War closed, with all its waste of life and treasure, the land was ill-prepared to meet the spiritual or material needs of the crisis. Even to-day, the slow process of orthodox regeneration in the German Church is one of the dark legacies from the wild controversies of three centuries ago.

Moral Results of the Controversial Period

CHAPTER X

MYSTICISM IN GERMANY

[AUTHORITIES.—Robert A. Vaughan was one of the first English writers to interpret the German Mysticism, which he did with sympathetic insight and yet with a keen sense of its grave defects, in his delightful volumes, Hours with the Mystics (3d ed., London, 1879). Martensen has written a Life of Boehme (London, 1885), to which must be added Hartmann, Life and Doctrine of Jacob Boehme (London, 1891). A good English work on Mysticism and Pietism, written in view of the latest authorities, is a desideratum. Read the fine article by C. H. A. Bjerregaard in Jackson's Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge (N. Y., 1891). An appreciative estimate of Mysticism is given by Faulkner in *Southern Methodist Review* (Jan., 1886), in which he defines its elements and traces its influence on Methodism.]

THERE had been indications, even during the Reformation, of the reappearance of the old mystical spirit which had been so beautifully illustrated at an earlier day in the career and spirit of John Tauler and Heinrich Suso. But the animation and excitement of such a period as witnessed the genesis of Protestantism was not favorable to the calm and meditation of the typical Mystic. Mysticism, however much it may wander from safe paths when fully mature, begins its career with the purest motives. In its childhood it is always on the side of truth and wisdom. One of the strongest protests during the controversial age was the rise of a new group of Mystics. They declared against the universal corruption and the eclipse of the spirit through the wild search for the letter. They advocated the need of a new revival of faith in the invisible, a firm reliance on spiritual guidance, and a bringing-back of the Church to its purest conditions.

Spiritual Reaction

Jacob Boehme, born 1575, and died 1624, was a plain Saxon shoemaker. He was not furnished with the culture of the universities, and yet by his original thought, pure life, and remarkably clear perception of the useless character of the controversies of his times, commanded

Boehme and the other Mystics

the respect of learned and spiritual circles. In his indignation at the theological rancor which he witnessed, he came to regard the letter with too little favor. He looked upon the inspiration of the Bible as little different from that of the good man of all times, to whom God makes also special revelations. His "Aurora" was his masterpiece. He declared that God made revelations to him in such way that his motive to write was irresistible. He explains God's communications to him in these words: "I have never desired to know anything of divine mystery; much less have I wished to seek or find it. I sought only the heart of Jesus Christ, that there I might hide myself from the anger of God and the grasp of the devil." Schlegel says that, compared with Klopstock, Milton, and even Dante, "Boehme almost surpasses them in fulness of emotion and depth of imagination, while in poetic expression and single beauties he does not stand a whit behind them."

John Arndt, the author of "True Christianity," was less mystical and more practical than Boehme. They were ranked together. In a general spiritual influence the classification was just. In his "True Christianity" he made a strong and bold attempt to divert the attention of the whole Church of Germany from the disputations and speculative theology of the times to sincere faith in Christ and devotion to his cause. This work produced a profound impression. It was entirely devoid of denominational coloring. Next to the Bible and Kempis's "Imitation of Christ," it has had a wider circulation on the Continent than any other work. It was early introduced into the United States, and became a companion to the Bible among the Germans who followed Penn in planting and developing the colony of Pennsylvania. Gerhard was the spiritual son of Arndt, and did all in his power to perpetuate his work. He attempted to define the questions at issue among theological disputants, and to harmonize them. His chief work was "Exegetical Explication of Particular Passages." He was revered by all classes for his profound learning and lofty type of piety. John Valentine Andrea labored in the same department. His keenest weapon was satire. He aimed to bring the still lingering traces of alchemy into contempt, but, incidentally, to show how ridiculous were the theological controversies which he witnessed.

Arndt and Gerhard

There was no immediate promise of permanent results from this Mystical movement. But a spiritual phenomenon can never be judged without recognizing affinities and connections. There cannot be a question that the remarkable school of Mystics, founded by Boehme, were the pioneers of the great Pietistic reform. If they attached too much importance to some obscure parts of Christian doctrine, or elevated beyond measure the inward spiritual vision, or saw dimly some of the fundamental doctrines of revelation, it must be admitted that from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth they were the real bearers of spiritual truth, as Luther and Melanchthon had seen it and experienced its power. The vessels may have been somewhat archaic and rude, but the treasure which they contained was priceless.

General Influence of the New Mysticism

CHAPTER XI

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

[Authorities.—The best History of the Thirty Years' War is that of Gindely (N. Y., 1884), thorough in research and picturesque in style. Gardiner has an admirable summary in Morris's Epoch Series (N. Y., 1874). The best work on Gustavus Adolphus is Fletcher, Gustavus Adolphus, and the Struggle of Protestantism for Existence (London and N. Y., 1890). Archbishop Trench has illuminated the subject in some interesting Lectures: Gustavus Adolphus, and other Lectures on the Thirty Years' War (2d ed., London, 1872). The Church Histories will unfold the special bearings of this cruel struggle.]

The Lutherans made little headway south of Central Germany, while the Reformed not only held Switzerland and South Germany, but, as we have seen, occupied Holland. The great original leaders left no successors equal to their task. The second generation of Continental Protestants were men who could see differences better than points of unity, or even of resemblance. All the sharp antagonisms of the first half of the sixteenth century became still sharper during the latter half. All possible energy was needed for the work of building up the new cause, but much of it was wasted on internal strife on election, consubstantia-

Protestant Dissension

tion, and other doctrines. Even the Protestant princes joined in the bitter struggle. The Reformed prince in the Palatinate felt the throbs of his theology so keenly that he persecuted his Lutheran subjects, while a Saxon prince visited the same harsh measures on his Reformed subjects. In Sweden all Protestants who would not accept the Augsburg Confession were banished the country.

In striking contrast with the division of the Protestants was the unity of Roman Catholicism. The great Reformation had thrown it on the defensive. From Rome, as a centre, to every part of the vast domain of the old Church, the word was given to combine, and to keep in perfect harmony. Well was the command obeyed. From the humblest mendicant monk to the pope himself, there was one solid front against the new Protestantism. But, despite the divisions of the new generation of Protestant leaders, and the unity of Romanism, the Protestants were yet strong enough to threaten the possession of the larger part of Central and Southern Germany. The larger part of Bavaria was Protestant—a tide which later turned, and left that country, ever since, one of the strongholds of Romanism.

Roman Catholic Unity

The antagonisms between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics grew more obstinate every day. In due time the issue was clearly seen. The combat could not be confined to books, and pamphlets, and councils, and the universities. The field of politics was entered. The rulers saw in the heat of the times opportunities for larger territory, and, at the same time, the risk of losing what they had. Every political question had to take on a religious character. The strife went so far that the soldier was now ready to take up the cause where the theologian left it. The Roman Catholics looked after the thrones, and succeeded here where Protestants failed from either inertia or want of vision. The Elector of Saxony furnishes an example. "The natural head of the Protestant party in Germany," says Macaulay, "he submitted to become, at the most important crisis of the struggle, a tool in the hands of the Papists." The same author gives the following terse description of the fidelity of the Roman Catholic rulers to their cause: "Maximilian of Bavaria, brought up under the teaching of the Jesuits, was a fervent missionary wielding the powers of a

Growing Antagonisms

prince. The Emperor Ferdinand II. deliberately put his throne to hazard over and over again rather than make the smallest concession to the spirit of religious innovation. Sigismund of Sweden lost a crown which he might have possessed if he would have renounced the Catholic faith. In short, everywhere on the Protestant side we see languor; everywhere on the Catholic side we see ardor and devotion."

The Thirty Years' War opened in 1618, and closed in 1648. In 1609 the Emperor Rudolf II. granted liberty to the Protestants of Bohemia, but his successor, Matthias, prohibited the erection of a Protestant church. The Bohemians declared the act a violation of the imperial liberty, and resorted to violent measures. The result was a victory over the Protestants. The war was now in full force. The Roman Catholic rulers combined against the Protestant. The time during which the war lasted, the number of contestants involved, the countries devastated by it, and the strong element of religious feeling which pervaded the whole struggle, made it one of the most consuming and terrible wars in all history.

Outbreak of War

Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, took the lead of the Protestant forces. Wallenstein, the greatest general on the Continent, was at the head of the Catholic League. Gustavus Adolphus was intensely religious, and regarded the war as holy. His soldiers were accustomed to march to victory while singing Luther's martial hymn:

Gustavus Adolphus

"Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott,"

and that beautiful hymn, composed by Gustavus Adolphus himself, beginning:

"Fear not, O little flock, the foe
Who madly seeks your overthrow,
Dread not his rage and power;
What though your courage often faints
His seeming triumph o'er God's saints
Lasts but a little hour!"

Gustavus died on the field of Lützen, in the hour of victory, in 1632. The war came to a close by the Peace of Westphalia, which was concluded by a double congress, in Münster and Osnabrück, 1648. The territorial gains lay with the Roman Catholics, but the Protestants of Central Germany secured re-

ligious freedom. In Bavaria and Bohemia Protestantism was blotted out, while in Hungary only one half the Protestants remained. The Palatinate, later, in 1685, was turned over to the rule of the Catholic house of Neuburg.

Both sides claimed the victory, such as it was. There was no direct parcelling of the territory or changing of dynasties. It had been a war of extermination, and where the population was Catholic or Protestant, and was extinguished, the territory seemed to lie in the main with the conquerors. The South remained Catholic, while the North was Protestant. The Protestant rulers were granted rights as electors, and both the Lutheran and Reformed bodies had the right of public worship and the exercise of all the functions of great religious bodies. The territorial frontiers of Protestant and Roman Catholic countries were so firmly defined that they have remained nearly the same down to the present time.

Results of the War

CHAPTER XII

THE PROTESTANT EMIGRATION TO AMERICA

In no European country was the Reformation effected, and Protestantism permanently established, without the bloody ordeal of persecution. In some instances the penalty was imprisonment; but death often came too promptly to admit of escape to another country. Whenever a little time was allowed the persecuted, it was industriously used to get out of the country. The persecution always took the form of both political and religious oppression. The rights of person were destroyed. The thin pretext was zeal against a false religion. The underlying charge was disloyalty to the ruler and treachery to the laws. In all cases the great hope of the oppressed in the Old World was to find a safe and final home in America. The Spaniard had opened the country to the world. All Europe was filled with glowing accounts of the vast wealth on the western continent. The wars between England and Spain made England

American Asylum for the Oppressed

an enemy on every sea. Many of the long voyages of English captains were only a diligent search for Spanish galleons laden with the treasures of the mines of Mexico and South America. But the persecuted Protestants saw in the new lands of the North a larger field, and indulged a greater hope than had inspired the Spanish conqueror and ecclesiastic in the South.

When the English furnace of persecution was thrice heated, there came out to this new continent Puritans, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers. From France there emigrated Huguenots. From Sweden there came many to the banks of the Delaware, who built up a flourishing colony bearing the name of New Sweden. The religious interest prevailed in this important settlement. The Dutch, now in the first glow of relief from Spanish oppression, settled on the banks of the Hudson, the Passaic, and the Mohawk. The principal Roman Catholic currents of immigration were to Canada, Maryland, Florida, Mexico, and South America. In South America the colonies proceeded from Spain and Portugal, while the Roman Catholic immigration to Canada was from France.

Colonial Currents

CHAPTER XIII

ARMINIUS AND THE SYNOD OF DORT

[Authorities.—Caspar Brandt, son of the historian of the Dutch Reformation, Gerhard Brandt, wrote the only Life of Arminius which is worthy of the name (1724, translated by Guthrie, with Introd. by Summers, Nashville, 1857). It is hardly creditable to Arminians that this Life has never had a rival. Bangs compiled a short Life (N. Y., 1843). Hopkins gives an excellent historical view of the Synod of Dort, though from a pronounced Calvinistic standpoint, in the *Princeton Review*, March, 1878: "The Opening of the Synod of Dort." A very valuable account of the Synod, as well as a history of the times, is given in Calder, Memoirs of Episcopius (N. Y., 1837). The reader should not neglect an indispensable aid to the study of this period: Motley, The Life and Death of John of Barneveld (N. Y., 1879).]

Holland became an important scene of theological activity. No more certain was the flow of the Rhine from Basel to the sea than was the theological current from Geneva to the Neth-

erlands. Calvin ruled as thoroughly the theology at the mouth of the Rhine as on the shore of Lake Geneva. But there arose among the Dutch strong evidences of divergence. During the last thirty years of the sixteenth century there were decided premonitory symptoms of an approaching storm.

Holland a Scene of Controversy

James Arminius headed the reaction against extreme Calvinism. He was born in 1560, studied theology under Beza at Geneva, and returned as preacher at Amsterdam. He became professor at the new University of Leyden, where he came into controversy with Gomarus. Gomarus represented the Calvinistic theology, while Arminius opposed election, and gave a large place to the operation of the human will. Soon the entire country was involved in the controversy. The Arminians and the Gomarists divided the Church and the country between themselves. Theological terminology was bandied about with amazing zeal. The quiet Dutch burgher talked theology with as much ease as he rowed his boat, or watched his windmill, or smoked his pipe. After the death of the powerful disputants the animosity lost none of its heat. It was now not a question of the university or the quiet homes within the dikes, but of the States-General.

Arminius

The terms Arminians and Gomarists were now too limited. They disappeared beneath the broader ones of Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants. The Arminians were charged with being disturbers of the public peace. They presented to the States-General a protest against the Five Articles of the Gomarists, which had been passed for their acceptance. Wytenbogart and Episcopius, after the death of Arminius, stood at the head of the Remonstrants, and fought their battle bravely. The States-General ordered a discussion of the points at issue in 1613, but the effort at conference was fruitless.

The Remonstrants

The field of politics was now invaded by the rival parties. Maurice of Nassau thought he saw that by identifying himself with the Contra-Remonstrants he could gain supreme power. The Remonstrants saw very early his ambitious designs, and opposed him with all their power. John Olden Barneveld and Hugo Grotius opposed him. But they failed, the former being executed and the latter imprisoned. It was now a question of suppressing the Remonstrants.

Rival Parties

They had strength among the people, but the whole machinery of the government was turned against them.

The Synod of Dort

The Contra-Remonstrants saw that the day of peace was still far distant. They therefore succeeded in calling a synod, through which it was hoped the Arminian theology might at last be put to rest forever. The Remonstrants were at a disadvantage from the very start, and were summoned as defendants. They were denied seats in the Council, and were treated throughout as accused parties. The synod began November 13th, 1618, and continued until May 9th, 1619, holding one hundred and eighty sessions. The main point at issue—election—was not permitted to be discussed at all. The most able Reformed theologians of Europe were in attendance—fifty-eight from Holland, twenty-eight from England and Scotland, and others from the Palatinate, Hesse, Nassau, Switzerland, East Friesland, and Bremen. Episcopius represented the Remonstrants. At the twenty-second session he, with twelve others, appeared, by request, to defend their tenets. He gave an eloquent and vigorous address, explaining the Remonstrant positions. A protracted discussion followed, continuing to the fifty-seventh session, the Remonstrants being all the time excluded from the floor. The Contra-Remonstrants were victorious. The result was that the government abided by the decision of the synod, when the Remonstrants were condemned and banished from the country. Under Henry Frederic, however, the successor of Maurice, milder measures were adopted. But the Dutch theology remained strongly Reformed.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SALZBURG PERSECUTION

[Authorities.—See Spiers, "The Salzburgers," in the *English Historical Review*, Oct., 1890; Lacroix, art. "Salzburgers," in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia; Köster, art. "Salzburg," in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia.]

Germany after the Peace of Westphalia

The lapse of the German Church, because of the controversies, was deplorable. The Palatinate presented a dark picture of conflict between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, while the Protestant bodies were almost as bitterly arrayed against each other. In East Prussia and Poland the Jesuits were very aggressive, and persecuted the helpless Protestants. But the age of martyrdom had passed. The free spirit of the new age had so far advanced that only in secluded places could persecutions be perpetrated.

Salzburg Protestants

In the Austrian province of Salzburg, in the Noric Alps, there had existed for a long time a quiet and earnest little body of Protestants. The surrounding population was intensely Roman Catholic. Repressive measures were adopted, and the Salzburg Protestants, in due time, found the alternative presented—either to undergo absorption into the Romanism about them, or to leave the country. The heroic Protestants took the covenant of salt, and resolved on no surrender. The Archbishop of Salzburg showed no leniency. The result was banishment.

The Exiles

The Protestant Salzburgers now began to leave their beloved homes in the Alpine mountains and on the broad and romantic plains of the valley of the Salza. They gathered their wives and children, and set out on a pilgrimage (1731–32) they knew not whither. They went northward. Their progress was slow, for they proceeded on foot. Their few possessions were left behind them. It was a wonderful picture of fidelity to religious convictions. Whenever they passed through a Protestant region they were hos-

pitably entertained. The sick were cared for, and all were supplied with the necessities of life. When fully recuperated, they again set out on their pilgrimage for liberty. In Berlin they were kindly received by the Prussian elector. In time they separated. Some remained in Prussia, others went to England, and some emigrated to America.

The emigration to America was the most notable result of the Salzburg oppression in Austria. A company settled in Georgia, near Savannah, and established themselves in a beautiful and industrious colony. Their chief pastor was Bolzius, and Urlsperger was their historian. The latter kept a journal of the development of the colony, and his account, still preserved, but very difficult to procure, is one of the most remarkable records of a patient, pure, and uncomplaining religious body in the whole history of the Christian Church. When John Wesley went to Georgia, to labor as a missionary among the Indians, he found these Salzburgers among his warmest supporters, while Whitefield, in his efforts to build an orphan-house, derived important help from their kindly sympathy and active aid.

The Georgia Colony

CHAPTER XV

SPENER AND PIETISM

[Authorities.—See the general Church Histories and the authorities mentioned at Chaps. IX. and X. We have in English no history of Pietism. The best work on the subject, Ritschl, Geschichte des Pietismus (Bonn, 1885), ought to be put into English. See Tholuck's article on Spener in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, and Wildenhahn, Life of Spener (Phila., 1881).]

When the Thirty Years' War closed, the people seemed as far off as ever from all true appreciation of their spiritual need. Most of the great national visitations have resulted in a return to a deeper religious life, but in this case there were no traces of compensation. The bitter controversial spirit which preceded it had produced its natural harvest of worthless tares. Besides, there was a universal material waste. The cities of Germany lay in shapeless

The New Opportunity

heaps. Churches, castles, and private mansions had fallen a prey to a war in which all the passions had full play. Many towns were as though ploughed and sown with salt. The people were decimated. The men of middle life had never come back from battle. The most of the population now consisted of the young, the old, and the women. These were sadly neglected. The pastoral care throughout Germany was now, in the main, only a delightful memory from the olden time. The clergy of the period had no conception of the sanctity of their calling. When the guns of war had ceased to fire, the artillery from the Lutheran and Calvinistic camps was again drawn out, and made to do the same service which it had done down to the outbreak of the war.

Spener

The leader in the spiritual quickening of Germany was Philip Jacob Spener, who was born in Alsace, in 1635. He began his career as preacher in Strasburg. His eloquence was remarkable, such as to both multiply his hearers and to lead them to a higher religious life. He denounced the spiritual decline of the Church, and called the people back again to the old religious life which had marked the first stage of the Reformation. He depicted the wickedness of the generation, notwithstanding the severe devastations of a terrible war, with an eloquence which bordered on the fervor of a Peter the Hermit and the lofty spiritual enthusiasm of a Tauler. In 1666 he removed to Frankfort, where he became pastor of the oldest Lutheran Church. He now began to influence the public mind in new directions. He organized his Collegia Pietatis, or meetings for instruction in the Bible and a general religious life. He published a book, the "Pia Desideria," or Pious Desires, in 1675, which exerted a powerful influence, and led many to become Christians. He removed from Frankfort to become court preacher in Dresden, and died in Berlin in 1705.

Spener's Relation to Religious Life

Spener's relation to the religious life of Europe was very important. Here was one who followed closely in the path of providential guidance. When at Strasburg as a student he had no distinct notion of his later career. His tastes and time were absorbed in the study of heraldry. But he was deeply spiritual, and held himself ready for any path into which the divine hand might lead. From his entrance upon the ministry his sympathies were tender and deep towards children. He saw the great

possibilities of their nature, and spared no pains, as he gained in influence, in building them up in the knowledge of the Scriptures and an intense religious life. The Bible classes which he organized at Frankfort spread into other parts of Germany, and became the greatest force of the times in leading back the German Church to a knowledge of the Scriptures. Spener was a man of such magnetic nature that, apart from the originality of his methods, it is not strange that a school should arise to follow him. From his writings and general work the Pietists arose. The name was given in derision—as Brownists, Methodists, Quakers, and the rest—but was accepted most readily, and is retained until the present time. The Pietists never seceded from the Lutheran Church. They were simply an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*—a little church in the large one. They consisted of small devout circles, who gave themselves completely to works of practical piety and the study of the Bible.

The Spener School

The most important organized result of the Pietistic movement was the founding of the Halle University (1694). It was the educational response to the demand for a new spiritual life throughout Protestant Germany. The theological faculty were representatives of Spener. Of the three members composing it, Francke, Anton, and Breithaupt, the first was by far the most influential. Halle became a great Pietistic centre. The students were devout, and were thoroughly educated in Biblical knowledge. Francke taught that without works faith is dead. He gave himself to the religious education and physical care of children. He founded the Orphan-house at Halle. He made no direct appeals for help, but threw the care of the institution on the voluntary offerings of Christian people. Gifts came in from all directions. From the lowliest appointments at first, the institution took shape, and finally became one of the most renowned humane organizations in the world. Large buildings were erected, such as lodging-places for the students, while a publishing and printing house was established, to aid in the support of the orphanage. From this place the celebrated Canstein edition of the Bible was printed—the first endeavor towards the now vast system of the cheap printing and publishing of the Scriptures. Canstein, a German nobleman, originated the idea of an edition of the German Bible, Luther's

Halle University

translation, which could be sold at just enough to cover the mere cost. The Canstein Bible has been printed in vast numbers, and is still a favorite with Germans.

Origin of Modern Missions

The religious spirit pervading the Halle University went out in every direction. Francke's Orphan-house was in no wise connected with the university, and was located in the suburb of Glaucha. While he had a constant oversight over the orphanage, Francke never neglected the spiritual and intellectual interests of his students. He labored unweariedly for their religious development and theological training. Naturally enough, they imbibed his spirit. Various benevolent institutions, founded since Francke's time, seem to have arisen through the example of the Orphan-house at Halle. Even the present vigorous Orphan-house of George Müller in England is one of the many institutions which are modelled after that of Francke in Halle. Down to the present time the Halle institution has continued its prosperous and beneficent existence.

The opposition to Pietism began to develop before Spener's death. The formal element in the Church confronted him on every side. He made religion too serious a thing to be compromised by worldly amusements and a gay social environment. The ecclesiastical proprieties were violated by him. He introduced too many new measures to satisfy the notions of churchly correctness. Schelvig, Carpzov, Alberti, and the Wittenberg faculty opposed him with books and pamphlets, and endeavored to destroy the popular confidence in his work.

Decline of Pietism

Pietism, like all great religious movements, suffered less from its enemies than from itself. Under Spener as founder, and Francke as his successor, the movement was in a healthy condition, and gained new adherents constantly. But with the death of Francke it passed out of the practical into the theosophical department. Arnold succeeded Francke, and exhibited traces of a departure from a healthy view of the religious life. His "History of the Church and Heretics" was a plea to show how much the Church owes to the men who have departed from its standards. The close study of the Scriptures was not continued by the new Pietistic generation. The subjective element gained strength as the objective declined. The low-water mark was reached in Petersen, who travelled through the country, ac-

companied by his wife, and professed special illumination. The cause now lost the respect of many of its best friends. There has never been a revival of the pure and vigorous Pietism of Spener's day. It still exists, chiefly in South Germany, and yet it is neither of the Spener nor of the Petersen type. On the other hand, the present Pietists consist of highly cultured and aristocratic circles, who are within the Church, but make foreign and domestic missions their chief object of endeavor. They have no aggressive power, but seem well aware of their own elevated social position.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MORAVIANS

[Authorities.—A standard authority is De Schweinitz, History of the Unitas Fratrum (Bethlehem, 1885). See the same writer's The Moravian Manual (2d ed., Bethlehem, 1869); Bost, Hist. of the Moravians (new ed., London, 1863); Holmes, Hist. of the United Brethren (London, 1825). The best single work on Moravian Missions is Thompson, Moravian Missions (N. Y., 1882). Few books are more calculated to inspire a loftier conception of zeal and heroism in Christian service. On Zinzendorf, see Bovet, The Banished Count (London, 1865).]

Hussites of Bohemia

A really pure and salutary religious movement never dies. All who profess it may burn at the stake, but their cause will reappear elsewhere. The seed is sure to produce a hundred-fold. The followers of John Huss, who was burned at Constance, were persecuted, and driven to the Moravian mountains, in northern Bohemia. They lived there in great seclusion and simplicity for several centuries, strictly adhering to the doctrinal standards of the first generation of Hussite reformers. In 1722 a colony of these devoted Christians emigrated to Saxony. They were under the leadership of Christian David, and carried with them, as the basis of their union, the dear old Hussite doctrines.

Count Zinzendorf gave the emigrants a cordial reception. He was a thoroughly spiritual character, having studied at the grammar school at Halle, where he came under the influence of the devoted Francke. His theological education was

in Wittenberg. His mother was his exemplar, and inspired him with much of that intense enthusiasm which distinguished his whole career. He had already travelled largely before the Moravian Christians arrived, and was keenly alive to the religious wants of the countries through which he had passed. He gave David and his associates permission to settle on his estates, and donated to them a large tract of land. Their settlement was called Herrnhut — the Lord's Hat or Protection. Here a town was built, the outlying forests were felled, and low lands were drained. The community established industries which have continued to the present time. Herrnhut became not only the industrial centre of the Moravians, but the heart of their religious life. Here Zinzendorf established himself, and from this place he set out on his long journeys, and hither he returned, to direct the life of his companions in faith. Homes were set apart for the needy, and a theological school was established, where missionaries were trained for service in far-off regions. Then, when the missionaries were aged and far spent, they returned to the beloved place, to spend the small remainder of their days. This beautiful life of Herrnhut has been maintained to this day. It is still the Moravian Mecca.

Zinzendorf

Herrnhut

When the Moravians established themselves in Saxony they adopted a new form of ecclesiastical life. They called themselves the Unitas Fratrum, or the United Brethren. Their leading doctrinal writer, Spangenberg, wrote the "Idea Fratrum," or Idea of the Brethren. No new separate confession was adopted. The standard of faith consisted of the main features of other evangelical bodies. There was intense application of Christian fellowship. The body was a carrying-out of Spener's idea—the Church within the Church. Its members had free choice between the old Moravian Confession, as laid down in the Church Discipline of Zerawiez of 1616, and the two leading Protestant Confessions of Germany — the Reformed and the Lutheran. Strong emphasis was laid on the sacrificial death of Christ. The Fatherhood of God was absorbed in Christ.

The Moravian Doctrines

In missions lies the field of the grandest Moravian achievements. Zinzendorf regarded the work of the Brethren as twofold—to quicken the religious life of churches already existing, and to carry the gospel to regions where Christianity was

unknown. In this great duplex interest he travelled through various parts of the Continent, striving everywhere to impart a new life to the stagnant churches in Scandinavia, Holland, England, and various parts of Germany. He visited America, and made Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the centre of operations. Moravian missionaries established societies in the West Indies, in Greenland, on the Labrador coast, in the Caribbean Islands, and in India. This missionary life has been steadily maintained down to the present time. Moravian missionaries have gone into the far-off regions of the earth, and, by their scholarship, have made important additions to our acquaintance with the obscure languages. Jaeschke's "Thibetan-English Dictionary," for example, recently issued in London, is by far the best contribution, of any time, to our knowledge of the language spoken by the people living north of the Himalayan Mountains.

Moravian Missions

CHAPTER XVII

SWEDENBORG AND THE NEW CHURCH

[Authorities.—See White, Swedenborg, his Life and Writings (Phila., 1866); Worcester, The Life and Mission of Emanuel Swedenborg (Boston, 1883). The latter is a work of unusual value. Swedenborg's own work The True Christian Religion (Phila., 1876) gives the great seer's explanations of his most important doctrines. His peculiar conception of the future life, which has had much influence in rationalizing modern eschatology, is unfolded *in extenso* in his Heaven and Hell, from Things Heard and Seen (Phila., 1867, 1876). The best popular exposition of Swedenborgianism is in the series of volumes by Barrett (Phila., 1874–85).]

The spiritualistic element in the system of Emanuel Swedenborg, born 1688, was a reaction against the gross materialism of his times. The Swedes were not given to speculation, but were cool and careful thinkers, adhering to the Lutheran standards, and giving but little attention to theological discussion. The formalism of German Protestantism was imitated not only in Sweden, but throughout Scandinavia. The new movement under Swedenborg was in antagonism to the general religious life of the country; but to this day it has

never gained any real strength even in Stockholm, where Swedenborg was born and where he elaborated his system.

There was nothing in the early years of Swedenborg to give any indication of his later position in the modern Church. His tastes were scientific. He devoted himself to chemistry and similar studies, and became assessor of the Swedish Mining College. He was an industrious author in mathematics, natural philosophy, mechanics, and botany. His "Economy of the Natural World" was an important contribution to the studies of the exact sciences. He suddenly emerged in a new character. Taking science as a basis, he engaged in religious speculation, and hesitated not to treat the past, the present, and the future with equal daring. In due time he discarded the scientific basis from which he had started, and his religious speculations showed no trace of close reasoning. Having but little hope for the acceptance of his opinions by any considerable number of his countrymen, he left Stockholm for England. Here he gained a wider following, though his opinions were derided with equal vigor by both the sceptics and the orthodox. His literary labors were enormous. The New Church, which arose from his opinions, was furnished at the start with a theology prepared by him, to which no important accessions have come since his death, in 1772.

Swedenborg

Swedenborg claimed to have the power of penetrating the spiritual world, and of comprehending with minuteness the character of the future. He believed firmly in rewards and punishments, and held that the vocations of the present life are to be continued in the future, but with increased enjoyment or suffering, according to the deeds done in this life. He rejected the doctrine of divine satisfaction. His view of the Scriptures was, that they are a gross representation of the divine will. Here Swedenborg was a Mystic, for he claimed that there was a spiritual insight which could largely supplement the Bible.

Swedenborg's System

Swedenborg prophesied that between the years 1780 and 1790 there would be a great enlargement of the New Church. Here he was correct. Many followers grouped themselves about the new theories. Dr. John Clowes exerted a great influence in their favor, and sundry societies arose in their interest. The writings of Swedenborg were translated into German, and gained a good

Later History of the New Church

number of adherents in various parts of Germany. In Poland and Hungary societies were organized. However, in all these countries there was no common bond of unity. Each society was left to develop itself as it saw best, and the result was that there was no general unity of faith, each interpreting the matter as it pleased, and wandering at will from the original standard. Some societies have arisen in the United States, especially in Boston, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. The "Book of Worship and Liturgy of the New Church" is used by all of them, but the theology is varied. The Swedenborgian adherents in the United States deviate widely from the evangelical confessions, and belong to the group of Liberal Christians. They are distinguished for their humane sympathies and advanced culture.

CHAPTER XVIII

RATIONALISM IN GERMANY

[Authorities.—See Farrar, Critical History of Free Thought (N. Y., new ed., 1883); Lecky, History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe (N. Y., 1865); Hurst, History of Rationalism (9th ed., N. Y., 1875). For an exposition of this phase of thought in brief compass, see Fisher, Discussions in History and Theology (N. Y., 1880), pp. 439–68.]

The open door for sceptical theology in Germany in the early part of the eighteenth century can be clearly seen. Pietism had failed to produce any general impression on the religious life of the people. It had so declined as to lose the favor of many of its warmest admirers. It ceased to attract even the pious. There was, besides, a decided disposition on the part of the more orthodox to ignore the progressive character of theology, and to neglect its adaptation to the advance of modern science. Again, many who loved the sanctities of religion, and believed firmly in the supernatural origin of Christianity, saw a lamentable stagnation in the theology of the period, and were thereby alienated from sympathy with the Church. Besides, they were disgusted with the controversies between the Reformed and the Lutherans, and saw in the intense confessional spirit no hope for a brighter day. The result was a religious indifference—the ready soil for a sceptical sowing.

There was a singular combination of negative tendencies. All the sceptical currents of Europe seemed to concentrate upon Germany. The philosophy of Leibnitz, especially as carried forward by Wolf, was of the mathematical type—truth must be proved to be truth. If the proof is wanting, the proposition may be rejected. What cannot be demonstrated may not be true. This philosophy was reverent, and had its good side, but, applied to the Scriptures, has a most dangerous character. Wolf, who taught in Halle, and had a large following, popularized Leibnitz, carried his premises to unwarranted conclusions, and made the mathematical proof of all spiritual truths the demand of the common people. The very peasant soon talked of the new Illuminism, and proclaimed loudly that what the reason cannot accept need not be accepted. The Deism of England was rapidly transferred to Germany, and, with German adaptations, soon became incorporated with the new Rationalism. The philosophy of Des Cartes, combined with the more decidedly negative system of Spinoza, found each its warm admirers east of the Rhine. French Atheism had but a short march to the heart of Germany. Frederick the Great represented in his own person the German craving for French models. He had no respect for his own language, and wrote in bad French rather than in good German. He surrounded himself with the leaders of the new sceptical tendency of France. Voltaire was a member of his court, and gave tone to the thought of the nobility of Germany.

The Sources of Rationalism

The chief agent for introducing the new Rationalism directly into the domain of theology was Semler. He was a devout man, and in his life represented a pure type of Christian experience. He propounded the Accommodation theory, which represented the gospel history as an adaptation to the times of our Lord, and, therefore, that due allowance must be made in accepting the Gospels for mistaken conceptions of real occurrences. Lessing, in his "Wolfenbüttel Fragments," denied the authentic character of much of the Mosaic narrative. He, more than any other writer, was the pioneer of the revival of German literature, and, because of his negative view of inspiration, contributed largely to the committing of the new and aspiring literary circles of Germany to a sceptical interpretation of the Scriptures. Ni-

Rapid Growth of Rationalism

colai, an enterprising publisher of Berlin, issued a series of works, called the "Universal German Library," in which he gave full play to the rationalistic writers. The whole tendency of his "Library" was to undermine the supernatural character of Christianity. The Weimar celebrities of a somewhat later date, Wieland, Schiller, and Goethe, were justly ranked in the same category. Herder, also one of the Weimar magnates, was a clergyman, and did much to clothe the Old Testament with a living reality. But, Herder excepted, the influence of the Weimar school was negative.

General Position of Rationalism

The general position of the rationalists was antagonistic to the orthodoxy of the period. There was no subject, however sacred, which was not treated by them. The Bible was the centre of attack. The reason was made the umpire in all matters of faith. The very existence of God was subject to its iron method of deciding the truth. Inspiration was reduced to impression. The fall of man, miracle, the person of Christ, and even rewards and punishments came in for the severe decision of human reason. The whole land was covered with the new literature. It became a passion of the times. The universities were arsenals for the warfare on the sacred standards. So industrious were the apostles of Rationalism in propagating their opinions that it was not long before the very peasantry were indoctrinated. The mechanic and the ploughman were made familiar with the sovereignty of reason, and, for the first time since the Reformation began, the Bible was laid aside in palace and in hut.

CHAPTER XIX

THE EVANGELICAL REACTION

[AUTHORITIES.—See at Chap. XVIII. Smyth gives an able and eloquent discourse on the course of thought which issued in the triumph of supernaturalism in Schleiermacher, in the Boston Lectures for 1870: Christianity and Scepticism (Boston, 1870), lect. viii.—"From Lessing to Schleiermacher, or from Rationalism to Faith." Lichtenberger, of the Protestant Faculty of Paris, has expanded the theology of Schleiermacher, of the Mediating School, as well as the later currents of German Rationalism, in his notable book, History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century (Edinb., 1889), which can be heartily commended, though its judgments must not be received as infallible. One of the best treatments of the doctrine and influence of Schleiermacher is that by Hoppin, in his Homiletics (N. Y., rev. ed., 1883), pp. 155–165. The new book by Pfleiderer, Development of Theology in Germany and Great Britain since 1825 (London, 1890), can be read with advantage, as the studies of an able scholar and thinker of rationalistic sympathies.]

THE need of reaction can be best seen in the extent to which Rationalism has reduced all the strongholds of aggressive Christianity. The preaching had undergone a sad degeneration. The most of the pulpits were occupied by clergymen who had discarded the fundamental truths. The typical sermon was on the value of a general charity, the advantage of good agriculture, the care of bees, the duty of the citizen, and similar collateral themes. The supernatural element in the Christian religion was entirely overlooked. To this came the adulteration of the pure and earnest hymns of the earlier period. The references to Christ were expunged from many of them. New hymn-books were the order of the day. These rationalistic surgeons cut all the flesh from the old familiar hymns of church and home. The general ecclesiastical life underwent a great decline. The benevolent spirit languished. The application of rationalistic principles to education resulted in the banishment of the Bible from the school, and the ignoring of religious teaching as a

Decline Wrought by Rationalism

necessity for the young. The general tendency of the new education, under the lead of Pestalozzi, Bahrdt, and others of the school, was to leave out the spiritual element. The plan, carefully followed, was to bring out what was in the child, and not to introduce even the general revealed truths until the judgment was mature enough to apply to them the tests of human reason.

Rationalism and Philosophy

There has always been a strong sympathy between the rationalistic school and philosophy. The origin of Rationalism, in the Leibnitzian and Wolfian systems, will account largely for this affinity. But a closer relationship has been brought about by the later independent schools. Kant, born 1724, the author of the "Critique of Pure Reason," and during his long career a professor in the Königsberg University, contributed greatly to the expansion of the fundamental principles of Rationalism. He did not design it. He was no slave to the system, but, because of the large place which he gave to the dominion of reason in matters of faith, the result was inevitable. Much of his teaching, however, was favorable to the orthodox view of Christianity. His disciples went further than himself in asserting the independence of reason, and the general effect of the master's labors in philosophy was unfavorable to evangelical Christianity.

Fichte, Schelling, Hegel

Fichte, born 1762, was the first great teacher of philosophy in the Berlin University. He was a sincere patriot, and contributed largely to revive the hopes of the German people, and to animate them with a spirit heroic enough to throw off the Napoleonic supremacy. He was one of the distant, but helpful, victors of Waterloo. Schelling, born 1775, was professor in the Munich University. His philosophy of nature was quite apart from the rationalistic sphere. He clothed the study of philosophy with a subtle charm, which attracted wide circles of cultivated people in various parts of Germany. Hegel, born 1770, was the last and most creative of the group since Kant. His system is very contradictory. The Right school is more nearly orthodox, while the Left approaches Pantheism so nearly that it is difficult to detect a difference. These schools have undergone fundamental changes, and are fast giving way to more recent views. Schopenhauer, born in 1788, became the apostle of the latest pessimism.

New Evangelical School

Schleiermacher, born 1768, was the transitional character from Rationalism to evangelical theology. He started out from the principle that religion has its fundamental position in the spiritual nature, and, therefore, that reason can be in no sense an infallible umpire in matters of faith. His was a magnetic nature. He succeeded in imparting his fervent spirit to a large number of young men, who became leaders in the revival of orthodox theology in Germany. Neander, Ullmann, Dorner, Tischendorf, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Lange, Julius Müller, and others constituted a constellation of evangelical minds, who were called the Mediatory School, because they found a common ground on which religion and science could stand. Pressensé in France, and Van Oosterzee in Holland, reflected their spirit, and have contributed largely towards the propagation, in both these countries, of an aggressive evangelical theology.

CHAPTER XX

FRENCH MYSTICISM AND FLEMISH JANSENISM

[Authorities.—The three volumes by Mrs. Harriet L. Lear are worthy tributes to the beautiful life of Francis of Sales: Life (London and N. Y., 1876); Spiritual Letters (*ibid.*); The Spirit of S. Francis de Sales, by Jean Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley, translated by Mrs. Lear (*ibid.*). The latter volume consists of selections from his writings. All these were written anonymously. Bigelow has done good service in his admirable life of Molinos (N. Y., 1882). It contains a translation of the bull of Innocent XI. in which are the sixty-eight propositions drawn from his works by the Inquisition for the purpose of his condemnation. His doctrines appear in Shorthouse, John Inglesant (London and N. Y., 1882), a novel in which Quietism and similar and related tendencies are treated with wonderful insight and delicacy of perception. Shorthouse has also given us specimens of Molinos's teachings in his Golden Thoughts from the Spiritual Guide of Molinos (London, 1883, N. Y., 1886). The best work in English on Madame Guyon is Upham, Life, Religious Experiences, and Opinions of Madame Guyon (N. Y., 1847). Cheever, in his Correspondencies of Faith and Views of Madame Guyon (N. Y., 1886), has not only given a discriminating review of the life of Guyon, but has also shown the correspondencies in faith among more spiritual believers, and that in this agreement the Church has its only ground of unity. For Jansenism, Port Royal, and the interesting experiment at Utrecht, see Hunt, Contemporary Essays in Theology (London, 1873), essay xiv.; Mrs. Shimmelpennick, Select Memoirs of Port Royal (London, 1835); Beard, Port Royal (London, 1873), which is the best English book on the subject; Stephen, Essays in Eccl. Biography (London, new ed., 1875).]

Mysticism in the Roman Catholic Church

Modern Mysticism in the Roman Catholic Church arose in the first half of the seventeenth century. It was a reaction against the strong military policy which prevailed. It represented a large number of devout Roman Catholics who saw in the outward strifes a disturbance of the religious life. St. Francis of Sales, who died in 1622, was Bishop of Geneva. He was a man of noble simplicity of character, but withal was practical, and succeeded in winning many Protestants to Romanism. His

methods, it must be confessed, were not always the most scrupulous. In his "Philothea" he dwells on the vanity of the world, and contends for the absorption of the soul in God.

A strong tendency towards Mysticism, similar to that which arose in Spain before the Reformation, again developed in that country. It crystallized into an order, the Alambrados, or Illuminated. The leader of the Spanish Mystics was Michael Molinos, of Saragossa, who, after 1669, lived in Rome, and died in 1696. He was an object of suspicion by the Jesuits, and was condemned to perpetual confinement in a monastery. His "Spiritual Guide of Souls" contained his chief opinions. His followers were called Quietists.

French Quietists

Antoinette Bourignon, of France, adopted the fervid theosophic opinions of the Spanish Mystics. Her opinions found great favor in Holland and Germany. Peter Poiret followed in the same line. Madame Guyon was the leading French Quietist. She died in 1717. She held that the human soul which loves God must be totally absorbed in him, and have no will of its own. She travelled in various countries, and found favor with many cultivated circles. She was persecuted in France, and bore all trials with cheerful and calm resignation. She did not withdraw from the Roman Catholic Church, but was charged with heresy. Fénelon defended her against this charge, and for his pains was condemned by the pope. Bossuet represented the interests of the Church. The purity of Madame Guyon's life, her patience in trial, and her cultivated manners gained the confidence of multitudes. There are still traces in various parts of Europe of her profound influence in favor of a deep spiritual life.

Jansenism

Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypern, in the Netherlands (died 1638), was a man of profound learning and pure life. He devoted himself to the study of Augustine, and in a posthumous work, the "Augustines," he brought the doctrines of Augustine into a complete and strong system. He endorsed the doctrines of that father to the fullest extent. When the book appeared, it was seen that it was in harmony with the views of Calvin. That was enough to condemn it, and all who should accept its teachings. Jean Duvergnier de Hauranne and Antony Arnold took up the Jansenist cause, while the Jesuits championed the opposition to it. Arnold

had been an ornament of the Sorbonne, but was driven out. He went to live with his sister, Angelica, who was the abbess of Port Royal, a Cistercian nunnery near Paris. She was a woman of thorough piety, and of great natural ability, and shared her brother's views.

Port Royal

Port Royal now became the great Jansenist centre. People of learning and piety flocked thither from many parts of Europe. It was a stronghold, not of Augustinism simply, but of devout piety and consecrated learning. The most profound spirit developed by the Jansenist group was Blaise Pascal. He left the immediate points at issue between the Jansenists and the main body of Romanism, and addressed himself to an exposure of the whole Jesuit system. He assumed the name Louis de Montalte, and in his "Provincial Letters" presented the most stinging and thorough attack which Jesuitism has ever sustained. The work was read widely. The Jesuits influenced the pope to issue a condemnatory decree, which was done A.D. 1656. The result was an order of both the French king and the pope that all ecclesiastics in France, and all nuns as well, must acknowledge the condemnation of Jansenism. All who proved rebellious were compelled to leave the country. They fled to Holland, and kept up their organization, and developed a retired church life. The institution of Port Royal was suppressed in 1709.

Present Jansenist Community in Holland

The Holland Community consists of an archbishop of Utrecht, twenty-five parishes, and thirty clergy. They send their elections to the Roman see for acknowledgment, but they receive no recognition from the pope. They occupy a singular position midway between Romanism and Protestantism. They received unexpected support from the Old Catholic defection, to which they gave sanction by consecrating a bishop.

CHAPTER XXI

FRENCH INFIDELITY

[Authorities.—The later religious history of France to the Revolution is told by Jervis (author of the Student's History of France), A History of the Church of France from the Concordat of Bologna, A.D. 1516, to the Revolution (London, 1872), and Heath, The Reformation in France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (London and N. Y., 1888). For the Revolution see the interesting work of De Pressensé, Religion and the Reign of Terror; or the Church during the French Revolution (N. Y., 1869).]

The eighteenth century in France brought nothing with it but disaster. Had the Protestants been treated with even moderate cruelty the country would still have been enriched by their pure life and industrious habits. As artisans, the world has never had superiors to the French Huguenots. The words with which Longfellow refers to the art of Palissy are a fit description of the Huguenot's love of liberty, not only in France, but wherever the fortunes of exile have borne him:

> "Turn, turn, my wheel! The human race
> Of every tongue, of every place,
> Caucasian, Coptic, or Malay,
> All that inhabit this great earth,
> Whatever be their rank or worth,
> Are kindred and allied by birth,
> And made of the same clay."

The persecution of the Protestants by the French kings, with the powerful example of such gifted and relentless prime-ministers as Richelieu and Mazarin, brought into the eighteenth century an inheritance of evil which there was no hope of resisting.

French Sceptics

While Voltaire lifted his strong voice in favor of toleration, the main force of his example and writings was towards the infliction upon France of the stronger tyranny of infidel antagonism over both Christianity and the creeds and members of the Church. Other forces co-operated

in making more successful Voltaire's propagation of sceptical opinions. Jean Jacques Rousseau, of Switzerland, wrote his rhapsodical novels, and disseminated a loose communistic doctrine, which spread over France like wildfire. The school of encyclopædists, headed by D'Alembert, Holbach, Helvetius, and others, gave a learned air to the growing infidelity, and made it more attractive to Germany and England, as well as to certain cultivated classes in France. No evangelistic forces were invading France. On the contrary, the French spirit was itself the great propagating force in Europe. Great Britain was thoroughly invaded. Bolingbroke was a fit reflection of the general spirit. Voltaire was a welcome guest on the banks of the Thames. Eastward, in Germany, the same offensive devotion to the French infidelity prevailed. In all the courts the French language was preferred. All the fashions had to be French. Frederick the Great's welcome of Voltaire to his court was only a royal expression of what was the universal German rule.

Revolution of 1789

The revolution of 1789 was the natural result of the volcanic forces of the two preceding centuries. The persecution of the Protestants on the one hand, and the most violent and elaborate sceptical system which the Christian world had ever witnessed, on the other, were the two great forces which precipitated the French revolution. If one desires to see what persecution and scepticism, when they once join hands, can do, he needs only to look at that crisis of license, fury, and blood. There was no leniency shown towards the Church, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant. Talleyrand, the chameleon of his age, who was equally at home with Revolutionists, the Bourbons, or Napoleon, was the leading spirit in opposing the Church. The people were clothed with the right of electing bishops and priests. The National Convention proclaimed France a republic in 1792. The abolition of the Roman Catholic religion and the execution of Louis XVI. followed as a matter of course. The Sabbath was abolished, and the week was lengthened into ten days. Reason, in the person of a woman, was crowned queen.

Napoleon Bonaparte was all things to all men, that he might gain new power. He made formal concessions to the pope, but was careful to yield no imperial prerogatives. He adhered to the old Gallican freedom of the Church from papal interfer-

ence, and disbanded the monastic orders. A truce was patched up with Pope Pius VII., who came on to Paris in 1804, to crown Napoleon Emperor of France. Afterwards there was a long and bitter quarrel between Pius VII. and Napoleon. The pope was at one time a prisoner, and his states annexed to France. But after the battle of Waterloo and the treaty of Vienna matters took their old shape. The pope entered Rome and ruled the French Church as before.

Napoleon and the Church

CHAPTER XXII

FRENCH PROTESTANTISM

[Authorities.—See at Chap. XXI. above. The most convenient account of the Camisard uprising is Henry M. Baird, in Papers of the American Society of Church History (N. Y., vol. ii., 1889, pp. 13–34). For the Calas episode see Bungener, The Priest and the Huguenot (Boston, 1874), and on Voltaire's relation to religious liberty, see Morley, Voltaire (London, 1871). The present religious situation in France can best be seen in current literature. Compare: "France and the Jesuits," *Modern Review*, i. 559; "Present State of Catholic Church in," *ibid.*, iv., 225; "Religious Situation in," *ibid.*, iii., 474; "Religious Condition of," *Andover Review*, i., 61; "Religious Movements in" [De Pressensé], *Harper's Magazine*, Sept., 1889.]

From the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes down to the beginning of the eighteenth century the French Protestants led a miserable existence. The exiles and deaths had so weakened them that, of all parts of the Protestant world, this was the most hopeless. In all the largely populated portions of France the Protestants were treated as an inferior race. The oppression was worthy of the Roman emperors in the age of persecution. The only part of the country where the old Huguenot spirit dared to assert itself was in the southeast, where the mountains of the Cevennes afforded some slight protection against the oppressor.

Sufferings of French Protestants

The Camisards led in this reassertion of the old Huguenot spirit. They were a body of Protestants who were determined to regain their old rights. They were brave soldiers when fighting was necessary; but, when preaching and praying were the order of the day, they were

The Camisards

as fearless and devoted as the English Puritans in the time of the Brownists. It is not strange that they should have been superstitious and fanatical, and should have "seen visions and dreamed dreams." The oppressed have always imagined that the veil between them and the supernatural was very thin, and often entirely removed. So long as the Camisards were obscure, and their movements confined to a local uprising, they were safe. But it was clear that they were kindling the old Huguenot fire in other parts of France. Besides, the dispersed French colonies in London and various parts of Germany showed intense sympathy with their kinsmen at home, and the entire movement was attracting general attention and assuming a European character. The alarm at the French court was great. Louis XIV. determined to crush the Camisard uprising at all hazards. He sent soldiers to the Cevennes, who hunted down the Camisards as if they were wild beasts. The brave Protestants resisted with desperate heroism, and seemed to have no fear of death. So violent was the war, and so great the number of Louis XIV.'s soldiers, that the Camisards fell hopelessly beneath the sword of the oppressor. They were well-nigh exterminated, and when the dragoons returned to Paris it appeared that, once more, the Protestantism of France was finally crushed.

The Calas Family

A Protestant tradesman, John Calas, with his family, was the subject of a relentless local persecution. His son, in a fit of melancholy, had committed suicide, and his death was charged on the father, on the pretext that the young man was about to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. The passions of the people became aroused, and the Parliament of Toulouse, after an investigation, condemned Calas to death (1672). He committed no political offence, was devoted to his work as a merchant of small-wares, and yet he was persecuted with as much violence as though a traitor to France. It was a case of unmitigated cruelty. The simplicity and purity of the man did not save him from bitter severity. But John Calas and his family became familiar names throughout Europe. It was a case where innocence cried to Heaven for justice. When the cry was heard, every court in Europe became familiar with the act of cruelty. The whole Protestant world declared against the crime.

After the protests of Voltaire and others, the Paris Par-

liament took up the case, and completely overturned the decisions of the tribunal of Toulouse, declared Calas innocent, restored the property to the widow, but did not punish the infamous instigators and unjust judges of this horrible miscarriage of justice.

The hostility of Voltaire to Christianity is the predominant factor in his career. But we cannot forget his efforts in behalf of toleration. When the eighteenth century opened, there was no one to speak a strong word for liberty. Europe lay prostrate in a despotism almost universal. It was the darkest period in modern history since the dawn of the Reformation. The divine right of kings was the charm which excused every oppression. Protestantism in Europe was, on the one hand, divided by violent controversy, and, on the other, was indifferent and secular. The Anglican Church was thoroughly honeycombed by the worldly spirit. The French ruler, therefore, in persecuting the few struggling Protestants, was acting in harmony with the general temper of the times. Voltaire, the negative figure of his times in all religious matters, entered upon a crusade for liberty. His tract on "Tolerance" proclaimed the sufferings of Calas and his family, and proved a watchword of the century. It was a rebuke of the sword as an umpire in matters of conscience. There was not a throne which was not shaken by the little pamphlet. All classes were aroused to a sight of the galling chains in which the Continent lay. A notable effect was seen in the changed policy of the French government. The Protestants were relieved of many of their disabilities, and were granted liberties for which they had fought in vain. The new order was now in progress. The tide was reversed, and every decade added, not only to the universal thirst for religious liberty, but to the possession of the great boon.

Voltaire and Conciliatory Measures

CHAPTER XXIII

THE RUSSO-GREEK CHURCH

[Authorities.—Lecture xii. in Stanley, History of the Eastern Church, gives an account of the modern Russian Church. See Wallace, Russia (N. Y., 1878), and Heard, Sects of the Russian Church (N. Y., 1889).]

Origin

The Russo-Greek Church is the direct descendant of the Byzantine Church. It is the ecclesiastical product of the development of the Russian Empire. It was founded by Vladimir the Great, A. D. 980. Constantinople, the centre of the Byzantine Church, was also long the head of the Russo-Greek Church. But in 1589 the patriarchate was removed to Moscow, where it has remained ever since. There have been three stages in the development of the Russo-Greek Church. The first was an ecclesiastical dependence on a foreign head; the second was complete freedom; and the third has been dependence on the temporal authority of the czar. The great reformer of the life of the Russo-Greek Church was the Patriarch Nikon, who, between the years 1652 and 1666, contributed immensely towards throwing off the old and dead forms of the early period, and bringing the Church into harmony with the advanced ideas of the later times. The civil authority had but little power to improve. But the growth of the empire under the present Romanoff dynasty has made the ecclesiastical authority only secondary.

Government

Peter the Great

The change took place under Peter the Great—1689–1725—who made himself the real head of the Church as well as of the State. Theophanes Procopowicz, Archbishop of Novgorod, who died in 1736, co-operated towards the same end. The Holy Governing Synod has the nominal chief authority, but the czar must confirm all its essential acts. The empire is divided into twenty-four eparchies, or dioceses. Five of them are presided over by metropolitans,

namely, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Vilna, and Siberia. The clergy consist of three classes—the black, the white, and the assistants. There is little harmony between the monastic and the regular clergy. Peter the Great attempted to elevate the secular clergy, but with only moderate success. The monks still hold great authority, and have all the advantage of tradition, age, wealth, and popular veneration on their side. The number of parishes of the regular clergy amount to about eighteen thousand.

Monks

Christianity was introduced into Russia by Greek monks, and from this beginning the monks have endeavored to hold the chief power in their own hands. The old monastic life of the East has preserved in Russia some of its main features, being a compact and united body, thus differing essentially from the numerous orders which have arisen in the Latin Christianity of the West. There are four kinds of Russian monasteries: 1. The episcopal palaces; 2. The cœnobia, or cloisters having a common life; 3. Cloisters of separate life, or monasteries proper; and, 4. Penal cloisters. Formerly the monasteries were supplied with inmates mostly from the wealthy nobility, but there has been a decrease of late in the tendency of the wealthy and noble to enter the monasteries. The most recent information shows that the larger portion of the young aristocracy entering the clerical profession leave Russia, and become members of the Jesuit order. From 1841 to 1857 about five thousand men and two thousand women entered the monasteries and convents of the empire. On Mt. Athos, in European Turkey, there are about seventy monasteries, containing seven thousand monks, who are chiefly of Russian origin, and are supported by Russian means.

Statistics of Russian Monasteries

The following are statistics of the Russian monasteries down to 1891: There are now altogether 681 monasteries in the Russian empire, 479 for monks and 202 for nuns. The number of monks is put down at 6950 fully consecrated, and 4711 novitiates and preparing. Of fully consecrated nuns there are 6289, in preparation 16,865 more. Total of both sexes, 34,815. It is not generally known that the monks and nuns in Russia do not lead the comparatively active life of the modern Roman Catholic conventist. They do not study, nor visit the sick, nor engage in any useful duty in life. When they are not engaged in weary rounds

of ritual, they are sitting in their cells in apathy and utter idleness.*

The monastic clergy have the entire control of the education of the younger clergy. As a proof, during the last century and a half only two rectors from the white, or non-monastic, clergy have been chosen to preside over theological schools. Alexander I. gave great attention to the increase of schools and the general development of theological education. From 1839 to 1873 about five thousand young men graduated in theology. But during the same long period only eighteen theological works were produced. The theological development of the Church, therefore, is at the lowest point imaginable. The clergy are, in the main, very ignorant. Even the elements are neglected. The education is confined to the study of the Eastern fathers, and there is not the least sympathy with the new Western science. Incarceration is the penalty of a theological student for visiting a public library, while the reading of a work of fiction, if known, is visited with expulsion. The censorship of theological authorship is very severe. All books and journals are submitted to the bishop through a censor-monk. This amounts, in most cases, to the burial of a manuscript. Authors have had to wait ten years before learning the mortal fate of their works.

Theological Education

The Russo-Greek Church abounds in sects. These are, for the most part, supported by the aristocracy, and in general betoken a reaction against the prevailing errors of the Church. There have been two great schisms in the Church, but general life has proceeded without serious harm to the general unity. The sects are divided into three great classes:

Sects

(1.) The sects without priests. These are the radical party, of whom the Danielites, the Capitones, and the Theodosians are the chief. There are, besides, smaller bodies, who are secret in their worship and are strictly prohibited, but manage to keep up a form of priestless worship. Among them may be mentioned the Skopzi, or self-mutilated; the Shoshigateh, or self-burners; and the Straniki, or Pilgrims.

(2.) The sects with priests. These are mostly the people of

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* *Christian World*, London, Feb. 26th, 1891, p. 167.

the "old faith," who see in the existing Church a wretched lapse from the old purity. They hold to the need of a return to the original simplicity and purity.

(3.) The reform sects. Among these are the Malakans, or milk-eaters, and the Duchoborges, or spiritualists. They observe great simplicity of life.

Present State of the Russian Church

During the last twenty years there has been advance in the general condition of the Russo-Greek clergy. The aristocracy hold themselves quite aloof from the general restraints of the Church. The Russian nobility are thoroughly saturated with scepticism, deriving their literature and models chiefly from France. The lower classes are both ignorant and superstitious, and are more easily controlled by the clergy. The clergy, in general, are not models of pure living. Many of them are given to excessive use of alcoholic liquors and to gambling.

CHAPTER XXIV

WESLEY AND METHODISM

[Authorities.—Stevens, History of Methodism (N. Y. and London, 1858–61), is a work of the greatest interest and value. He is now writing the history of the recent period. Atkinson, Centennial History of Methodism (N. Y., 1884), is a good sketch in shorter compass, especially on the origin of Methodism in America. The best Life of John Wesley is Tyerman's (London, 6th edition, 1890). It is a most thorough, impartial, and valuable piece of work. The best short Life is Telford's (London and N. Y., 1888). It throws new light on Wesley's experiences at the Charterhouse and other schools. A new edition of Southey, Life of Wesley, with notes by Atkinson, has been published (London, 1889). The centennial of Wesley's death, in 1891, brought out some valuable literature. See Overton, Life of John Wesley (London and Boston, 1891); Kenyon, Centennial Life of Wesley (London, 1891); Farrar, in *Contemporary Review*, March, 1891. The best Life of Charles Wesley is by Jackson (London and N. Y., 1841), and of Whitefield, by Tyerman (London, 2d ed., 1890). Compare Tyerman, Oxford Methodists (London and N. Y., 1873).]

The religious condition of England in the former half of the eighteenth century was deplorable. The strife between the Puritans and the Anglican Church had subsided, but with

no good spiritual results. The Puritan activity had been transplanted into the American colonies, while the Church of England lay largely at the mercy of the prevailing Deism, reinforced by French infidelity. The clergy were devoted to amusements, and, with only few exceptions, had no profound conception of the sanctity of their office or the responsibility of spiritual care for the common people. Bishop Burnet draws a dark picture of the general indifference of the Anglican clergy to religious matters, and to the great need of the people for a religious awakening. Macaulay proves the predominance of the French spirit in all the upper classes. The literature, under the influence of Pope and Addison, was rapidly improving, but there was no general discarding of the deistic models.

England at Beginning of the Wesleyan Movement

John and Charles Wesley, sons of Samuel Wesley, the rector of Epworth, were students in Oxford University. They, with Gambold, Whitefield, and a few others, formed the Holy Club. They met at stated times for the study of the Bible in the original tongues and for ministrations to the poor and imprisoned. They were called Methodists, in derision, because of their methodical life. John Wesley, with Charles, went as a missionary to Georgia, a strong colony under the administration of Oglethorpe. He lived in ascetic simplicity, devoting his attention chiefly to the instruction of the Indians, and to services for the little English colony in Savannah. His religious experience was sombre, and very different from the later cheerful type which distinguished his long career after his return to England.

The Wesleys

John Wesley first came to a warm admiration of the calm and beautiful spirit of the Moravians when crossing the Atlantic in company with some of them, whose equipoise was in no wise disturbed by threatened shipwreck. He saw that they possessed what he did not, and, on returning to England, in 1738, he immediately sought out the little Moravian society. He had frequent conferences with Peter Boehler, the Moravian bishop; and on the night of May 24th, 1738, while worshipping in the little chapel in Fetter Lane, London, his "heart was strangely warmed." He was now clear in his experience. His doubts had disappeared, and until the day of his death he remembered the hour of his conversion as the beginning of his real religious life.

Contact of John Wesley with the Moravians

John Wesley was now intent upon rescuing souls. He had long since seen, with clear eye, the spiritual need of his fellow-countrymen, but his great question was, how could he reach them? He began to preach to them, though with evident distrust as to his power to reach any large number. His mode of preaching seems to have been singularly fascinating. His voice was far-reaching, well-modulated, and calculated to gain and hold attention. His methods were not rhetorical. Here he was excelled by Whitefield, whose manner was more animated, whose voice was music itself, and whose climaxes were overwhelming. No stoical hearer, not even the steady Franklin, could resist his magnetism. But there was in Wesley's preaching a logical order, which was a more powerful factor in his sermon than his manner. He left his audience in the possession of ideas which, as the results prove, never left the hearer.

Organizing Power of John Wesley

He adopted special measures to organize the converts into societies. His idea was precisely that of Spener and Zinzendorf—the building-up of the spiritual life of the Church within itself. He had no thought, at first, of a separate ecclesiastical body, and insisted on holding services at other than the regular church hours. He desired to utilize the churches in which to preach, but betook himself to field preaching from two causes—in many cases he was refused access to the churches, and the growth of his audiences was such as to prevent the churches from containing them. He reluctantly concluded to form societies, and to give them the character of a church, though non-episcopal. The mission in America assumed the character of an episcopal church, Wesley himself ordaining Thomas Coke to the episcopacy for the purpose of general superintendency in America. These arrangements for a separate ecclesiastical life of the American Methodists seem to betoken the breaking-down of Wesley's doubts about a separate Church in England. The year 1739 was regarded as the beginning of the Wesleyan Church, and in 1839 the jubilee of English Methodism was celebrated throughout England and the mission fields with special services.

John Wesley was greatly aided by his brother Charles, who is acknowledged to be the leading Christian hymnist of modern times. But Charles was more conservative as a leader than John, and many of the advanced measures of John were

strenuously opposed by him. The whole of the first generation of Wesleyan preachers was involved in the Calvinistic controversy. Whitefield withdrew from fellowship because of his adoption of the doctrine of election. John Fletcher, born at Nyon, Switzerland, September 12th, 1729, was a powerful coadjutor of Wesley. He was distinguished for his gentleness of spirit and vigor as a controversialist. The Wesleyan movement extended throughout England and Ireland, but gained only moderate support in Scotland. Coke represented the missionary fervor of the first Wesleyan generation. He established missions at various points along the Atlantic coast and in the West Indies, and died in 1814, at the age of sixty-seven, while on his voyage to Ceylon, to plant a mission in the East Indies.

The Development of Methodism

John Wesley died in 1791, at the age of eighty-eight. He had lived to see his small societies grow into large and numerous bodies, held together by firm adjustments and a strong central government. He rivalled Luther in literary productiveness. He knew how to save his moments, and composed many of his writings in chaise and on horseback. In an early letter to his mother occur these words: "Leisure and I have taken leave of one another"—a farewell to which he remained true until death. In his long walks he could read conveniently for ten miles. His travels were enormous. His old age was a beautiful picture of cheerful serenity. His faculties were unimpaired to his last days. Lecky says of him: "Few things in ecclesiastical history are more striking than the energy and the success with which he propagated his opinions. He was gifted with a frame of iron, and with spirits that never flagged." He introduced lay-preaching and the class-meeting, both of which have proven strong factors in the development of his general system. He never amassed property, but used the profits from his publications for the benefit of worn-out preachers and their families. While the general attitude of the Church of England was opposed to his societies, many clergymen, and even some of the bishops, were friendly to him, not only admiring his genius and learning, but his profound spiritual life and the magnitude of his service in imparting a deeper religious character to British Christianity.

Methodism at Wesley's Death

CHAPTER XXV

THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT

[AUTHORITIES.—Newman, in his Apologia pro Vita Sua (London, 1864), written with wonderful frankness and charm, gives the genesis of the movement. A fair estimate is that of Ellicott, "The Anglo-Catholic Movement," in the *Princeton Review*, Sept., 1878. Two valuable books are: Wilfred Ward, William George Ward and the Oxford Movement (London, 1889); Church, The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years, 1833–45 (London, 1891). The latter is a work of great interest and importance. The forthcoming Life of Pusey will shed much light on the subject. On Newman, see Paul, Biographical Sketches (London, 1883); Hutton, Cardinal Newman (Boston, 1891); Meynell, John Henry Newman (London, 1890). See Fairbairn in *Critical Review*, Feb., 1891.]

The Leaders

IN 1833 there began in the University of Oxford an important revival of the High-Church tendencies of the Church of England. It arose out of a study of the early Christian fathers, and as a reaction against the spreading liberalism in the Church and the nation. In that year John Henry Newman published his "Arians in the Fourth Century." His mind had become so deeply imbued with the spirit of antiquity that he was not able to reconcile the present condition of the Church of England with the phenomena of the early times —the passionate devotion of the saints, and their strenuous advocacy of the faith. He became more and more dissatisfied with the way matters were tending. The previous year (1832) Renn Dickson Hampden, tutor in Oriel College, delivered the Bampton Lectures, in which he laid himself open to the charge of Arianism, and in other particulars deeply offended the severe doctrinal strictness of Newman and his coterie. In spite of this, Hampden was chosen Regius Professor of Divinity in 1836. Liberalism was triumphing everywhere. Sir Robert Peel's bill for the emancipation of the Catholics had become law in 1829, a bill which was bitterly opposed by the Evangelicals among the churchmen and dissenters and those

of High-Church sympathies. "The Whigs," says Newman, "had come into power. Lord Grey had told the bishops to set their houses in order, and some of the prelates had been insulted and threatened in the streets of London." During this same eventful year, 1833, a bill had passed the House suppressing ten of the Irish bishoprics, which was a terrible blow to those who believed in the divine order of the episcopate and its indefectible gifts. The new Bourbon, Charles X., had fled from France before an uprising indignation, and had taken refuge in England. Besides all this, many of the English clergy were idle and careless, and religion was on a decline.

To stem this tide, Newman and his companions began their work. He was the leading spirit. He was a man of earnest Christian life, of ascetic tendencies, of profound knowledge of the human heart, and of fascinating personal influence. His preaching at St. Mary's—so fresh, so penetrating in its analysis of the soul and of all the subterfuges and hiding-places of sin—came as with a clarion voice to a dead Church. With him were associated John Keble, who became the singer of the movement, whose "Christian Year" (1827) was one of its heralds; Edward Bouverie Pusey, its theologian and leader after Newman's defection; Richard Hurrell Froude, the brother of the historian, who probably would have gone with Newman to Rome but for his early death; William Palmer, Isaac Williams, and other devout and earnest men.

Its Principles

The principles of the movement were set forth in a series of pamphlets called "Tracts for the Times," published in Oxford from 1833 to 1841. Chief of the ideas contended for was that of the Church. She is the means of salvation provided by Christ, the only dispenser of the means of grace, perpetuated by apostolic succession, and she is the eternal witness to the truth. Baptism regenerates, the Eucharist is the instrument of salvation, and in the latter the bread and wine become, in a spiritual manner, the body and blood of Christ. Because of the real presence of Christ, it is right to bow at the consecration of the elements, for in so doing we worship not the elements, but Christ, who is present in them. The Rule of Faith is not Scripture alone, or tradition alone, but Scripture and tradition together. A sharp line is drawn between clergy and laity, as the former are, in a unique manner, the mediators between Christ and the congregation. The

Church of England is a part of the Holy Catholic Church, purer in her doctrines than the Roman Church, but she needs to return to the Catholic principles of her illustrious fathers, Beveridge, Bull, Cosin, Hooker, Andrewes, and carry those principles out consistently and thoroughly.

The Oxford reformers made a deep impression on the English Church. Church life was revived; the services, long neglected, were attended once more; special religious agencies for evangelization and instruction were set on foot; and a new infusion of vitality made the Church of England once more a power in the life of the nation. There can be no doubt that the immense growth of the national Church within the last fifty years has been due in large measure to the zeal and energy of the High-Church clergy. The doctrines of the Tractarians were also widely adopted, and they are now the ruling tradition in the Anglican Church throughout the world. On the other hand, many of the brightest lights of the English Church were impelled, logically or illogically, into the Roman Church. Before 1853 not less than four hundred clergymen and laymen had become Roman Catholics. Besides this drift to Romanism, the movement excited a reaction to the other extreme, which resulted in landing the elder Newman and the younger Froude, and many of the brightest minds of modern times, on the shores of scepticism. Francis W. Newman and James Anthony Froude were profoundly influenced by the Tractarian movement, but the influence was towards an ineradicable prejudice for historic Christianity. They have labored as earnestly to pull down as their brothers did to build up. This is one of the revenges of history.

Results

CHAPTER XXVI

THE SCHOOLS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

[Authorities.—Proby, Annals of the Low-Church Party in England down to the Death of Archbishop Tait [1882], 2 vols. (London, 1888). This is the only book of the kind we have, but it is exceedingly unfair and bitter. For the last period of the Annals, the "immoral period," it is of no judicial value whatever. For the rest it is best, perhaps, to consult biographies of representative men in the various schools, such as those of Maurice (London and N. Y., 1885), Robertson of Brighton (London and N. Y., 1865), Bishop Colenso [by Geo. W. Cox] (London, 1890), Archbishop Tait, Mackonochie (London, 1891). See the last volume of Stoughton's Religion in England.]

The Church of England has sought for comprehension. She has not been impatient of radical differences of opinion among her adherents, if the common faith of the gospel is not impugned. These differences are conveniently, though infelicitously, characterized as the High, Low, and Broad schools.

The High, or Catholic, School holds to apostolic succession, divine right of episcopacy, and severe views of the efficacy of the sacraments and of the privileges and prerogatives of the ministry. It received a tremendous impetus by the Oxford movement, and is now the controlling power in the Church. It has shown great activity both in the home and foreign mission field. The greatest preacher of modern Anglicanism, Canon Liddon, was of this school. It has, however, given rise to suspicion, unrest, litigation, and trouble by its pushing almost to the extreme of Romanism the liturgy and ritual of the Church services.

The High Church

Some important Church trials have been the consequence of the activity of the High Anglicans. One of these was the Gorham Case, which grew out of the refusal of Dr. Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, to institute the Rev. Cornelius Gorham as incumbent of Brampford Speke, to which he had been appointed in 1847 by the lord

The Gorham Case

chancellor. The ground of the refusal was that Gorham denied baptismal regeneration. The rejected vicar carried his case to the Court of Arches at Canterbury, which rejected his appeal (1849) on the ground that the doctrine of regeneration in baptism was the doctrine of the Church of England. Gorham then appealed from this decision to the judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which reversed the decision of the lower courts, decided that the opinions of Gorham were not outside of the limits of faith as defined by the Church of England, that many eminent prelates and divines had held the same or similar views, and commanded that the vicar be duly installed into the parish to which he was nominated. Gorham was accordingly instituted vicar of Brampford Speke. Another trial is that of the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Edward King, for alleged illegal ritualistic practices. In 1890 the Archbishop of Canterbury decided that some of the things complained of were allowable, and that others were not. The case is now before a higher court. The revival of ritualism has awakened the bitterest animosities in the English Church, leading even to the imprisonment of several ministers, and in one case to terrible riots which convulsed the whole of East London.

The Low or Evangelical School, in its modern development, has been greatly stimulated by the Wesleyan revival and the earnest labors of English non-conformists. Charles Simeon, of Cambridge, who died in 1836, exerted wide influence by his evangelical preaching. He established a society for the purchase of advowsons, and was thus able to place his sympathizers at important points. This party stands in closer sympathy with Protestantism. Of recent years it has been on the decline, and has become narrow, rigid, and intolerant. It opposed the granting of civil rights to the Catholics, and is now engaged in prosecuting the "Ritualists." It has been, however, a great blessing to England and the English Church.

The Low Church

The Broad School is a product of the modern spirit of liberalism, charity, and the love of truth for its own sake. Its first apostle, perhaps, was Coleridge, who has exerted a strangely quickening power over religious thought. The men of this school have been strongly influenced, too, by German theology, as well as by the new studies

The Broad Church

of the life of Christ and the early years of Christianity. They are deeply affected by the historic spirit and by the tendency to seek the profounder as well as more practical truths which lie in stereotyped doctrines and texts. They stand on historic Christianity, but they seek to revivify it by a more spiritual interpretation, and apply it with unflinching fidelity to the needs of modern life. The men of the Broad Church have been active in laboring for the betterment of the poorer classes, in establishing evening schools, lectures, and other means of relief and enlightenment, and in efforts for temperance, social purity, and justice. To this party belong Thomas Arnold, the regenerator of the English public schools; Frederic W. Robertson, whose wonderful sermons have been the means of leading thousands of sceptical minds into the peace and joy of the gospel; John William Colenso, who naturalized extreme German criticism on English soil, but who was himself a most self-sacrificing missionary of the cross; Frederick D. Maurice, who was eminent equally for piety, philanthropy, ability as a thinker, and power as a preacher; Charles Kingsley, a brave and manly soul; Dean Stanley, and many other scholars and divines.

"Essays and Reviews"

In 1860 there appeared in England a volume entitled "Essays and Reviews," which excited the greatest consternation. It was written by Oxford Churchmen, and comprised the following essays: "The Education of the World," by Frederick Temple, D.D.; "Bunsen's Biblical Researches," by Rowland Williams, D.D.; "On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity," by Baden Powell, M.A.; "The National Church," by Henry Bristow Wilson, B.D.; "On the Mosaic Cosmogony," by C. W. Goodwin, M.A.; "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750," by Mark Pattison, B.D.; "On the Interpretation of Scripture," by Benjamin Jowett, M.A. Several of these essays, as judged by the present state of Biblical science, are entirely innocent of any harmful effects, and in fact lay emphasis on principles which have long since been hospitably received by Christian thinkers. This is especially true of the essays by Temple and Jowett, and to a certain extent of that by Goodwin. On the other hand, the essay by Williams and that by Powell, and the general tenor and spirit of the whole production, were viewed with dismay as dangerous concessions to Rationalism. It was

said that they reduced the supernatural to a minimum, and that the effect of their work would be to destroy confidence in the Bible.

The volume awakened public interest as no theological production had done for a century. The press teemed with answers. It is estimated that within four or five years nearly four hundred replies were written to the "Essays and Reviews." Numerous protests were sent to the bishops against the doctrines of the book, and petitions that they should take some action to call the authors to account. The Convocations of York and Canterbury declared against it, and after much delay Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson were brought before the Ecclesiastical Court of Arches. On June 21st, 1864, decision was pronounced that they had departed from the teachings of the Thirty-Nine Articles on the inspiration of Scripture, on the atonement, and on justification; and the ridiculously small penalty—if the finding was just—was laid upon them, that they should be suspended for one year, pay the costs, and be deprived of their salary. The defendants carried an appeal to the Privy Council, which reversed the decision of the Court of Arches, and held that the charges of heresy were not proved. The appellants had uttered nothing formally inconsistent with the doctrines of the Church of England. This decision (February 8th, 1864) is one of the most important ever delivered, and is considered the charter of liberty by the progressive men of the Church of England. It held that it is not penal to speak of merit by transfer as a "fiction," or to express a hope of the ultimate pardon of the wicked, or to affirm that any part of the Old or New Testament, however unconnected with religious faith or moral duty, was not written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

Later History of the Authors

The writers of the "Essays and Reviews" were never afterwards molested, and proceeded on their respective paths of useful labors to the Church. Baden Powell, a brilliant mathematical scholar, who labored earnestly to introduce scientific studies in Oxford, and the author of the most offensive essay, perhaps, of the series, died before the book was fairly dry from the press. Rowland Williams continued in his parish at Broad Chalke, near Salisbury, until his death, in 1870, and became widely known as the author of a valuable book on the Hebrew prophets, and

of psalms and hymns. Mark Pattison attained to a high position as a writer, and lived the quiet life of a student till his death, in 1884. Goodwin, who was a lawyer by profession, had the reputation at the time of his death (in 1878) of being one of the most learned Egyptologists of modern times. Several of his translations from the monuments are in the "Records of the Past." Temple was made Bishop of Exeter in 1869, and of London in 1885, and is the author of one of the most valuable of the Bampton series, "Relations between Religion and Science" (1884). Jowett is still Regius Professor of Greek and Master of Balliol College at Oxford.

Publication of "Lux Mundi"

A sensation somewhat similar to that caused by the "Essays and Reviews," though much less profound and extensive, was caused by the appearance of a volume of essays in London, in 1890, with the title "Lux Mundi: a Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation." It is edited by the Rev. Charles Gore, principal of the Pusey House, a leader of the High-Church party, and all the contributors are pronounced High-Churchmen. Its chief significance lies in the bold and frank way in which it faces modern problems, its readiness to adjust Christian dogmas to the intellectual movements of the age, and especially its hearty recognition of the results of biblical criticism. "Because the 'truth makes her free,'" says Mr. Gore, "the Church is able to assimilate all new material, to welcome and give its place to all new knowledge, to throw itself into the sanctification of each new social order, bringing forth out of her treasures things new and old, and showing again and again her power of witnessing under changed conditions to the Catholic capacity of her faith and life" (Preface, pp. viii., ix.).

The chief point of offence is the article on Inspiration by Mr. Gore, in which he acknowledges that there may be unhistorical and idealizing elements in the Old Testament, and that such elements are entirely consistent with the divine revelation given in the Old Testament. He leaves a free field for historical criticism, and holds that the Church has nothing to fear from any incontestable results of Old-Testament investigation. It is an interesting sign of theological progress that the things which the Broad-Churchmen barely hinted at in 1860 are now openly affirmed by High-Churchmen of unquestioned

orthodoxy.* "Lux Mundi" was received with varying expressions of approval and disapproval, but no attempt has been made to bring its authors to the bar of the Church. In the Convocation, Archdeacon Denison moved its condemnation, but that body refused to pay any attention to the matter.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES

[AUTHORITIES.—For exhaustive studies of the histories of the two great universities (not including the recent period), see Lyte, Hist. of the University of Oxford from the Earliest Times to 1530 (London, 1886), and Mullinger, Hist. of the University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to Accession of Charles I., 2 vols. (London, 1873–85). For shorter sketches, see Brodrick, Hist. of the University of Oxford (London and N. Y., 1888), and Mullinger, Hist. of the University of Cambridge (London and N. Y., 1889). These books will throw invaluable light on the Church history of England.]

THE universities have had a powerful effect on the religious life of England. Though their lands and revenues were in part confiscated during the period of the Reformation, they have enjoyed a happy immunity from the devastations of warfare. They have been in the closest relation to the Church, and nearly every great movement in the religious world has had its source in these fountains of intelligence. Both in Oxford and Cambridge the Renaissance exerted a strong influence. At Oxford, Colet (1500) lectured, without fee, on the Epistle to the Romans, and by his free handling of abuses paved the way for the Reformation. He was deemed by the clergy of the time little better than a heretic. Linacre, though he took no part in theological controversies, came back to Oxford from his Continental studies full of zeal for the new learning, and had among his pupils Erasmus and More. At Exeter College, Grocyn entered enthusiastically into a like work.

The Universities in English Life

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* See London *Quarterly Review*, No. 147, p. 137, April, 1890.

The same tendencies were illustrated at Cambridge by Bishop Fisher, Sir John Cheke, and Sir Thomas Smith. At this university, Erasmus labored at a new Latin version of the Greek Testament, hoping to place in the hands of students a version free from the errors of the Vulgate. The University of Cambridge became a centre of Reformed teachings even before Luther's works were known in England. In the internal struggles in the Church of England that followed the Reformation, St. John's and Queen's College, of Cambridge, became the headquarters of the Puritan leaders, and, in fact, Emmanuel College, founded in 1584, had a career of unusual prosperity on the strength of its thorough Puritanism. But both at Oxford and Cambridge repressive measures got the upperhand, the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were rigidly enforced, all non-conformists were excluded from the colleges, and these severe statutes remained in force till the new codes of 1858.

Cambridge

During the seventeenth century the University of Cambridge was the meeting-place of currents of thought which profoundly affected the English nation. The Cambridge Platonists, Henry More, Cudworth, and Whichcote (men conspicuous for their character and learning), Isaac Barrow, Isaac Newton, William Whiston, and others, were men of extensive influence on their own and other times. While they were raising Cambridge to a high pitch as a seat of learning, Oxford was falling correspondingly low on the other scale. At the same time, both universities were suffering from the low moral and religious condition of the nation. It was at this time that the Methodist movement, led by Wesley and Whitefield at Oxford, and by Berridge at Cambridge, turned the spiritual tide of England, and a still further deepening of the religious experience came about by the labors of Simeon at Cambridge and of the Tractarians at Oxford. All these movements, having their birth at the universities, have made themselves felt wherever the English race has spread; and the end is not yet.

Reforms

In 1858 extensive reforms were inaugurated. The mediæval restrictions and the obsolete oaths were swept away, and the universities thrown open to all, irrespective of religious faith. Candidates for M.A. and for fellowships were still, however, required to take the usual subscription to the

Thirty-nine Articles. After a long and tedious fight and many reverses, the religious tests were completely abolished, a measure to that effect eventually passing the House of Lords in 1871, during the premiership of Mr. Gladstone.

Owing to the exclusiveness of the old universities, measures were taken in 1825 by some eminent dissenters, and the more liberal men of the national Church, which resulted in the foundation of one of the most important institutions of England, viz., the University of London. The deed of settlement was drawn up on February 11th, 1826; the foundation-stone laid on April 30th, 1827; and in October, 1828, the college was opened. It marked a new era in education in England, and was the prelude to the overthrow of the ecclesiastical *régime* at the ancient centres.

London

CHAPTER XXVIII

SCHOLARS AND DIVINES OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

[Authorities.—*Laud:* Hook, in Lives of Archbishops of Canterbury, series ii., vol. vi. (London, 1875); Life in Bliss's ed. of his works in the Anglo-Catholic Library (Oxford, 1853). Consult Histories of England, especially Gardiner, Personal Government of Charles I. (London, 1877), and Lee's article in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia.—*Leighton:* Life prefixed to his works; Pearson's (new ed., London, 1855), West's (London, 1869–83, the best ed. of his works) and by Wm. Blair, of Dunblane, Scotland, in selections from his works (London, 1884), and in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia. Consult article by Brown in Encyclopædia Britannica (9th ed.).—*Jeremy Taylor:* Life in Eden's ed. of his works (London, 1852–61).—*Chillingworth:* Life in best ed. of his works, that by Birch, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1833; Phila., 1840).—*Hooker:* Izaak Walton, Life (1665, often reprinted). See also Church Histories of England.]

It will help one greatly to understand the course of religion in England to know something of the lives and works of the more noted divines. It is amazing that when Protestantism was fighting for its life, the English Church should have developed so many Christian scholars in all departments of theology. A few only of these can be mentioned.

William Laud (1573–1644), the son of a cloth-weaver of

Reading, arose from one preferment to another till he became Bishop of London (1628), Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England (1633). His aim, which he pursued with wonderful tenacity, but with strange lack of tact and conciliation, was to sweep away the last remnants of Puritanism, and to bring the Church of England to what he believed the true Catholic position—that is, independence of Rome, and conformity to the sacerdotal character of ancient Christianity. The king, Charles I., sympathized with him in this, and after the assassination of Buckingham, in 1628, Laud ruled with all the authority of a prime-minister. Repressive measures were carried out with revolting sternness; the Puritans were imprisoned, exiled, mutilated; the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission, in which they were tried, were inspired by Laud, who always, says Gardiner, gave his voice for more than ordinarily severe measures; officials were sent out to make searching inquiry into the conduct of the clergy; uniformity of ritual was enforced; and—worse than all—new canons and the English Prayer-book were attempted to be forced upon the Scotch. Finally, the Puritans got the upper-hand; he was impeached for treason, acquitted by the Lords, but condemned by the Commons to death. He was executed January 10th, 1644.

Laud

The ambition of Laud's life, foiled for the time, at length became realized. "Laud's immediate acts and aims," says Canon Mozley, "were most practical; and a great practical rise of the English Church was the effect of his career. . . . The Holy Table in all our churches, altar-wise, at the east end, is a visible memorial of Laud which none can escape. . . . That any one of Catholic predilections can belong to the English Church is owing, so far as we can see, to Laud."

As opposed to Rome, Laud was a sincere Protestant. In character he was devout, conscientious, eminently religious, though his religion was of a severe and narrow type. Had he pursued his purposes in a more tolerant and statesmanlike way, especially if he had not favored the absolutism of Charles and had not outraged the religious principles of Scotland, he would have saved himself from a fate which—considering the inflamed condition of the times—was natural, but cruel and unjust.

William Chillingworth (1602–1644) was the godson of Arch-

bishop Laud, and by him brought back to the Protestant faith after he had been converted to Romanism by the arguments of the Jesuit, Fisher. After the marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria of France (1625), the fate of the nation became an interesting question, and the Jesuits became very active and successful in proselyting. Chillingworth studied the disputed points with the greatest thoroughness, and finally came out with one of the keenest and most brilliant pieces of controversial writing ever penned, "The Religion of the Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation" (1637–38). In it occurs the famous expression, "The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, is the religion of Protestants."

Chillingworth

Chillingworth at first had scruples as to the acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles, but they were overcome, and he was given the prebend of Brixworth, in Northamptonshire. He declared the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed were "most false, and also in a high degree schismatical and presumptuous." He was one of the most liberal-minded divines of his age, and was branded by the Puritans as a Socinian—a charge which in that day, as Tillotson says, was thrown at any one who tried to vindicate religion on the principles of reason. In matters of civil liberty, however, he was not ahead of his age. He wrote an unpublished treatise on the "Unlawfulness of Resisting the Lawful Prince, although most Impious, Tyrannical, and Idolatrous." It was while following the royal army that he was taken with the sickness which resulted in his death. His creed is expressed in the words, "I am fully assured that God does not, and therefore that men ought not to require any more of any man than this, to believe the Scripture to be God's word, to endeavor to find the true sense of it, and to live according to it."

Jeremy Taylor (1613–1667) is the Chrysostom of English theology, unrivalled for eloquence and gorgeousness of imagination. He was the son of a Cambridge barber, and a direct descendant of Dr. Rowland Taylor, Cranmer's chaplain, who suffered martyrdom under Mary. He was the friend and *protégé* of Laud, and, like him, was a firm believer in the divine rights of the episcopacy and of kings (both usually went together then), and in a sacramental theology. He was ousted from his rectory at Uppingham (1642)

Jeremy Taylor

by the Parliament, and it was during his retirement, at the delightful residence of the Earl of Carbery, that he produced some of his best works. In 1647 he published his noblest work, "The Liberty of Prophesying," in which he advocated a tolerance and comprehension which, unhappily, he was unable to illustrate, when he had the power, in his dealings with the Presbyterians of his diocese. In 1650 he wrote his beautiful "Life of Christ," and the same year appeared his "Holy Living," completed in 1651 in "Holy Dying," which have remained to this day classic manuals of devotion. In 1660 he published his "Doctor Dubitantium, or the Rule of Conscience in all her General Measures," which Hallam pronounces "the most extensive and learned work on casuistry which has appeared in the English language."

In 1660 he was made Bishop of Down and Connor, having his residence at Lisburn, near Belfast. At that time there were about seventy Presbyterian ministers settled in the North of Ireland, and they were bitterly opposed to episcopacy. "I perceive myself thrown into a place of torment," he wrote, soon after his consecration. "There is no doubt," says Dr. Marcus Dods, a Presbyterian, "that his authority was resisted and his overtures rejected." His writings were ransacked for heretical materials, "a committee of Scotch spiders being appointed to see if they can gather or make poison out of them." It was, nevertheless, an excellent opportunity for him to have practised what he preached in the "Liberty of Prophesying." But he was unequal to the occasion. He published the alternative — Episcopal ordination or deprivation. As a consequence, thirty-six Presbyterian ministers were turned out of their churches.

Taylor was a man of liberal mind, fine literary taste, affluent imagination, devout and consecrated spirit. He had wider views than his age allowed, but he unfortunately failed to act consistently with them. He anticipated Wesley in his views of heresy. "Heresy is not an error of the understanding, but an error of the will."

Other men of eminence in the English Church we must hastily pass over. Isaac Barrow (1630–1677) was celebrated no less as a theologian than as a mathematician. He yielded (1669) his mathematical chair at Cambridge to his illustrious pupil, Sir Isaac Newton. His great work

Barrow

on the supremacy of the pope is still of value, and his "Sermons" are among the most elaborate and learned discussions which literature affords. Robert South (1633–1716), Calvinistic in theology, but High-Anglican in polity, was a preacher whose power of thought and purity of language have never been excelled. Francis Atterbury (1662–1732), a brilliant but unscrupulous controversialist, who figures in "Henry Esmond," died in exile for his attachment to the House of Stuart. Robert Leighton (1611–84), the holy Archbishop of Glasgow, was a peaceful and angelic spirit in a troubled age. Archbishop Ussher, of Armagh (1581–1656), gave us the chronology of the English Bible. Joseph Bingham (1668–1723) first opened up the archæology of the Church in a work of immense research that has never been superseded. John Lightfoot (1602–75) was one of the fathers of Hebrew scholarship in England, and his fame was only excelled in Europe by the younger Buxtorf. George Bull, Bishop of St. David's (1634–1710), defended the doctrine of the Trinity, as also did Daniel Waterland (1683–1740). Bishop William Warburton, of Gloucester, threw much new light on the Mosaic dispensation, in his celebrated work, "The Divine Legation of Moses" (1737–41). Bishop Joseph Butler, of Durham, turned the tide of infidelity in his "Analogy of Religion" (1736), a work still studied for its severe, logical, and impregnable reasoning. Joseph Hall, who was called the "English Seneca" by Sir Henry Wotton, is still read for his devout yet bright and racy "Contemplations upon the Principal Passages of the History of the New Testament" (1612–15). Bishop Robert Lowth, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, was, perhaps, the first Englishman to apply the principles of the Higher Criticism to the Bible. His "Prælections on Hebrew Poetry," published first in Latin in 1753, and afterwards in English in 1787, as an illustration of a true and fruitful method, has had a vast influence on the cause of Biblical study. His idea of an inspired Bible as yet a national literature, to be understood and interpreted by literary canons, came to men with the glory and freshness of a discovery. William Law, whose sturdy Jacobitism made him refuse the oath of allegiance to the House of Guelph, wrote a devotional classic, "Serious Call to a Holy Life" (1729), of which Samuel Johnson says: "When at Oxford I took up Law's 'Serious Call,'

South

Other Divines

expecting to find it a dull book (as such books generally are), and perhaps laugh at it. But I found Law quite an overmatch for me; and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion after I became capable of rational inquiry."* This book also deeply influenced Wesley, Venn, and other leaders in the Evangelical Revival of the middle of the eighteenth century. Joseph Milner (died 1797) published a history of the Church in 1794, continued after his death by his brother Isaac, which was once widely in vogue. Thomas Scott (died 1821) wrote a "Commentary on the Bible" (1792 and foll.) which has had a larger circulation than any other work of the kind. If we come down to more recent times it is indeed an invidious task to select names. Dean Alford gave us the best "Commentary on the New Testament" ever written in English by one man. Dean Howson and the Rev. W. J. Conybeare illuminated the life of St. Paul with the side-lights of contemporary annals and monuments. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, first a member of the Plymouth Brethren, afterwards of the Church of England, and like Kitto—also worthy of eternal honor for his advancement of Biblical learning—a layman, enriched the whole world by his labors on the original text of the New Testament. Dean Milman wrote a "History of the Latin Church," a splendid record, learned, eloquent, and, for the most part, impartial. Milman might be called the Gibbon of ancient and mediæval Christianity. Bishop Lightfoot, of Durham (died December 21st, 1889), by his studies of the Apostolic Fathers and of some of the Pauline Epistles, threw much new light on the early documents of our faith, and placed on impregnable foundations the belief in the supernatural origin of Christianity. His death was an irreparable loss to historical scholarship. On historical lines wrought Dean Stanley—saint, scholar, poet—one of the most liberal-minded of men, whose books combine in a rare degree a lucid and captivating style with learning, insight, and sympathy. Canon Liddon (died September 9th, 1890) was the greatest preacher of the present age. His "Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of our Lord" (1867) has gone through twelve editions, and is already a classic in the religious literature of England.

It cannot be denied that the English Church has put the

* Boswell, "Life of Johnson," chap. i.

world under a vast debt for her many and illustrious scholars and divines, who in their several ways have labored for the progress of truth and the kingdom of the Redeemer.

CHAPTER XXIX

PURITAN AND PRESBYTERIAN SCHOLARS AND DIVINES

[AUTHORITIES. — *Baxter:* His Autobiography, with additions, comments, etc., by Edmund Calamy (2d ed., London, 1713); Life, in Leonard Bacon's edition of Select Practical Works (New Haven, 1844); Dean Boyle, Life of Baxter (London and N. Y., 1884).—*Owen:* Life, by Wm. Orme, in Thos. Russell's edition of his Works (London, 1826).—*Howe:* Life by Calamy, in his ed. of his Works (new ed., N. Y., 1869, 2 vols.); Rogers, Life of Howe (London, 1836).—*Thomas Goodwin:* Life by Robert Hall, in Works (Edinb., 1861–66, 12 vols.).—*John Goodwin:* Life by Thomas Jackson (London, 1839).—*Bunyan:* The best authority is his own inimitable Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners. Of his Lives, the best are by Southey (1839); Philip (1839), an elaborate piece of work; Froude (London and N. Y., 1880), a most interesting biography, but superficial and misleading in its comments on religious matters; and John Brown, of Bedford, England (London and Boston, 1885), a most conscientious piece of work, embodying the latest researches, and which will long remain the standard life of Bunyan. Macaulay's brilliant essay, which still keeps its place in the Encyclopædia Britannica, should by all means be read. He did more than any other man to vindicate for Bunyan his place among the great masters of English prose.]

UNDER the name Puritan can be included all who were stanchly Protestant in their convictions, who emphasized the Bible as the only rule of faith, and who were strenuous for holiness of life and simplicity of public worship, whether they were within or without the Established Church.

Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603) is the greatest name in the early history of English Puritanism. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and in 1569 was chosen Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and began to lecture on the Acts of the Apostles. His lectures became exceedingly popular, and aroused the attention of the High-Church party. They precipitated a conflict which he had to wage all his life. He was deprived of his professorship in 1570. He was compelled to spend part of his life in exile on

Cartwright

the Continent, as the only safe retreat from his enemies. He published many works in defence of his views, of the greatest learning and ability. He is said to have been the first preacher in England who practised extemporaneous prayer before the sermon.

Baxter

Richard Baxter (1615–1691) was reared in poverty, and, though he never saw a school, became one of the most learned men of his time. He entered the ministry of the Church of England, and was called to Kidderminster (1640), where he exemplified a ministry of apostolic godliness and zeal. "He found the place a desert, and left it a garden." No one came nearer than himself to the ideal of the Reformed Pastor which he makes the subject of one of his books. After the passing of the Act of Uniformity (1662), he had to leave Kidderminster, and the rest of his life was passed in the midst of manifold sorrows. In 1685 he was brought up before the cruel Judge Jeffreys on the false charge of sedition, and he was sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred marks and to be imprisoned for eighteen months. Through the exertions of Lord Powis, a Roman Catholic nobleman, the fine was remitted, and he was released from prison November 24th, 1686.

Baxter was far in advance of his age. He labored for Christian union when that word was not understood. "He was an advocate of Christian union at a time of fiercest partisanships, of Christian liberality at a time of stiffest creeds, of Christian philanthropy at a time of the narrowest sympathies." On July 28th, 1875, a statue representing him in the attitude of preaching was erected at Kidderminster, and it was inscribed with the words: "Between the years of 1641 and 1660 this town was the scene of the labors of Richard Baxter, renowned equally for his Christian learning and for his pastoral fidelity. In a stormy and divided age, he advocated unity and comprehension, pointing the way to everlasting rest. Churchmen and non-conformists united to raise this memorial, A.D. 1875." He was a most prolific writer. Orme enumerates one hundred and sixty-eight treatises. His "Saint's Everlasting Rest" (1650) and his "Call to the Unconverted" (1657) have had an immense circulation, and have been translated into many tongues. Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, translated the "Call" next after the Bible.

Thomas Goodwin (1600–1679) has been called the "Patri-

arch and Atlas of Independency." He resigned his church in Cambridge, as he could not stand the high hand of Laud, and went to Holland. After the archbishop's downfall he returned to London, and from 1650 to the Restoration he was president of Magdalen College, Oxford. He is supposed to be the Puritan president described by Addison in the *Spectator*, No. 494. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly, and was a rigid Calvinist. He was a preacher of great power and originality.

Thomas Goodwin

John Owen (1616–1683), the prince of the Puritans, was educated at Oxford, which he left (1637), as Goodwin left Cambridge, on account of Laud's discipline. Going up to London, he one day attended worship at Aldermanbury church, hoping to hear Calamy. But a stranger occupied the pulpit, and his sermon, from these words, "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?" resulted in his conversion. After serving two churches he was made dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1651, and the next year vice-chancellor. He carried out vigorous reforms at the university, and raised it to a high position as a school of learning. In 1660 he was discharged from this office, and lived ever after in retirement.

Owen

Owen, a stanch Calvinist in theology and a born controversialist, was a man of liberal spirit, and in advance of his time on questions of religious freedom. He remonstrated with the Congregationalists of New England on their tyrannical spirit, and in many ways he labored for liberty of conscience. Yet he could not go so far as Baxter in the matter of Christian union. After the Restoration he was treated with much courtesy by Charles, and he seems to have been held in profound respect by the Church party. His learning, his many writings (eighty in all) of great power and ability, his piety and high-minded devotion to principle, caused him to be held in high esteem. Just before his death he wrote to Charles Fleetwood: "I am going to Him whom my soul has loved, or, rather, who has loved me with an everlasting love—which is the whole ground of my consolation. I am leaving the ship of the Church in a storm; but while the great Pilot is in it, the loss of a poor under-rower will be inconsiderable." He was engaged in religious debate all his life, but he had time to write some devotional works which are not excelled in the literature of that time. It was while one of the best and most refreshing of

these, "Meditations on the Glory of Christ," was passing through the press that Owen lay dying. Mr. Payne, a non-conformist minister, told him that this book was about to be published. "I am glad to hear it," said Owen, "but, O brother Payne! the long-wished-for day is come at last, in which I shall see that glory in another manner than I have ever done, or was capable of doing, in this world."

John Goodwin

John Goodwin (1593–1665), the "Wycliffe of Methodism," a Cambridge scholar, became vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, from which he was ejected, in 1645, for refusing to administer baptism and the Lord's supper promiscuously. He was an eloquent and courageous divine, an Independent in Church government, and a zealous Arminian in theology. His "Redemption Redeemed" (1651), written with great learning and with admirable spirit, caused a flutter among the divines of that time. The press groaned with sermons, pamphlets, and books written against it. Toplady thought it was fully answered by Kendal. "If it was," says Sellon, "I will eat it, as tough a morsel as it is." Dr. Owen came out against it. Goodwin had also advanced views on the nature of the Church and on religious toleration. In this he went further than his great opponent, Owen. The latter excepted Romanists, Socinians, and heretics, while Goodwin pleaded from the first for the fullest liberty of conscience as the inalienable right of human nature.

Howe

John Howe (1630–1705), one of the greatest of the later Puritan divines, had not the learning of Owen nor the versatility of Baxter, but he was a broad and cultured divine, the choice flower of Puritanism. In 1662, like many of the best ministers in England, he was driven from his parish at Great Torrington by the Act of Uniformity, and led a wandering life. Eventually (1676) he settled in London as pastor of a non-conformist congregation, which position he held till 1685, when the growing severity towards dissenters compelled him to leave for the Continent. In 1687, when James II. published a declaration of liberty of conscience, he returned, but never after held a charge. He was friendly with several men of eminence in the English Church, and was a man of catholic spirit and large tolerance. His greatest work, "The Living Temple" (1676), is a monument of splendid thought and diction.

We should not fail to mention here John Bunyan, the immortal dreamer of Bedford Jail. He was born in November, 1628, at Elstow, near Bedford, and was brought up to the trade of his father, a tinker. In his "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners," written with wonderful simplicity and charm, he tells the story of his youthful sins, of his hard repentance, and of his late-won peace and joy. There is no doubt that Southey and Macaulay are perfectly correct in laying the severe charges with which he criminates himself to a vivid imagination inflamed by a morbid conscience. "The four chief sins of which he was guilty," says Macaulay, "were dancing, ringing the bells of the parish church, playing at tipcat, and reading the history of Sir Bevis of Southampton. A rector of the school of Laud would have held such a young man up to the whole parish as a model."

Bunyan

In 1653 he was baptized in the Ouse, and soon began to preach as a deacon in Mr. Gifford's Baptist Church in Bedford. But the High-Church party was now in power. It revived the intolerant acts of 1549 and 1559; and soon the best ministers in the kingdom, and of all denominations, churchmen and dissenters, were either in prison or in exile from their homes. For twelve years (1660–1672) Bunyan languished in Bedford Jail, "compared with which the worst prison now to be found in the island is a palace." But it was here that he wrote the most of his books, and especially one which he considered the least important of all, and therefore only worked at it at odd moments snatched from his other labors and writings—the "Pilgrim's Progress" (1678).

This allegory of the Christian life is written in the purest and most vigorous English, with the keenest insight into the human soul, and with large sympathy with the frailties and weaknesses of human nature. It was a long time before it gained the position of a classic which it now occupies. Its circulation was confined almost exclusively to the lower classes, and it is only within recent times that the educated classes have yielded their homage to the subtle charm and power of Bunyan's immortal parable. "The 'Pilgrim's Progress,'" says Macaulay, "is perhaps the only book about which, after the lapse of a hundred years, the educated minority has come over to the opinion of the common people." Besides being a literary masterpiece, it contains the essence of the whole evangeli-

cal theology, and it depicts the experience of the Christian with the greatest accuracy and delicacy. The Second Part was published in 1684. It lacks the power and originality of the First Part, but is a beautiful work. "The Holy War" (1682) would probably have made Bunyan's fame if he had not written the "Pilgrim's Progress."

The last part of Bunyan's life was spent in active labors in preaching at Bedford and throughout the country, and in looking after the interests of the churches. He attained the highest authority among the Baptists, and was called Bishop Bunyan. He got his death through a heavy cold contracted while riding in a pouring rain to London to reconcile a father and a son. He died in London, August 31st, 1688.

Characteristics of the Puritan Leaders

Of the Puritan divines it may be said that they were learned, pious, and consecrated men, who strove for religious freedom in a tyrannical age, and who held their conscience and their convictions of truth above all price. In a licentious and demoralized age they held up lofty ideals of righteousness; and if they reacted to a too great severity and strictness, they were sterner in judging themselves than others. Never can the English nation repay the debt which it owes to the illustrious names mentioned in this chapter, and to many others equally worthy of remembrance.

CHAPTER XXX

CRITICAL PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH

[AUTHORITIES.—There is an abundant literature on the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. The student will find ample materials in the older historians: Calderwood (died 1650), published by Wodrow Society (Edinb., 1842–49, 8 vols.); Spotiswood (died 1639) (Edinb., 1847–51, 3 vols.); Row (died 1646), published by Wodrow Society and by Maitland Club (Edinb., 1842); Wodrow (died 1734) (Glasgow, 1829, 4 vols.). The more recent historians are more available: Cook (Edinb., 1815, 3 vols.); Russell (London, 1834, 2 vols.); Hetherington (Edinb. and N. Y., last ed., 1853); Stanley (London and N. Y., 1872); St. Giles Lectures, First Series (Edinb., 1881), which called out a reply from Bishop Charles Wordsworth (Edinb., 1881); Norman L. Walker (Edinb., 1882); Moffat (Phila., 1884). The works of Hetherington, Stanley, and Moffat, read in connection with the best secular histories, Tytler, Burton, Robertson, and Laing, will give a good general knowledge of Scottish Church history. Principal Rainy's Lectures against Stanley should be read, as well as Principal Lee's Lectures on the History of the Scottish Church (2 vols., 1860). Professor Moffat's work is a fine example of historical criticism, and Walker's Scottish Church History is excellent for a brief view.]

The War of the Covenants

IT was an old Scotch custom for those who believed in a cause to band themselves together by a sacred oath to support it to the death. Into such a covenant the barons entered, in 1557, to support the first preachers of Reform. In 1581, when there was a dread of the revival of popery, the first formal and written covenant was drawn up by John Craig, chaplain to James VI., which entered into a full description of the religious errors which were to be combated, and was signed by the king and by the people in all ranks. Prelacy was one of the things it denounced. In 1596 this covenant was renewed. In 1638, when Charles I. tried to force the English liturgy on the Scotch people, a bond was again drawn up, condemning all episcopal innovations, and was sworn to with the wildest enthusiasm in the Greyfriars churchyard, Edinburgh. It bound its subscribers "to adhere to and

defend the true religion, and forbear the practice of all innovations already introduced into the worship of God; and to labor by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the gospel as it was professed and established before the aforesaid innovations." Some signed with tears on their cheeks, and it is even said that some wrote their names with their blood. And when Charles, greatly exasperated, tried an appeal to arms, the Scotch troops went forth under the gallant Leslie, with these words stamped in gold on their colors, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." Charles, however, wisely retired before coming to blows.

Another document, drawn up by commissioners of the English Parliament and the Westminster Assembly, and by committees of the Scotch Estates and the General Assembly, was called "The Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honor and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland." This covenant was especially explicit in repudiating the episcopal form of government. It was approved by the General Assembly and by the Scotch people; by the Westminster Assembly in 1643; by the Scotch Parliament in 1644; and by Charles II. at Spey in 1650, and at Scone in 1651.

With his usual hypocrisy, Charles, at the Restoration (1660), denied his oath to the Scots, which led to another war, in which the Covenanters were crushed after suffering the most cruel oppressions and persecutions. It was only after the accession of William of Orange (1689) that adherence to the Covenants ceased to be a crime. Even after the full recognition and establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland, many of the more fanatical Covenanters refused any sanction to a government which upheld episcopacy in England, and did not conform all its acts to the gospel. This stricter party formed themselves into what is now called the Reformed Presbyterian Church. The jealousy of the Scotch for their Covenants is a remarkable evidence of the extreme rigor and conscientiousness of their religious opinions.

The Scotch Reformers were trained at Geneva, the fountain of Presbyterianism, and the Scotch Reformation was not a state policy, as in England, prompted by the selfish ambition of the rulers, but was a radical renewal of the Church on the basis of Holy Scripture. The Scotch people became strongly

attached to the Presbyterian form of government, and associated—with a good deal of justice—prelacy with absolutism in Church and State. But they had many hard struggles before all danger of the re-establishment of episcopacy was passed. When James VI. reached manhood and got the reins of the government in his own hands, he strove with great bitterness to overturn the constitution of the Scotch Church. In 1600 he secured the appointment of three bishops, who, however, were not recognized by the Church. Then he prorogued the meeting of the General Assembly, and when nine presbyteries met in defiance at Aberdeen, he banished eight ministers to remote charges and six to France. "Next followed the alienation of Church lands and revenues and their erection into temporal lordships, the re-establishment of seventeen prelacies, and the restoration of the bishops. The immense step was taken of recognizing the king as 'absolute prince, judge, and governor over all estates, persons, and causes, both spiritual and temporal.'" Thus James drew the chains tighter and tighter round the Church, packing the presbyteries and General Assembly, until, in 1618, under threats of violence, the General Assembly of Perth passed Five Acts, which enforced kneeling at communion, observance of holydays, episcopal confirmation, private baptism, and private communion. These acts were confirmed by Parliament on Black Saturday, August 4th, 1621.

The Attempt to force Episcopacy on Scotland

When Charles I. came to the throne, in 1625, he relentlessly pursued the policy of his father. He pressed the claims of the crown even further than James; forced through the convention an "Act anent His Majesty's Prerogative and Apparel of Churchmen" (1633), which greatly enraged the people; erected diocesan courts; circulated the "Book of Canons" (1636), which gave to the Church a complete episcopal organization, besides containing many insulting references to Presbyterianism, and, under the influence of Laud, ordered the adoption of the English Prayer-book.* This was the last straw. The anger of the people knew no bounds. Sunday, July 23d, 1637, was the date announced for

Scotland and Charles I.

* The Prayer-book which Charles attempted to force on Scotland was the English liturgy modified by Laud, mainly in the direction of the Roman ritual.

the new liturgy at St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh. No sooner did the dean arise to officiate than Jenny Geddes or Anne Mein threw a stool at his head, which was the beginning of an uproar, in which Lindsay, the bishop, was with difficulty saved from the violence of the mob. A similar riot took place in Greyfriars Church when the Bishop of Argyll attempted to use the book.

Protest after protest was sent to the king, the nobles joining the ministers in asking for redress. Then (1638) was drawn up the Solemn League and Covenant mentioned above, in which the subscribers pledged themselves to recover the purity of the gospel as it was professed before the episcopal innovations. An assembly met in Glasgow, November 21st, 1638, which, though dissolved by the king's commissioner, continued in session until it annulled the acts of the assemblies between 1606 and 1628; condemned the Service Book, Book of Canons, High Commission Court; deposed the bishops; declared episcopacy to have been abjured in 1580; condemned the Five Articles of Perth, and fully restored Presbyterian government. The king was obstinate, but finally, in 1641, yielded to the wishes of his Scotch subjects.

The End of the Struggle

But the war between prelacy and Presbyterianism was renewed under Charles II., who had not learned wisdom by the failure of his father. This was the second eclipse of the Scottish Church. From 1661, when episcopacy was restored by proclamation, to 1689, when William III. (of Orange) brought religious liberty to the British nation, the Presbyterian Church ceased to exist as the national Church of the Scots. Her ministers were ousted from their parishes, persecuted, and exiled—put to death even with accompaniments of cruel torture, and their spirits cowed and broken by interminable assaults and indignities. In 1690, under William (the very soul of tolerance and wise statesmanship), and his adviser, Carstares, the first General Assembly was held since 1653; the rejected ministers were replaced, prelacy declared an insupportable grievance, the Act of Supremacy rescinded, and the Presbyterian government of 1593 restored. The episcopal ministers who intruded into the parish churches were allowed to remain by acknowledging the Confession of Faith, and the Covenants were not made a part of the settlement. These concessions were far from pleasing the extreme

party—the heroic Covenanters, as they came to be called—who held out as a separate body till their union with the Free Church in 1876.

Presbyterianism seems engrained into the very heart of the Scotch people, and they have gone through sufferings untold rather than be deprived of their favorite polity. It has made them self-reliant, firm, independent; it has stimulated every energy of their minds, and wherever they have gone they have carried with them that rare union of intelligence and piety which is the characteristic of the race.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ERSKINE SCHISM AND THE HALDANE REVIVAL

[AUTHORITIES.—For Ebenezer Erskine consult Donald Fraser, Life and Diary of (Edinb., 1831); Andrew Thomson, Sketch of the Secession Church (Edinb., 1848); and for a briefer view, the lecture in the St. Giles Lectures, Third Series: Scottish Divines, 1505–1872 (Edinb., 1883). The Lives of the Haldane Brothers have been written by Alexander Haldane (Edinb. and N. Y., 1854); see also The Haldanes and their Friends (Phila., 1858).]

PATRONAGE has been the bane of the Scotch Church. It consists in the appointment of ministers to parishes by patrons, or those who are supposed to have rights of ownership in ecclesiastical affairs. At the time of the Reformation the lords and gentlemen of Scotland, in their insatiable avarice, kept the revenues of the parishes in their own hands. From this arose interminable conflicts between the Church and the patrons. In 1649 patronage was abolished, but restored in 1660. In 1690 the Church again triumphed; but in 1712, by the act of Queen Anne, the right of the lay lords to nominate ministers was reasserted. No matter how unworthy the appointee was, nor how unwilling the people were to receive him, there was no redress.

The Ebenezer Erskine Schism

In 1733 Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Stirling, preached a sermon as moderator of the Synod of Perth and Stirling, wherein he protested against the action of the Church in reference to patronage, and declared that the "Church was the

freest society in the world." For this the Synod suspended him, and on his appeal to the General Assembly of that year he and three other pious and worthy ministers who had placed themselves at his side were summarily cast out. Besides this grievance, Erskine held that, as revealed in the trial of Professor Simson, of Glasgow, the Church was not sufficiently strict in doctrinal points. The expulsion of these eminent ministers led to the formation of the Secession Church, first called the Associate Presbytery. Their numbers rapidly multiplied until 1747, when an unhappy division occurred in their ranks over the nature of the oath administered to burgesses, requiring them to maintain the religion of the land. In 1820, the divided churches came together again under the name of the United Secession Church, and in 1847 a union was effected with the Relief Synod,* and the consolidated bodies took the name of the United Presbyterian Church, which is one of the largest and most aggressive bodies in Scotland.

The Revival under the Haldanes

Religion had reached a low ebb in Scotland in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The curse of patronage, the aridity and severity of the extreme orthodox section of the Church, the factional fights and intense sectional bitterness, and the indifference of Moderatism (as the policy of the mild and conservative men who controlled the Church of Scotland was called) had led to wide-spread religious declension and relaxation of moral tests. Some of the brightest geniuses of Scotland were repelled from the Church. The reverent spirit of Robert Burns, who was never an unbeliever, received a shock by the hypocrisy which he saw around him, and he has revealed the condition of the Church in some of the most terrible and biting satires in literature. It was at this time that the brothers Haldane arose to infuse a new evangelical spirit in Scotland.

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* Founded in 1752 by Thomas Gillespie, minister of the Church of Scotland at Carnock, who was deposed for refusing to take part in the installation of a pastor whom it was determined to thrust into the parish of Inverkeithing against the will of the people. The extreme conscientiousness, independence, and tenacity of conviction of the Scotch mind have given birth to many sects and schisms which the more tolerant and liberal sentiment of the present time finds it hard to appreciate.

Robert Haldane

The elder, Robert (1764–1842), after a distinguished career in the navy, became a convert to religion, and, shut out of India by the East India Company, formed the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home," which was supported almost entirely by his own consecrated wealth. He sent out preachers and missionaries who greatly quickened the religious life of the Churches. The General Assembly (1800) forbade field-preaching and discouraged the revival. Then he built tabernacles, as they were called, throughout all the large towns of Scotland, and to supply them with ministers he had hundreds of young men in training at Gosport, Glasgow, and Dundee. The zeal of this great philanthropist was not confined to Scotland. He went to France and Switzerland, and labored so earnestly to spread evangelical principles that the fruits appear to this day. The rich labors of Malan, Monod, and Merle d'Aubigné were largely the result of the influence of this learned and enthusiastic layman. At Geneva and Montauban he gathered theological students around him, and inspired them with his faith and zeal.

James Alexander Haldane

His brother, James Alexander (1768–1851), also followed the sea. While in command of the *Melville Castle* (1793) he was led to a careful and profound study of the Bible, which determined a new bent to his life. In 1796 he made a tour throughout Scotland with Simeon, of Cambridge, and the next year he set himself to those itinerant evangelistic labors which, if they do not entitle him to be called the Wesley of Scotland, yet were instrumental in the regeneration of his native land. James Haldane preached and established societies and Sunday-schools, and Robert built the churches. And when the Church of Scotland forbade lay-preaching, field-preaching, and all revival efforts, James received ordination as an independent minister, and continued his labors. He at length settled as the pastor of the large congregation at Leith Walk, Edinburgh, and he there served without salary, but with the utmost zeal and fidelity, for fifty years. He did not discontinue his itinerant preaching, however, till late in life. He announced his conversion to Baptist views in 1808.

The revival under the Haldanes had a most beneficial effect on Scottish Christianity, and although it was far less exten-

sive in results than the similar Methodist movement in England fifty years before, it nevertheless gave an impetus to religious and missionary zeal which has lasted to this day. The Haldanes were godly and devoted men, and their names stand high on the roll of Scotch saints.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE GREAT DISRUPTION

[Authorities.—The history of this memorable time is best read in the lives of the chief actors. Hanna, Life of Dr. Chalmers (Edinb., 1849–52), is the best source. Mackenzie and Rainy, Life of Wm. Cunningham (Edinb., 1871); Wilson, Life of R. S. Candlish (1880); Walker, Life of Robert Buchanan (1877), and especially Buchanan, Ten Years' Conflict (Edinb., 1849), should be read. This last tells the Free-Churchman's story of this crisis, and Bryce, Ten Years of the Church of Scotland, 1833–43 (Edinb., 1859), gives the establishment's version of the same facts. The latest authority [Church of Scotland side] is Niven, The Church of Scotland, from the Revolution to Present Time (Edinb., 1891), being the third vol. of Story's series on the Church of Scotland.]

Causes

The immediate cause of the Great Disruption in the Church of Scotland, in 1843, was the unsuccessful attempt to get rid of the rule of the lay patrons—the right of lay nomination to vacant churches. The Scotch Reformers held lofty views of the independence of the Church in all spiritual matters. These views were acknowledged by Parliament in 1592, and confirmed by the same authority in 1649, after the lay fight with episcopacy. The Revolution Settlement of 1690 reasserted, with slight modifications, the principle of an independent spiritual jurisdiction. In 1711, shortly after the abolition of the Scottish Parliament, an act in the British Parliament, against the most earnest protests of the Scotch people, restored patronage to its ancient footing. At length, under the reign of Moderatism, the Church itself became indifferent to the rights of its congregations, and suffered in consequence the secessions of Erskine and Gillespie. About the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, under the influence of the Haldane revival, determined efforts were begun to shake off the incubus of patronage on the free life of the Church. These

efforts culminated in the Veto Act of 1834, by which the General Assembly decided that a non-acceptable pastor, intruded by a patron on a church, should not be installed, providing a majority of the heads of families of the parish dissent.

In 1838 Lord Kinnoul, patron of Auchterarder, presented Rev. Robert Young as the minister of that parish. The people almost unanimously refused his endorsement. The patron carried the case to the civil courts, which decided in his favor, and instructed the Presbytery to proceed to the ordination of Mr. Young. The same year the General Assembly retaliated by declaring that "in all matters touching the doctrine, discipline, and government of the Church, her judicatories possess an exclusive jurisdiction, founded on the Word of God, which power ecclesiastical flows immediately from God and the Mediator, the Lord Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head on earth, but only Christ, the only spiritual King and Governor of his Kirk." The decision of the Court of Session in the Auchterarder case was confirmed by the House of Lords in 1839. Finally, after various petitions and protests, a final appeal was made to the English Government to redress the grievances of the Scotch Church, which was rejected in March, 1843, by a majority of one hundred and thirty-five. Every hope, therefore, of recovering the ancient status of the Church as a self-governing body in matters of her own concern having passed, one step only remained.

Consummation

On the 18th of May, 1843, at the meeting of the General Assembly in Edinburgh, and before it was organized, Dr. Welsh, the moderator, arose and read a protest signed by two hundred commissioners, that, inasmuch as it was impossible any longer to hold a free assembly of the Church of Scotland, it should be "lawful for us, and such other commissioners as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and standards of the Church of Scotland as heretofore understood—for separating in an orderly way from the establishment, and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence upon God's grace and the aid of his Holy Spirit, for the advancement of his glory, the extension of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of

Christ's house according to his holy word." It was a sublime moment. Would these men leave the old Church, which they loved as their own life, its livings, manses, pulpits, professorships? When Dr. Welsh had read this statement he bowed to the royal commissioner and walked towards the door. Dr. Chalmers and the entire non-intrusion party followed. The immense crowd outside gave way, and with cheers sent them on their way. Then was organized the Free Church of Scotland. More than a third of the clergy and laity of the Established Church adhered to the new movement. On the 23d of May an Act of Separation was drawn up, in which the signers —whose numbers ultimately rose to four hundred and seventy-four—voluntarily resigned all the benefices they had held and declared them vacant.

There are few events in the history of the Church more heroic than this. When some one rushed in upon Lord Jeffrey with the news, "What do you think? More than four hundred of them have gone out!" he sprang to his feet and exclaimed, "I'm proud of my country. There is not another land on earth where such a deed could have been done!"

Some of the most godly and learned men of the old Church took part in this Great Disruption. Dr. Welsh, the moderator;

Agents

Dr. Thomas Chalmers, who carried through a scheme for the evangelization of the poor and lapsed classes of Glasgow when he was pastor of the Tron Church (1815–23)—a scheme which was the forerunner of many similar home missionary operations—and who left his professorship of theology at Edinburgh (1828–43) to cast in his lot with the seceders; Dr. Thomas Guthrie, the golden-mouthed preacher; Dr. Candlish, the great debater and leader; Dr. Cunningham, the eminent theologian; Robert Gordon, minister of the old Chapel of Ease, Edinburgh; Robert McCheyne, one of the most saintly men of modern times; Macfarlane, Buchanan, McCosh, and many other devoted and high-minded ministers, were willing to suffer the loss of all things rather than submit to the dictation of the State in the field of the Church.

The Great Disruption shook Scotland from centre to circumference, and its vibrations were felt all over the civilized

Results

world. Churches, schools, colleges, were speedily built all over Scotland; the English dissenters sent their sympathy and money, and, by the advice of Chalmers, a Sustenta-

tion Fund was raised, which soon guaranteed a support of one hundred and fifty pounds to each minister. The Free Church became the most aggressive and spiritual body in Scotland, and has since been an important factor in the religious history of the world. In 1863 negotiations were begun with the United Presbyterian Church, looking towards union. Thus far nothing has come of this. But in 1876 a union was formed with the Reformed Presbyterian Church. All the missionaries of the Church of Scotland in the foreign field in 1843—including Dr. Wilson, of Bombay; Dr. Duff, of Calcutta; and Dr. John Duncan, of Pesth—adhered to the Free Church, which has always claimed to be the legitimate successor of the Reformation Church.

CHAPTER XXXIII

LEARNING AND LITERARY CULTURE IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

[Authorities.—By consulting such works as Wetzer und Welte's Kirchen-Lexikon, 2d revised ed. by Hergenröther and Kaulen (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1880 sqq.), and The Catholic Dictionary (London and N. Y., 1889, 6th ed. revised and enlarged) by Arnold and Addis, both of whom have since become Unitarians, and by consulting the files and current issues of such periodicals as the *Dublin Review*, the *Tablet*, and the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, we can get a good idea of the learning and literary productiveness in the Catholic Church.]

Learning and Literary Culture

One effect of the Reformation was to stimulate scholarship in the Roman Church. The Reformers appealed to history and to the ancient records of Christianity, and the Catholic scholars were compelled to a thorough and extensive literary defence. Cardinal Baronius, the librarian of the Vatican, who died in Rome in 1607, at the age of sixty-nine, was the pioneer in the field of history. His "Annales Ecclesiastici," the fruit of thirty years' labor, is a storehouse of vast learning, and with the critical notes of Pagi and the continuation of Theiner, who has published the best edition (Bar-le-Duc, 1864–83, 37 vols.), is still of value. It was written to counteract the destructive in-

fluence of the "Magdeburg Centuries," the first attempt to apply historical criticism to the mass of conjecture and legend which passed for fact in the Mediæval Church. Tillemont (died 1698) and Dupin (died 1719), two French scholars of liberal views, wrote histories which are invaluable records of learned and industrious research. Later historians are Hurter, the Abbé Rohrbacher, Ritter, Alzog, and Hergenröther. Dr. Lingard (died 1851) wrote a "History of England," which worthily ranks with the great works of this century, though it cannot always be relied on. Rather than give up his studies and quiet life, Lingard refused the cardinal's hat.

Theology and Biblical Criticism

In theology and Biblical criticism, the Roman Church has not been inactive. Bellarmine (died 1621), a man of humble and pious spirit, re-stated the Roman Catholic theology in view of the Protestant objections. Petavius (died 1652), "the eagle of the Jesuits," published his great work on "Dogmatic Theology" in 1644–50, and made the first attempt by a Catholic to write a history of theology disenthralled from scholasticism and in sympathy with the modern spirit. Perrone, an Italian Jesuit, who died in Rome in 1876, published a system of theology which has been widely used, and fairly expresses the prevailing teaching of the Church. John Adam Möhler (died 1838) in his "Symbolism" (1832) made a singularly acute criticism of the Protestant theological position, and by a liberal and idealizing treatment of the theology of his own Church created a profound impression. This book "electrified men's souls and awakened a new movement of men's minds within and without Catholicism." It exerted a remarkable influence on the English Tractarians, and it is still an armory both for liberal Catholics and High-Church Episcopalians against Protestantism. Döllinger resigned his chair of ecclesiastical history to Möhler, and was on terms of the closest friendship with this brilliant young scholar, who was less than three years his senior, and who, had he lived, would doubtless have joined him in the Old-Catholic movement. Hefele and Werner are living divines of profound historical learning. What Count de Montalembert did for Western Monasticism, Professor Goerres (died 1848) did for Mediæval Mysticism—authors who have given us the bright side of these remarkable phenomena in a gorgeous and eloquent style.

In the field of Biblical exposition, the Roman Church is far behind the Protestant. Yet she has done some respectable work. Professor Hug (died 1846), of Freiburg, wrote an excellent "Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures," which was introduced to American readers by Professor Stuart, of Andover. The labors of Dr. Leander Van Ess in the Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the Greek text of the New Testament were very valuable. The great works of Jahn (died 1816) on "Biblical Archæology" and the "Hebrew Commonwealth" were also published at Andover; and the famous "Bible Dictionary" of the learned Benedictine Calmet also owes its use by English readers to Protestant scholars. The "Commentaries on the Gospels" by Maldonatus, a Jesuit whose expository lectures in Paris created an enthusiasm never known there since the days of Abelard, have been translated by a Church-of-England member of Exeter College, Oxford. The "Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul" by Bernardine a Piconio are also worthy of mention. The work of Movers, of the University of Breslau, on the Phœnicians, is a classic; and Wilke, a convert —like Hurter—from Protestantism, was one of the first to open the field of New-Testament lexicography. Herbst (died 1837), in Old-Testament introduction; Anton Scholz, of Würzburg, in Old-Testament exposition; Schanz, in the New Testament; the Abbé J. P. P. Martin, of Paris, in New-Testament textual criticism; Dr. Joseph Grimm, in his voluminous "Life of Christ;" the Jesuits Cornely, Knabenbauer, and De Hummelauer, in their "Commentaries;" and the late lamented François Lenormant, of Paris, in Old-Testament history—these have all done work of which any Church might well be proud, and for which the Catholic Church, on account of the meagreness of her contributions to Biblical scholarship, should be specially thankful. On disputed points, Catholic scholars, as a rule, take very conservative positions.

In the literary and scientific progress of modern times the Roman Catholic Church has taken, relatively, a very small part. She has not been without her poets and novelists and men of science; but in the departments of art, science, literature, and general learning she has had to yield to the more progressive churches of Protestantism.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE GROWTH OF MARY-WORSHIP

[AUTHORITIES.—The Church histories and theological encyclopædias may here be used; also the popular Catholic manuals of devotion. There is in English no single work giving the historical aspect of this singular cultus. The best we have is in the first and second volumes of Pusey's Eirenicon (London and N. Y., 1865, first part; London, 1869, second part). He treats the whole subject dispassionately and with great learning.]

THE establishment of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ reacted in bringing glory to Mary, his mother. When the Synod of Ephesus, in 431, condemned Nestorius for denying that Mary was the mother of God (Θεοτόκος), they were only falling in line with the increasing reverence of the people. When the Fathers left the Council they were accompanied through the city with torch-lights and incense-burning. From that moment, says Steitz, the worship of Mary may be considered as established, and it increased with every century. Justinian prays to her for the restoration of the Roman Empire, and Narses expected that she would tell him the right moment for making an attack.* In the Middle Ages this worship became notorious for its fulsomeness. Candles and incense were burned in front of her images, and angel-painted pictures of her were shown. Peter Damiani (eleventh century) in his sermons describes her, not as a humble maid, but as a queen endowed with celestial beauty. Poet and artist joined in the enthusiasm of preacher and monk. Her relics and miracles were numberless. The Jesuits helped forward the movement mightily. New female orders sprang up in honor of Mary, and it looked much as if the worship of Mary should supersede entirely the worship of Christ.

But there were not lacking those who called a halt. When the canons of Lyons introduced the festival of the conception

* Evagrius, "Historia Ecclesiastica," iv. 24.

of the Immaculate Mary, December 8th, 1139, Bernard of Clairvaux, the greatest saint of his time, inveighed strongly against the innovation. On the same ground, he said, they might appoint festivals for the conception of the mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother of Mary, and so on back to the beginning. Many of the schoolmen were also opposed to the growth of the Mary-cultus. This is true of Anselm, Aquinas, and Albertus Magnus. Later, Adrian Baillet (1693) said that it was simply flattery to worship the Virgin, and he called for large modifications in the prevailing customs. Muratori (1723) admits that the worship of the Virgin may be useful, but he denies its necessity. "In 1784 the emperor Joseph II. ordered all the hearts, hands, and feet of gold and silver which had been presented on the altars of Mary as votive offerings removed from the churches. But by a singular coincidence, which shows how close by each other light and darkness may lie, Alfonzo da Liguori published at Venice his 'Le Glorie di Maria,' which probably goes further than any other book on the subject in fantastical assertions and visionary fictions."

Protests

In the fourteenth century, chiefly through the influence of the "Subtle Doctor," Duns Scotus, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception—that is, that Mary was born without the taint of original sin—was embraced by the Franciscans. The Dominicans, however, with great heat and animosity, opposed them, and the orders often passed the charge of heresy back and forth. The Jesuits, whose disinterested labors and absolute devotion to the Holy See gave them a preponderating influence, lent their persistent and powerful support to the new doctrine, so that in recent times it came to be held universally throughout the Church. On February 2d, 1849, Pope Pius IX. invited the opinion of the Catholic bishops on the subject. He received six hundred answers affirming belief in the doctrine; fifty-two agreed as to the doctrine, but did not think it wise to define it; and only four dissented. This showed that the Church was thoroughly impregnated with a cultus which would have been indignantly repudiated by Augustine and the ancient Fathers. On December 8th, 1854, in the Church of St. Peter, in Rome, in the presence of two hundred cardinals, bishops, and other prelates, Pius IX. proclaimed the doctrine to be of faith in these words:

Immaculate Conception

"That the most blessed Virgin Mary, in the first moment of her conception, by the special grace and privilege of Almighty God, in virtue of the merits of Christ, was preserved immaculate from all stain of original sin."

There is no doubt that Mariolatry more than anything else has checked the progress of the Roman Church in modern times. It was this which played such an important part in keeping Pusey and many other High-Churchmen out of that Church. Newman never felt any enthusiasm for this remarkable tendency in modern Romanism, and he tried in every way to minimize its importance.

It should be remembered, of course, that, according to Roman Catholic theology, the worship paid to Mary is not divine worship, and that all her powers of intercession are due solely to her unique relation to Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE END OF THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE PAPACY

[AUTHORITIES.—See the recent secular and Church histories. Crispi gives a full account of the settlement with the papacy in two articles in the *North American Review*, Nov. and Dec., 1891. Geffcken, a Protestant, the author of the best History of the Relations of Church and State (Lond., 1877, 2 vols.), has a fair discussion of the present position of the pope in Italy in the *Forum*, Jan., 1892.]

Growth of the Temporal Lordship of the Pope

THE old fable of the gift by Constantine of temporal dominions to the pope was repeated as a veracious story for centuries. In the fifteenth century Laurentius Valla riddled it through and through, and Roman Catholic scholars have long since given it up. The real foundation of the pope's worldly power was laid by Pepin the Short (reigned 752–768), who conquered the Lombard king Aistulph, and ceded the whole exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis (the cities of Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, and Ancona, with the lands adjacent) to the pope, Stephen III. (755). This donation Charlemagne solemnly confirmed in 774; and in spite of various vicissitudes and lapses,

the temporal sovereignty continued in the hands of the popes till within the present century. The Reformation shook the hold of the pope on the world, and he vainly raged when the Peace of Westphalia (1648) officially recognized a Christendom outside of the Roman Catholic Church. The principal eclipse was suffered in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when many of the pope's favorite cities were taken from him, and a republic declared (February 15th, 1798) in the Roman Forum. Thanks, however, to the Congress of Vienna (June, 1815), the Papal States were restored and those old divisions, which were the curse of Italy, perpetuated. Italy became, as Prince Metternich said, only a geographical expression.

A United Italy

Even before Louis Philippe was cast out of France, Italy was moved by that revolutionary spirit which, like resistless leaven, was working throughout Europe. A United Italy had been the fond dream of Italy's best patriots. The yoke of the old despotisms galled. Even Pius IX. at first shared the new liberal feeling, and on ascending the papal throne, in 1846, promised many reforms. The democratic ferment at length carried everything before it in Rome. The pope fled, disguised as a common priest, to Gaeta, near Naples, in 1848, and a republic was declared. And although he was restored to his temporal throne by the bayonets of Napoleon in 1850, this was prophetic of the end. The papal government became intolerable, and Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Romagna, of the Papal States, sent representatives to Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia and Lombardy, imploring him to annex them to his kingdom. In a happy moment Cavour, the noble statesman of Italy's new era, suggested to Napoleon that these communities be allowed to appeal to the polls as to their political relations. The French emperor assented, and, in return for Nice and Savoy, allowed his protégé, Pius IX., in spite of his tears and frantic protests, to see his fairest dominions become a part of the growing territory of the house of Sardinia.

Events ripened rapidly. In 1860, the States of the Church were in the hands of Victor Emmanuel, the Roman Campagna alone remaining. France still furnished support to what fragment of power was left to the pope. But in the great death-struggle with Germany in 1870 she withdrew her troops. On the fall of Napoleon, Victor Emmanuel marched into Rome,

and asked the Romans to decide by popular vote whether their city should again take its historic place as the capital of Italy. By an overwhelming majority the citizens overthrew the old papal government, and on July 1st, 1871, the seat of government was removed to the ancient capital.*

Sic transit gloria mundi. So passed away forever the temporal authority of the Roman Church. The Vatican palace, with its eleven thousand rooms, was given to the pope, and his ample revenues and his spiritual headship guaranteed. In spite of the wailings of Pius over his loss, continued with little abatement by Leo, and repeated everywhere by Catholic bishops and congresses, there can be no doubt that this revolution is really a blessing to the Catholic Church. Disencumbered of the affairs of state and entangling and annoying political alliances and schemes, it can now devote itself with increased vigor to the vast religious, educational, and missionary enterprises which it has on foot.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE CONTEST WITH GERMANY

[Authorities.—Besides the histories, see the article "Kulturkampf" in Jackson, Dictionary of Religious Knowledge (N. Y., 1891); "Falk Laws," in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia (new ed., 1891); "Shall the Keys or Sceptre Rule in Germany," by Charles A. Salmond, M.A., of Edinburgh, in *Princeton Review*, March, 1878; and the addresses of the German delegates in the Evangelical Alliance since 1873.]

The Roman Catholic Church in Germany is officially connected with the State. In return for this State endowment, a certain supervision has always been exercised over the clergy. Some Catholic teachers in Germany who refused, in 1871, to sanction the new dogma of infallibility were removed from office. Bismarck strongly

Bismarck and the Pope

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* The story of the events which led to the unification of Italy is one of the most fascinating pages of modern history. But it belongs rather to the secular field, and is here passed over. It is full of romance and pathos, of suffering and daring.

resented this. He began a conflict with the clerical party which involved him in many difficulties. The first step was the abolition of the Catholic branch of the government bureau of Worship and Instruction. This was followed by the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the climax was reached by the severe Falk Laws, so called because proposed by Dr. Falk, Prussian Minister of Public Worship and Instruction. They were passed between 1872 and 1875, and provided that all the Roman clergy should be educated in State universities; that all school-inspectors should be laymen; that no members of religious orders should teach in the schools; that all ecclesiastical appointments should be sanctioned by the civil authorities; that a royal court should be the final arbiter in ecclesiastical questions; that civil marriage is obligatory; and that all bishops and clergymen should make a declaration of obedience to the laws of the State before entering upon office.

These laws were bitterly resented by the Catholics of Germany as arbitrary infringements upon their liberties. Devout bishops and scholars soon found themselves in prison. Sees became vacant. It was inevitable that such repressive measures would create opposition. Under the leadership of Windthorst, a statesman of remarkable acuteness and persistency, a party was consolidated in the Reichstag which annoyed and crippled the power of Bismarck. In 1879 Falk was compelled to resign, and on January 1st, 1882, a bill was passed which opened the way for the filling of vacancies. Bismarck saw the need of conciliating the Catholic party in order to carry through his army bills, so that, with the more conciliatory spirit shown by Pope Leo, mutual concessions were made, and as a result all the more offensive of the Falk Laws were repealed.

The Liberal Leo

Leo XIII. has always shown a desire to bring the Catholic Church into more amicable relations with states and into harmony with great popular and philanthropic movements. He has supported Cardinal Lavigerie in his great crusade against African slavery, and in 1891 issued an encyclical on the labor question, breathing a liberal and enlightened spirit. He says the Church must take an interest in the wrongs of the poor, and steadily work for the amelioration of unjust dealings, while firmly holding to the right of private property against Communists and radical Socialists. In his

encyclical of 1885 he boldly proclaimed liberty of conscience and the right of governments to tolerate different forms of religion. This utterance would have scandalized Pius IX. In spite of the harsh manner in which the French government has treated ecclesiastics, Leo has given notice to the clergy that they must support the republican government of France, and assume a more cordial and friendly attitude to national affairs. All this shows the determination of the Catholic Church to make terms with the modern spirit, and, by observing the signs of the times, to seek for leadership in the New Age.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE SURVIVAL OF SUPERSTITION

[Authorities.—The best account of the Lourdes affair is found in Vincent, In the Shadow of the Pyrenees (N. Y., 1883). Compare "The Canadian Lourdes," by J. E. Learned, in *The Christian Union*, Jan. 2d, 1892. On the Holy Coat, see *Magazine of Christian Literature* (N. Y.), Oct., 1891.]

The House of Loretto

In spite of the growth of intelligence in the Roman Catholic Church and the silent influence of Protestantism, there are yet many indications of superstitions and semi-pagan observances. Offerings are still made to Mary in the Holy House of Loretto, near Ancona, in Italy—the room in the cottage of Mary, at Nazareth, in which she was born and in which Jesus was brought up, transformed into a church by the apostles, and, during the Turkish occupation of Palestine, carried through the air by the angels and deposited at Tersato, in northern Dalmatia (1291), whence it was taken, three years later, across the Adriatic, and placed where it now stands. Pope Sixtus IV. confirmed the truth of the legend by a bull, 1471, and so late as 1721–24 Innocent XIII. instituted a special mass in honor of the Holy Virgin of Loretto.

On February 14th, 1858, the Virgin Mary is said to have appeared to a peasant girl in a cave at Lourdes, near Tarbes, in the Department of Hautes-Pyrénées, France. A large church was built above the grotto in 1876. Vast multitudes from all quarters of the world annually visit the holy spot, and miracu-

lous cures are alleged to take place. The apparition has been the making of the town. An immense trade in rosaries and other "objects of piety" has sprung up.

Twice a year, at Naples, the dry clotted blood of St. Januarius, a martyr of the third century, is alleged to liquefy and bubble up. If it does this in a vigorous manner, it is a good sign for the city, and no eruptions of Vesuvius are feared. The miracle is watched with intensest interest, and if the blood fails to liquefy, the people are seized with consternation. An American Catholic bishop (Lynch, of Charleston) wrote an essay to prove the reality of this phenomenon.

he Liquefaction of the Blood of St. Januarius

The seamless coat of Christ (John xix. 23) is said to be preserved in the cathedral at Treves, and during the summer of 1891 three million people paid their homage to it. Its exhibition caused much disgust among the more enlightened Catholics of Germany, and several Catholic societies sent up protests. The coat is first mentioned in the eleventh or twelfth century, and was first exhibited at the consecration of Archbishop Bruno, October 23d, 1121. Twenty other seamless garments are also claimed to have been discovered, and the one at Argenteuil, near Paris, puts in especially strong claims of authenticity. The persistence of other fictions and fetich-worship in the Roman Catholic Church has helped not a little the growth of religious indifference and infidelity in Catholic countries.

The Seamless Coat

CHAPTER XXXVIII

ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN ENGLAND

[Authorities.—The recent history of the Roman Church in England is given as follows: "A Sketch of Anglo-Romanism," a series of articles in *The Churchman* (N. Y.) in the summer of 1890; Newman, Present Position of Catholics in England (London and N. Y., 6th ed., 1889 1st ed., 1851); *Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1888; R. Buddensieg, "The Roman Catholic Church in England," in *Magazine of Christian Literature*, Nov., 1891; art. "English Catholics" in The Catholic Dictionary (6th ed., 1889). The standard Roman Catholic Histories of England, Lingard (6th ed., London, 1854, 10 vols.) and Dodd (new ed. by Tierney, London, 1839–43), go no further than 1688. For later history see Charles Butler, Historical Memoirs (London, 1819); Milner, Supplementary Memoirs (1820); and Husenbeth, Life of Dr. Milner (Dublin, 1862).]

Roman Catholic Disabilities

For over two centuries the lot of the Roman Catholics in England was a hard one. As late as 1780 the law of England made it a capital crime for a native priest to perform the rites of his Church. Catholics could not acquire land by purchase, and persons educated abroad in the Catholic faith forfeited their estates to the next Protestant heir. No Roman Catholic could be a guardian or a lawyer, and it was a crime punishable with death for a priest to celebrate the marriage relation between a Protestant and a Catholic. These rigorous laws prevailed not only in England, but also in Ireland; and in Scotland they were, if possible, even more severe.

First Measures for Relief

It was not possible for liberal-minded statesmen to look upon these harsh burdens carried by loyal citizens, from whom harm could no longer be suspected, without seeking measures for relief. In 1780 Sir George Saville introduced a bill repealing some of the more notoriously unjust provisions of the laws against the Catholics, providing they would sign a carefully worded test. In spite of George III.'s inveterate prejudices, and the opposition of

the rank and file of the people, this bill became law. But it occasioned an outburst of religious fanaticism which for a time swept all before it. In Scotland, where like proposals of relief were brought forward, a "Committee for the Protestant Interests," very similar to the "Committee of One Hundred" now guarding American liberties in Boston, was formed, which so stirred up the populace of Edinburgh that they attacked and set fire to Roman Catholic churches and parsonages, as well as the houses of those who were suspected of favoring the Relief Bill. In England a veritable Protestant Reign of Terror ensued. So inflamed was the public mind at the mention of any concessions to the Catholics that monster petitions were soon signed, given to Lord George Gordon, a member of Parliament and a gloomy fanatic, who, followed by an immense mob, proceeded (June 2d, 1780) to the Houses of Parliament, to awe that assembly by such a manifestation of stalwart Protestantism. But the devil of bigotry once raised is not easily laid. Tasting the sweets of power, moved by the harangues of pulpit and press against the Catholics, the mob became uncontrollable, and proceeded to a feast of riot and pillage. Catholic churches and the houses of Catholics were gutted and burned; Newgate Prison and the mansion of the chief-justice, Lord Mansfield, were destroyed; the Bank of England and several other public buildings were attacked, and for days London was at the mercy of the ruffians. Charles Dickens, in his strongest novel, "Barnaby Rudge," has told the tale of this reign of carnage from a study of the contemporary records, and with exactest historical justice as well as with terrible dramatic interest.

But these measures were only tentative. Neither the bill of 1780 nor that of 1791 struck the civil fetters from the Catholics. They were still not only excluded from Parliament, but from numerous minor offices, franchises, and civil rights. To enjoy any privileges whatever they must forswear belief in transubstantiation and the invocation of saints. A growing liberality of feeling, however, prepared the way for complete emancipation. This was helped by the influence of the eloquent Daniel O'Connell. On March 5th, 1829, Sir Robert Peel introduced into the House of Commons the celebrated Relief Bill, which swept away the remaining Catholic restrictions. This was the year after the

Complete Emancipation

disabilities had been removed from the Protestant dissenters, who, however, still opposed granting the same rights to the Catholics. But Peel's bill became law, and gave to a long-suffering people their tardy dues. Several of the higher offices of the realm were excluded, however, from the range of the bill.*

With better chance for growth, the Roman Church anticipated a recovery of her former position. It had long been the fond dream of the pope to recover the lost island of Albion. In 1840 England was divided into eight vicariates. More vigor was put into Catholic evangelism. In 1850, by a special bull, Pope Pius IX. restored the hierarchy, and formally instituted the Church in England, after three hundred years of lapse, as an organized body. The country was divided into one metropolitan (with Dr. Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster) and twelve episcopal sees. But in spite of these hopeful steps, in spite of the splendid promise of the Oxford movement, with its hundreds of converts, the Roman Church in England is on the decline. Its apparent gains have been due to Irish immigration. A writer in the Catholic journal the *Month* (London), July, 1885, gives some discouraging figures. In 1841 the Roman Catholic population of England and Wales was 800,000; the total population, 18,845,424. In 1885 the population of the country had increased 62 per cent. A like rate of increase on the part of the Catholics, adding 1,000,000 immigrants from Ireland, should make 2,396,000 souls. In reality the Catholics only had, in 1885, 1,362,760, and in 1887, only 1,354,000. This means the Church has lost, in round numbers, one million souls in these years. The *Tablet*, May 21st, 1887, confesses that the "annual losses of Anglo-Romanism vastly exceed its gains." The *Month* declares that "not only are converts fewer, but our own people are in great numbers falling away." The remark of St. George Mivart, that the divine blessing has never rested upon the effort to bring England back to the Roman obedience, is abundantly justified. As a power in modern religious life,

Decay of the Catholic Church in England

* Sydney Smith, in his "Peter Plymley Letters," on the subject of the Catholics (1807), one of the raciest books ever written, with its wit, irony, and noble argument, mightily helped along this movement.

the Roman Church is falling back, not only in England, but in all countries—the Nemesis of the dearly purchased victory of Ultramontanism.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE VATICAN COUNCIL

[Authorities.—The condition of the Catholic Church at the eve of the Vatican Council is depicted by De Pressensé, Rome and Italy at the Opening of the Vatican Council (N. Y., 1870). The Council itself is described by Quirinus (pseudonym for Dr. Friedrich and others), Letters from Rome on the Council (London, 1870); Bacon, An Inside View of the Vatican Council (N. Y., 1872); Arthur, The Pope, the Kings, and the People (London, 1877, 2 vols.); and by Littledale in his excellent article in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th edition, "Vatican, Council of." The Old-Catholic scholar, Friedrich, has an invaluable collection of documents, Documenta ad Illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum (Nördlingen, 1873), and has written two other most important works on the Council. Schaff has written a History of the Council, with text of its decrees in Latin and English (also given by Arthur, as above), in his Creeds of Christendom (N. Y., 6th ed., 1890), which is also printed in Harper's American edition of Gladstone's Vatican Decrees (N. Y., 1875).]

Not for three hundred years had a General Council been held. The gathering of five hundred bishops at the eighteenth centenary of the anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul seemed to suggest to Pius IX. the possibility of a larger gathering to settle matters that were vexing the Church. That prelate was bent on advancing the prerogatives of the Holy See. In 1864 he sent out a Syllabus of Errors, a list of condemned teachings appended to his famous encyclical *Quanta Cura*, in which he held up to reprobation free thought, free speech, free education, and the dearest attainments of the modern spirit. There were many, especially of the party of the Jesuits, who favored a distinct avowal of papal infallibility. To test the pulse of the Church, the pope addressed a circular to the bishops assembled in Rome at the above festival, making certain inquiries. On the 29th of June, 1868, a bull was sent out calling for the convening of the Twenty-first Œcumenical Council in the city of Rome, December 8th, 1869.

On that day the largest assemblage of the kind ever known in history met in the basilica of St. Peter's, in a room especially prepared for the purpose. The pope appointed five cardinals as presidents, and Bishop Fessler as secretary. There were present in all seven hundred and sixty-four members, of whom fifty-seven were abbots and generals of monastic orders. The strictest secrecy was maintained as to the discussions, and the whole assembly was so manipulated by the pope that his will was law. Most of the bishops had been created by him. Three hundred members of the council were his personal guests. One hundred and twenty were archbishops or bishops *in partibus infidelium*—paper bishops—who had no sees, the historical traditions of which they were there to attest. The council continued in session ten months and twelve days. It is still nominally in session, as it was never definitely dissolved.

The Sessions

Aside from important decrees on the faith, in which the Catholic truth was defined as against rationalism, infidelity, and various forms of modern error, the chief result of the council was the promulgation of the new dogma of the infallibility of the pope. In spite of the protest of the most learned members of the council, this question was introduced.* The greatest scholars and theologians of the Church were opposed to the dogma. Of the members of the council, Hefele, Rauscher, Strossmayer, Kenrick, and Clifford were in the opposition. But the matter was forced, and when the first vote was taken, July 13th, 1870, with six hundred and seventy-one members present, 451 voted in the affirmative, 88 voted against it, 62 voted *placet juxta modum*, meaning that they would accept the decree if it were modified, and 70 did not vote at all. That made a virtual negative of 220, which, of course, voided the decision of the council. But, unfortunately, before the second vote was taken a panic seized the dissenting

Its Results

* In January, 1870, forty-five German and Austrian bishops, thirty-two French, three Portuguese, twenty-one Orientals, twenty-seven from nations of English speech, and seven Italians presented to the pope a petition begging him not to allow the question of infallibility to come before the council. This request of the prelates was seconded by the French Minister, Daru, the Austrian Von Beust, and supported by the Bavarian, Portuguese, Prussian, and English cabinets.

party on account of threats of violence, and, after lodging a protest against the proceedings, nearly all the bishops in the opposition left Rome. When the final vote was taken, there were 535 in the affirmative and only two in the negative. On that very day Napoleon III. declared war against Prussia, and in two months after the last meeting of the prelates in St. Peter's the temporal power of the pope was at an end.

Except the feeble movement to be noticed in the next chapter, nothing stood in the way of the universal reception by the Church of the new doctrine. The bishops and scholars swallowed their scruples, and published the celebrated bull *Pastor Æternus*. The meaning of the infallibility dogma has been, however, so explained by Roman Catholic theologians that much of its force has been taken away.*

CHAPTER XL

THE OLD CATHOLICS

[Authorities.—The Old-Catholic movement is described by Theodorus (pseudonym for J. Bass Mullinger), The New Reformation: a Narrative of the Old-Catholic Movement from 1870 to the Present Time (London, 1875). John Hunt, in Contemporary Essays in Theology (London, 1873), throws very much light on the beginnings of the Old-Catholic protest and the ideas which dominated it (essays iii., xiii.–xvii.). Charles C. Starbuck has some excellent remarks in the *Andover Review*, April, 1884, p. 451. Prof. Mayor treats the troubles into which the Old Catholics have been plunged, Facts and Documents (London, 1875). See the article by Mullinger in the Encyclopædia Britannica, and § 190 of the last edition of Kurtz, Church History.]

We have seen that the bishops who stood so firmly against the new papal-infallibility doctrine made their peace with the ruling party. One of these, Bishop Hefele, had written to a friend in Bonn, on June 25th, 1871: "I believed I was serving the Catholic Church, and I was serving the caricature which Romanism and Jesuitism had

Hefele's Confession

* See Bishop Fessler's "True and False Infallibility of the Popes" (London, 1875), where an authoritative and most liberal interpretation may be found.

made of it. Not till I was in Rome was it perfectly clear to me that what they pursue and practise there has only the false semblance and name of Christianity—only the shell; the kernel is gone; everything is utterly externalized."* After such words as these—and they voiced the feelings of many—the speedy submission of the protesting bishops is hard to be explained.

It was not so, however, with many of the brightest minds in Germany. Dr. Van Schulte, professor at Prague, the eminent authority in canon law, published a formal protest. A meeting of Catholic professors and scholars convened at Nuremberg (August, 1870) sent out a like appeal. On the 28th of March, 1871, Dr. Döllinger, the most eminent Catholic scholar in Germany, published a letter in which he gave his reasons for rejecting the new dogma as a "Christian, a theologian, an historical student, and a citizen." An address to the king to the same purpose received the signatures of twelve thousand Catholics.

Protests

The Old-Catholic Church was speedily formed. A free council was held at Munich in September, 1871, attended by five hundred delegates from all parts of the world, but its proceedings were largely provisional. A second congress at Cologne the next year, so graphically described by Dean Stanley (who was there) in his letters to the *Times*, fixed the organization more definitely. As the result of the third conference, held in Bonn, in 1874, it was decided to abolish compulsory confession and fasting, to employ the vernacular in public worship, to recognize the marriage of priests as lawful, and to administer the Communion in both kinds to members of the Church of England. Dr. Reinkens had previously been consecrated bishop by Bishop Heykamp, of Deventer; and Dr. Herzog, in 1876, was made bishop for Switzerland.

Organization of the Dissentients

The Old-Catholic movement has never taken hold of the heart of the German people. It appeals not to the Bible, but to history. It arose from the protests of scholars, and not from a spontaneous religious revival, fed by the deep springs of God's word. And while it has placed itself upon solid foundations, it has had but slight effect in weaken-

Growth

* Quoted by George P. Fisher, "History of the Christian Church" (N. Y. 1887), p. 538.

ing the Roman Church. There are in Germany and Austria 107 Old-Catholic congregations, with 38,507 adherents and 56 priests (1887). They make a deeper impression upon Switzerland, where there are 62 congregations and 75,000 adherents (1890). According to the latest official statistics, Germany alone has 13,190 Old Catholics.

Articles of Convention of Utrecht

The following articles were adopted by the Convention of Utrecht in 1889, and were signed by the Old-Catholic bishops Reinkens and Herzog, and by the Jansenist bishops of Harlem, Deventer, and Utrecht. They give the precise doctrinal position of the Old Catholics. The formula agreed upon was substantially as follows: 1. We adhere to the old Catholic principles which Vincentius of Lerin (died A.D. 450) has uttered in the words, *Id teneamus, quod ubique, semper, quod ab omnibus creditur, hoc est etenim proprieque Catholicum;* we adhere to the faith of the old Catholic Church as this finds expression in the earliest synods and the dogmatic decisions by the undivided Church of the first ten centuries. 2. We condemn as being in contradiction to the faith of the ancient Church and as destructive of the old Catholic Church the Vatican decrees of the 18th of July, 1870, concerning the infallibility of the pope and the universal episcopacy of the Roman Bishop. 3. We condemn, as not founded in the Scriptures and in the documents of the first centuries, the encyclical of Pius IX. of 1854 concerning the immaculate conception of Mary. 4. In reference to the other papal decrees, promulgated by the Roman Bishop—namely, the bull *Unigenitus*, the Syllabus of 1864, and others—these we condemn as contrary to the doctrines of the ancient Church. 5. We do not accept the decrees of the Council of Trent in the matters of discipline, and in the dogmatic decisions only in so far as these agree with the teachings of the old Church. 6. In consideration that the Holy Eucharist in the Holy Scriptures is regarded as the central matter of divine worship, we do not deem it wise to declare that we change the old doctrines of the sacrament of the altar, but rather that we believe that the sacrament should be administered in both forms. 7. We hope the endeavors of the theologians will be successful, while maintaining the faith of the undivided Church, to effect an understanding concerning the points of difference arising since the separation.

CHAPTER XLI

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE

[Authorities.—The Evangelical Alliance receives an excellent treatment by Schaff, in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia. The proceedings are published annually, and may be obtained at the head office, 7 Adam Street, Strand, London. Among the more valuable volumes are the Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, edited by Schaff and Prime (N. Y., 1874), and The Religious Condition of Christendom, described in a Series of Papers presented at the Basle Conference, 1879, edited by J. Murray Mitchell (London, 1880). The American Branch (office, 5 Bible House, New York) publishes valuable documents from time to time. Josiah Strong, D.D., is the General Secretary.]

In 1846 the first session of the Evangelical Alliance was held in London. It was of American origin, but soon found sympathy in England and on the Continent. It was an attempt to bring together all the evangelical Protestant churches upon such a platform as they agreed to without the sacrifice of their denominational individuality, with a view to oppose existing social evils, to counteract the influence of political Romanism, and to become a common brotherhood of Christians in all lands.

Founding of the Alliance

The doctrinal basis of the English Alliance is the divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures; the right and duty of private judgment in interpreting the Scriptures; the unity of the Godhead, and the trinity of persons therein; the natural depravity of man; the incarnation of the Son of God, his atonement for sinners, and his mediatorial intercession and reign; the work of the Holy Spirit in the regeneration and sanctification of the sinner; the immortality of the soul; the resurrection of the body; the world's general judgment by Christ; the reward of the righteous and the punishment of the impenitent; the divine institution of the Christian ministry; and the obligation and perpetuity of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper.

Doctrinal Basis

The Evangelical Alliance has held its sessions in various cities of the Continent, and in London and New York. The intervals between the sessions have not been uniform, but have generally been three or four years. The New York session, in 1873, was the most successful. The last session was in Copenhagen, and was attended by members of the royal Danish family. Striking illustrations of the active interference of the Alliance in behalf of persecuted Protestants are not wanting. For example, at the Basle session of 1879 the Emperor of Austria was petitioned, and successfully, to relieve the persecuted Protestants of his dominions from oppression. A like protest has not yet been completely successful in securing from the Czar of Russia liberty for the oppressed Protestants of the Baltic provinces, who have been recently deprived of many of their privileges.

The Sessions

In December, 1887, the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance held a session of three days in Washington. It was called a "Christian Conference," and was participated in by representatives of more religious bodies than any previous session of the Alliance. The trend of the papers and discussions was an exposure of the evils of the times, and a marking-out of methods for advanced Christian work.

The Christian Conference in Washington

Another important meeting was held in Boston in December, 1889. A hopeful feature of the Evangelical Alliance in its new management is the serious discussion of practical problems rather than depicting the manifold dangers of Romanism. This enlargement of its field of work, together with a disposition to recognize in the Catholic Church a friend rather than an enemy in meeting the crying social evils of modern life—a disposition which was manifested in its last session at Florence in 1891—will greatly add to the influence of this venerable society.

CHAPTER XLII

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL

[Authorities.—See Vincent, The Modern Sunday-School (N. Y., 1888), and The Church School and Normal Guide (N. Y., 1888); also, Gregory, Robert Raikes, Journalist and Philanthropist: a History of the Origin of Sunday-Schools (London and N. Y., 1880). An excellent book on the Sunday-school, its history and method, is by Trumbull, Yale Lectures on the Sunday-School: its Origin, Mission, Method, and Auxiliaries (Phila., 1889). The present lesson system has an historian in Simeon Gilbert, The Lesson System (N. Y., 1879). A series of articles in the *Sunday-School Times* (Phila., 1891) are of great value from an historical point of view. They are: "The Originator of the System of Uniform Sunday-School Lessons," by Miss Frances E. Willard, April 25th (an account of the late B. F. Jacobs); "Robert Mimpriss as a Pioneer Sunday-School Worker," May 16th; "The International Uniform Lesson System: How Did it Originate?" by Simeon Gilbert, June 6th. Very valuable articles on the subject can be found in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia (by D. P. Kidder), in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia (by E. W. Rice), and in Jackson's Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge (N. Y., Christian Literature Co., 1890, by H. Clay Trumbull). The last article gives extensive statistics compiled by E. Payson Porter. See Record of the World's Sunday-School Convention (London and Chicago, 1889).]

Origin

The first Sunday-school was organized by Robert Raikes, in England, in 1781. It was designed less for religious than for general elementary instruction. But the Protestant Church of England seized upon it with avidity, as the best instrumentality for instructing the young in Biblical and religious knowledge. It was soon made use of in America, and all the Protestant churches adopted it.

The Development

In the school of Raikes the children were taught reading and writing as well as the catechism. With the advance of popular education, secular subjects were thrown aside. But an altogether excessive task of learning Scripture texts was imposed upon the children, at one time the pupils being required to commit and repeat seven hun-

dred texts per week, which number was afterwards reduced to two hundred. James Gall has the credit of introducing a more sensible system, especially in Scotland. This was about 1820. This was followed in 1825 by the preparation, by the American Sunday-School Union, of the Uniform Limited Lessons, which were the precursors of the International System. For at first each denomination adopted its own plan, and developed the system as seemed best. But in due time the men of the various religious bodies saw in the movement such need of educating the teachers themselves for more effective work, and of more unity of method, that they took measures towards that end. In 1872 the Rev. John H. Vincent, D.D., the Rev. Edward Eggleston, D.D., and B. F. Jacobs, Esq., formed a plan for a uniform Lesson System. The National Sunday-School Convention, which met that year in Indianapolis, favored it. The National Uniform Lessons were the result of that action. They cover the whole Bible, and require a period of seven years to complete them. The National Lessons developed into the International, which are now used throughout the Protestant world.

The Chautauqua Movement

The Chautauqua movement was inaugurated by Hon. Lewis Miller and John H. Vincent, D.D., who arranged for the annual meeting, on the shore of Lake Chautauqua, of all persons, both clerical and lay, interested in the successful prosecution of Sunday-school work. There are many departments, all of which are conducted with great energy and skill. The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle is the most important. It has a course of study covering a period of four years. The Chautauqua movement has extended into other countries, and even into the mission fields of Japan and India. The Rev. Dr. Vincent, in "Chautauqua Movement" (N. Y., 1886), has given a minute history of the development of this important work. He has himself been the chief agent of its growth, and is, most fittingly, its historian. The influence of the Chautauqua workers has been felt upon every department of our American religious life.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE REVISION OF THE BIBLE

[Authorities.—A full account of the Anglo-American Revision will be found in Schaff, Companion to the Revised Version of the English New Testament (N. Y., 1882). An excellent chapter is given by Mombert, Handbook of English Versions of the Bible (2d ed., N. Y., 1890). See also the prefaces and introductions in the various editions of the Revised Version.]

The King James version of the English Bible contained so many antiquated expressions and incorrect translations that the necessity for a revision was felt alike in England and America. The need became more apparent because of the recent powerful impulse imparted to the study of the Scriptural text through the discovery of a priceless manuscript on Mount Sinai, in 1859, by Tischendorf, a professor in the Leipzig University. This Sinaitic Codex dates from the fourth century, and contains the principal portions of the Old Testament, a large part of the Apocrypha, and the entire New Testament, with the Epistle of Barnabas and parts of the Shepherd of Hermas. In fact, none of the most valuable manuscript authorities was in the possession of King James's revisers. The Alexandrian Codex, of the fifth century, was not known in England till 1628, and was not printed until 1786. The Vatican Codex, fully as important as the Sinaitic, and of the same age, was never collated till 1669, and was never accurately printed until 1868. The Codex Ephraemi was restored by Librarian Hase, of Paris, in 1834 and 1835, by the application of prussiate of potash, the original writing having been washed off in the twelfth century. Not one of these four great manuscripts was available in the early part of the seventeenth century. Immense progress in Biblical research and exploration had also thrown much light on the Bible, and scholars everywhere were becoming dissatisfied with the glaring errors of the so-called

The Need of a New Translation

Authorized Version. Besides this, many words had lost their original meaning since 1611, so that the English Bible, like Shakespeare, needed a glossary to make itself understood.

The Church of England led in the revision. In 1870 the Convocation of Canterbury appointed a committee of scholars of the Church of England, with power to appoint others from various communions to co-operate with them in preparing the new version. In 1872 the American committee was organized. The English committee consisted of fifty-two members, and the American of twenty-seven. The Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff, professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, was the chief agent in producing co-operation between the two committees. The new version of the New Testament appeared in 1881, and that of the Old Testament in 1885. The former received a very cordial welcome from all the evangelical bodies, both of Great Britain and America, and in many churches has taken the place of the former version. The Old-Testament revision has not been received with equal readiness. But the version, as a whole, is a great advance on the former, and has been the most notable recent contribution to Biblical science in the English language. The German version by Martin Luther has had a similar sway in the Fatherland to that of King James in England. It excels all others by its marked personality and pungent force. But even that version is yielding to the march of Biblical scholarship, and has already been revised by a committee of Biblical scholars.

The Result

The American revisers are now at work on a new edition of the Revised Version, which will incorporate in the text the recommendations which they submitted to the English company, and which were printed as an appendix. When this is done we shall have the best English version extant. It will take a long time before the Revised Version supplants King James's, as it was a generation before that began to make any effect on the Genevan; but the best will ultimately win.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE PROTESTANT MISSION FIELD

[Authorities.—We mention a few works which cover the whole field: George Smith, Short History of Christian Missions (Edinb. and N. Y., 1884); Christlieb, Foreign Missions of Protestantism (London and Boston, 1880); Warneck, Outline History of Protestant Missions (Edinb., 1884); Warneck, Modern Missions and Culture (Edinb., 1883); Young, Modern Missions: their Trials and Triumphs (rev. ed., London, 1882); Tucker, Under His Banner (7th ed,, London, 1877); Japp, Master Missionaries (N. Y., 1881); Hodder, Conquests of the Cross: Records of Missionary Work (London, 1891). An indispensable work, which should be in the hands of every student of missions, is the Encyclopædia of Missions, edited by Bliss (N. Y., 1891). It contains a complete bibliography, prepared by the Rev. Samuel Macaulay Jackson, who published, in the Report of the Missionary Conference, London, 1888 (N. Y., 1889), an invaluable list of books on missions, besides appendices of Bible Versions, missionary societies, stations, and statistics. See also S. H. Kellogg, Special Catalogue of Works on Missions (Toronto, 1889).]

The First Protestant Missions

The first period of Protestant Christianity was largely occupied in controversy, and in adjustments to the new conditions of Europe. With the beginning of the seventeenth century we find the first movement towards carrying the gospel into heathen lands. Missions followed immediately in the line of Eastern trade. The Dutch vied with the Portuguese in sailing over the distant seas and discovering new lands. But while the Portuguese carried with them the Jesuit missionaries, the Dutch bore to the far-off lands the open Bible and the Protestant doctrines. A theological seminary for the training of missionaries was established in Leyden in 1612. In 1636 a mission was established in Ceylon, and subsequently in Java, Africa, and other countries. In England the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded, in 1701, for the benefit of the Indians in the American colonies.

In 1706 the Danish king, Frederic IV., sent Ziegenbalg,

with two helpers, to establish a mission in Southern India. Ziegenbalg and his successors, Plutschau, Kiernander, and Schwartz, who were touched with the beautiful spirit of Pietism, labored in Tranquebar, Madras, and Calcutta, and achieved wonders in the midst of great difficulties. "Send me the Christian; he will not deceive me," said Hyder Ali of Schwartz, when he was negotiating with the English government. In 1721 the Danes sent missionaries to Greenland. This mission, started by the heroic Hans Egede and his equally heroic wife, resulted finally in the Christianization of the whole country. The Moravians founded missions in Africa, Ceylon, the West Indies, Pennsylvania, and other places. All these efforts were important in awakening a missionary zeal, but were, in this respect, only preparatory forces. The close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth constituted the period when the great missionary societies of the Protestant churches took their rise. By 1830 there were about twenty of these societies in Europe and America.

Other Early Missionaries

India is the largest field. The work, begun in 1706, was slow during the whole of the eighteenth century. The great success began with the early part of the present century. The three greatest names in the history of Protestant missions in India are Schwartz, Carey, and Duff. Carey, whom Sydney Smith sneered at as the consecrated cobbler, landed at Calcutta in 1793. He threw all his energies into learning the languages of India; and before he died, in 1834, he had translated the Scriptures, in whole or in part, with or without the help of others, into twenty-four Indian languages. Duff, who was sent out by the Church of Scotland in 1830, was the pioneer of the English-language school system in missionary work, which was at that time an entirely new idea, but which has wrought wonders, and has abundantly justified the wisdom of the bold Scotchman. The year 1878 was distinguished above all others for accessions from the Hindu faith. As many as sixty thousand converts were added in that one year. There are approximately at present in India, exclusive of Burma and Ceylon, 791 ordained foreign missionaries, 137,504 communicants, and 449,755 native Christians.

The Field in India

The first missionary to China was Dr. Morrison, of England, who arrived there in 1807. After fourteen years of toil, Mor-

rison had made a Chinese Dictionary and a translation of the Bible. It was not till 1844 that the five treaty ports were open to missionaries. Important missions have been established all along the vast coast and on the banks of the great rivers, while a chain of stations is being quietly extended to the westward, to meet a like line coming eastward from India. The Chinese missions, conducted by the Protestants of both Europe and America, now number 37, with a total foreign missionary force, men and women, of 889, and 134 native ordained ministers and 28,119 adult communicants. In 1891 and 1895, in outbreaks of anti-foreign fanaticism, fomented by secret societies which desire, for political reasons, to embarrass the present dynasty, mobs destroyed mission premises and put several missionaries to death.

The Field in China

Burma, now a prosperous field, was made a missionary field by the American, Judson, who went there because he was not permitted to commence operations in India. Judson was one of the saintliest characters in the history of the Church. His missionary career lasted from 1788 to 1850. His principal achievement, shared by his brother Baptist workers, was the conversion of the Karens, the interior Burmans, who were said to be as "untamable as the wild cow of the mountains." The Burman Church is now one of the strongest native Christian bodies to be found in the pagan world.

Burma

For the past twenty years Japan has been the most promising missionary field on earth. This ancient empire has been leaping into life again. After a baptism of blood and a long eclipse, Christianity's day dawned for Japan in 1854, when the Perry expedition excited a longing for Western science and knowledge. In 1859 the London Missionary Society and a few American churches began operations, but could do little till 1873, when the anti-Christian edicts were removed. Every large island of the empire has now churches of the Protestant, Greek, and Roman communions. In 1877 the Presbyterian and Reformed churches formed themselves into a "Union Church of Christ," the first step of the kind ever taken. Negotiations for the union of all the different Methodist denominations have not as yet resulted successfully. These union efforts in Japan are among the most promising indications of modern times. In 1890 Japan adopted a new liberal constitution, which recognizes Christianity as one

Japan

of the legal religions of the state. There are now (1891) in Japan eighteen missionary societies, having 403 missionaries and 32,380 native converts. Corea has also been entered, but as yet only educational and hospital work is allowed there.

Western Asia

In Western Asia the chief centre for the propagation of the gospel is Beirut, Syria. Here the American Protestant Syrian College, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Bliss, is giving a Christian education to many young men, who come from all the adjacent region, and carry back with them to their homes the light of the gospel and Christian science. The population of Western Asia are of mixed faith and nationality. They are a Babel in religion. Mohammedans; the semi-pagans, such as the Druze, the Nusairy, and the Yesidee; and the semi-Christians, such as the Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, the Nestorians, and the many Oriental papal sects, form a heterogeneous mixture, and in some cases exhibit a bitter opposition. But Protestant missionaries keep steadily at their work, preach in the towns and villages, organize schools, and distribute the Scriptures and religious literature. In this way the pure gospel is penetrating the dense mass of false faiths. Prejudice is giving way, a strong and pure native Christian population is gradually taking the place of the deluded people who have inhabited these lands ever since the overthrow of the Eastern Church by the Mohammedan conquerors, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Levi Parsons, of the American Board, was the first Protestant missionary in Jerusalem (1821). William Goodell and Eli Smith are, perhaps, the most eminent names of the Syrian mission field. The record of the American Church in both European and Asiatic Turkey is one of the brightest pages of missionary history. In 1840, much to the disgust of the High-Church party, England joined Lutheran Germany in establishing an Episcopal see in Jerusalem. Dr. Blyth is the present bishop, and he has entered severe protests against the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society in Palestine making proselytes from the Greek Church. At present (1892) his relations to that society, which has established promising stations in many of the principal towns of the Holy Land, are very strained.*

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* See Dr. H. H. Jessup, "The Greek Church and Protestant Missions" (N Y., The Christian Literature Co., 1891).

Constantinople is the centre of Turkish Missions. At the house of the Rev. Dr. A. L. Long, in that city, in 1871, I counted nearly one hundred guests, engaged as missionaries, teachers, editors, and others employed in various forms of aggressive Christian work. Bulgaria has been a difficult field. From 1390 to 1878 it had been a Turkish possession, but the erection of the principality of Bulgaria in the latter year gave a freedom for missionary work not before enjoyed. The American Board, with headquarters at Philippopolis, is cultivating the Bulgarian field (now called Roumelia) south of the Balkans, while the Methodist Episcopal Church is laboring in Bulgaria proper, or among the Bulgarians between the Balkans and the Danube. Robert College, founded on the banks of the Bosphorus by Christopher Robert, an American, is a very successful institution, and has contributed largely to extend Christian science in both Asia Minor and the Danubian principalities.

Turkish Missions

The Moravians were the first to begin missions in the Dark Continent. They established one on the western coast in 1736, and, later, one in South Africa. The Methodist Episcopal Church has a mission in Liberia, on the west coast. The first foreign missionary of that Church, Melville B. Cox, fell a victim to disease here after four months' service (1833). The Wesleyan Methodist Church of England may be considered the martyr Church of Africa, on account of the hundreds of its missionaries who have been swept away by African fevers on the unhealthy west coast. The American United Presbyterian Church has an important mission in North Africa, with Cairo as a centre. The Rev. Dr. Lansing has given his life to this important field, and the missions along the Nile, with the schools under his charge in Cairo, will remain as monuments to the zeal and judgment of himself and the noble band associated with him. The late Miss M. L. Whately, daughter of Archbishop Whately, did a noble work by her schools in the same city. To Livingstone belongs the great honor of being the first to awaken the interest of the whole Protestant world in the civilization and evangelization of Central Africa. His achievements are equal to the triumphs of the most devoted bearers of the gospel in any Christian age, while his discoveries place him in the front rank of the world's great explorers. The father-in-law of Dr. Livingstone, Robert

African Missions

Moffat, was the first to go into the wild tribes of Bechuanaland (1820), and under his gospel savage chieftains became pure and docile servants of Christ. The Universities Mission, and other English and Scotch missions on Lake Nyassa and at other points in the heart of Africa, have lost some of their best workers by outbreaks of barbaric butchery. Here Bishop Hannington was killed, and here the noble Mackay of Uganda gave up his life.

The Congo Free State

The Congo Free State, founded by King Leopold of Belgium, is the direct result of the marvellous career of Henry M. Stanley as his representative. The Rev. William Taylor, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Missionary Bishop for Africa, has organized a large movement for planting missions along the banks of the Congo. His plan is to establish mission stations, and make them the points for distributing the gospel throughout the entire valley of the Congo. He has proven already that, with proper regards to the climatic conditions, missionary work can be conducted there as successfully, and with as good hope for longevity, as in other parts of the pagan world. Thus far he has advanced rapidly with his work. He is untiring, of burning zeal, and fertile of resources. He comes to this new task, by far the most gigantic undertaking of his remarkable career, with all the rich experience derived from labors in California, South Africa, Australia, and India.

In this rapid survey of the modern mission field—and we have taken no account of the marvellous results in Madagascar, the Sandwich Islands, and the South Sea Islands—it would have been easy to speak of the devotion of individual missionaries, and what has been achieved by their enterprise. Languages have been reduced to writing and scientific form; native literatures have been created; philology, ethnology, botany, and every other science and art, have been enriched; new territories have been added to human knowledge; whole tribes and nations have been civilized; and for the reign of cruelty and brute force has been substituted the reign of law and order under the sceptre of the Prince of Peace. Though pursued under great difficulties, and with many apparent defeats, the missionary enterprise stands forth as the surpassing achievement of the modern age.

CHAPTER XLV

THE TEMPERANCE REFORM

[Authorities.—The best works on the historical aspects of the temperance reform are these: Gustafson, The Foundation of Death (London and N. Y., 1884), a thorough and impartial study of the greatest value and timeliness; Dorchester, The Liquor Problem (N. Y., 1884), full in its history; Dawson Burns, Temperance History (London, 1890); Centennial Temperance Volume (N. Y., 1877). The life of Father Mathew has been written by J. Francis Maguire (London, 1863; 2d ed., 1865; abridged and re-edited by Miss Rosa Mulholland, 1890). The works of John B. Gough are of fascinating interest, and are full of historical reminiscences.]

Temperance In Great Britain

The first great movement in Europe towards abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors was made by Theobald Mathew, a Roman Catholic priest of Cork. He bore the name of Father Mathew, and travelled extensively throughout the British islands. His method was to secure pledges for total abstinence, and multitudes flocked to his standard. His style of oratory and pleasing address were of irresistible influence over his auditors. So keen a critic as Mrs. Jane Welsh Carlyle was fascinated by his appeal, and signed his pledge. His work has been taken up by others. In Scotland, John Dunlop, of Greenock, formed the first temperance society (1829), and Mr. William Collins greatly helped the movement. In the North of Ireland, about the same time, the Rev. Dr. Edgar and the Rev. Dr. Cook threw their influence with all their might into the good work. John B. Gough greatly helped the reform in the old country as well as in America. Dr. Frederick R. Lees has also done yeoman's service in the English battle. Cardinal Manning exerted in his later years a vast influence in Great Britain. Canon Farrar is a strong advocate for the same great cause. Within the last twenty-five years such has been the progress of temperance that much of the grossness and public drunkenness have disappeared from the British islands. The introduc-

tion of coffee-houses and of cheap and clean lodging-places has been very helpful in furnishing some approach to a substitute for the all-devouring saloon.

Restrictive measures have been multiplying in various Continental countries. Switzerland has been a leader in this respect. In Germany associations have been organized in behalf of the temperance cause. In Scandinavia the most progress has been made. Norway and Sweden have been overspread with a network of temperance associations. Special meetings are held to promote the movement, while journals are established in the same interest. The great need now is, throughout Europe, to distribute intelligence concerning the physical ruin wrought by alcoholic drinks. One long-lived fancy has already been exploded—that the European liquors are pure. In the art of introducing poisonous ingredients the European makers of beer and the owners of vineyards are masters to a high degree.

Temperance on the Continent

The progress of the temperance cause is well illustrated by the habits of the clergy. In the last century drunken ministers were by no means uncommon, but to-day such a sight would cause a sensation. Very many of the clergy are total abstainers, and where this is not the case a sound sentiment prevents any public scandal. Even such a beautiful character as Addison was not free from the vice of intemperance, but it would be hard to find a literary man in England now, much less a moralist, given to hard drinking. Sir Wilfrid Lawson's resolution favoring local option was passed in the British Parliament, April 27th, 1883, by a majority of 87; 263 votes for, 176 against; but no English ministry has ever yet dared to submit any legislation looking to a restriction of the liquor traffic.

CHAPTER XLVI

PHILANTHROPY IN ENGLAND AND GERMANY

[AUTHORITIES.—The story of English Emancipation is told in the recent Histories of England as well as in special works. See F. W. Newman, Anglo-Saxon Abolition of Slavery (London, 1889). The fullest account will be found in the Life of William Wilberforce by his sons, R. I. and Samuel (London, 1838, 5 vols.), and his Correspondence, edited by same (1840, 2 vols.). In more available form are the lives of Wilberforce by Samuel Wilberforce (London, 1868) and by J. C. Colquhoun (London, 1866). For the noble life of John Howard excellent biographies have been written by Hepworth Dixon (London, 5th ed., 1854), Field (London, 1850), and Stoughton (London, 1853). Florence Nightingale is still living [1892] in England. See the encyclopædias and biographical dictionaries. The deaconess movement has been described by Wheeler, Deaconesses, Ancient and Modern (N. Y., 1889); Miss Jane M. Bancroft, Deaconesses in Europe, and their Lessons for America (N. Y., 1889); and Mrs. C. M Mead, "European Deaconesses," in *Andover Review*, ix., 561, June, 1888.]

The New Humanity. West India Emancipation

THE new religious interest in the British churches quickened every humane force. The most striking need from the point of view of social reform was the freedom of the slave. The group which created public sentiment, and worked against great opposition, was confined to a few, who had only scanty means, and held their humble meetings in a house on Clapham Common, a few miles from London. Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Clarkson, Sharp, and a few others had the sentiment of all nations against them. But by steady purpose and a sublime faith they labored on, and at last, by the passage of Wilberforce's bill in Parliament, in 1807, after thirteen years of failure, the eight hundred thousand slaves owned by England in the West Indies were emancipated. That was the real death-blow to slavery in the United States. There was no arresting the movement of universal emancipation.

The prison reform of recent times seems to have been anticipated by Pope Clement XI., who, in 1704, established the pris-

on of St. Michael for boys and youths, on the plan now often called the "Auburn system," viz., separate cells at night and silent associated labor by day. Within its walls, on a marble slab, was this inscription in Latin: "It is of little use to restrain criminals by punishment unless you reform them by education." The first great prison reformer was John Howard, who in 1758 began his career of thirty-one years in visiting the jails of England and of every country on the Continent, and when the pestilence was raging in the East he went on the ground to study the means of relief. "No man has united more remarkably the zeal of a martyr with the calm intelligence of a statesman in the service of philanthropy." He fell a victim in Cherson, in the Crimea, 1790, to his zeal in this great cause. Through his labors the prisons of the whole civilized world have been improved. A purer atmosphere, more light and cleanliness in the cells, an improved architecture, and rudimentary instruction have been employed, which had never been suggested, in any aggressive way until done by John Howard. The prison discipline of England, in particular, has been severely attacked by the late Charles Reade in fiction, in his "Never Too Late to Mend," and Dickens gives it a blow in his "Pickwick Papers." This work has not been without its good effect in relieving many of the grosser practices in the prisons of the British islands.

Prison Discipline

This great reform began with the labors of Florence Nightingale, of England. During the Crimean War, in 1853–56, she was impressed by the extreme suffering of the British army, and went to Constantinople to minister to the relief of the wounded, the sick, and the frost-bitten. Others came to her aid. In all the European wars which have taken place since then there has been a new attention paid to this important cause. In the American civil war there was a great advance over all previous methods of relief, while in the Franco-German war of 1870–71 there was a still larger and stronger organization in behalf of all who suffer on fields of carnage. Here women have taken the lead. The names of these heroes are not gazetted as achieving great conquests; but they are satisfied with the meed of saving life rather than adding to the world's record of slaughter.

Care of the Wounded

Through the labors of Theodor Fliedner a system of deaconess ministration has been adopted which has produced good

results in every part of Europe. The home for training the deaconesses was established at Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine, in 1833. Such has been the success that other training-schools have been established, and Christian nurses trained in them have already gone out into the more distant parts of Europe, and into Eastern countries. Not only are the deaconesses carefully trained in a skilled knowledge of the proper treatment of disease, but they are so instructed as to be at home, by their social adaptation, in any household. Their influence has been so elevating, and in all things helpful, that other churches besides the State Church of Germany are introducing the same system. The Kaiserswerth deaconesses take no vows and wear a simple but not necessarily uniform dress. They are presided over by men. The range of their activities is very wide. This institution has under its control hospitals and schools in different parts of the world. Miss Nightingale herself took a thorough training under Pastor Fliedner. Several sisterhoods in the English Church have also done noble work. The late Sister Dora, whose life (London, 1880) is a fascinating biography of a beautiful soul, is one of the best known of these bands of humble workers. For over twenty years, sisters, so called, wearing a uniform, have been associated with the Rev. Dr. T. B. Stephenson, president of the English Wesleyan Methodist Conference, 1891–92, in the working of his Children's Homes. A Deaconess Institute has been founded (1890), of which Dr. Stephenson is warden. The principles of the new order are: Vocation without vow, discipline without servility, and association without excluding freedom. The candidates must be single, twenty-three years of age or over, but they take no vow of celibacy. The Sisters of the People is another order established under the auspices of the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes's West London Mission (Wesleyan Methodist). In 1888 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church made provision for the institution of an order of Deaconesses, and there is already a Deaconess Home in Chicago, another House in Washington, D.C., and many deaconesses at work in the great cities. The introduction of a similar system of deaconess instruction and ministration in the entire American Church is one of the great advances yet to be made. Not a day ought to be lost by any Church in the United States.

The Deaconesses of Germany

CHAPTER XLVII

ENGLISH PREACHERS

[AUTHORITIES.—In no way can the reader get a better idea of the recent religious history of Great Britain than by the study of the lives of men of eminence in this history. Some of these biographies are of special importance from an historical point of view, besides their quickening and broadening influence on the mind. The following are among the more important: Memoirs of Chalmers, by Hanna (Edinb., 1849–52), and by Fraser (N. Y., 1882); of Hall, by Hood (N. Y., 1882); of McCheyne, by Bonar (Phila., 1844); of Norman Macleod, by his brother, Donald Macleod (Toronto, 1876); of Guthrie, by his sons David K. and Charles Guthrie (London and N. Y., 1873); of Thomas Arnold, by Stanley (London and N. Y., 1844, often reprinted); of F. D. Maurice, by his son, Frederick Maurice (London and N. Y., 1884); of Bishop Wilberforce, by his son, R. G. Wilberforce, and by A. R. Ashwell (N. Y., 1883, new ed., 1891); of Dean Alford, by his widow (3d ed., London, 1874); of Jabez Bunting, by his son, T. P. Bunting (London, 1859, vol. i.; 1880, vol. ii.); of Frederick W. Robertson, by Brooke (London and N. Y., 1865, many subsequent editions); of Charles Kingsley, by his widow (London, 1876; abridged, N. Y., 1877; new ed., London and N. Y., 1891); of R. S. Candlish, by Wilson (Edinb., 1880); of Wm. Cunningham, by Mackenzie and Rainy (Edinb., 1871); of Simeon, by Carus (London and N. Y., 1847); of Punshon, by Macdonald (London and N. Y., 1888); and of Dean Stanley, by Bradley (London and N. Y., 1883).]

The Effects of the Wesleyan Revival

THE close of the eighteenth century in England witnessed one great advance in the religious life of the people. The dominant infidelity of France was powerless to affect the public mind any longer. English Deism had been arrested and crushed through the great Wesleyan revival throughout the British islands, and Anglo-Saxon Christianity now began to exhibit an unwonted strength and independence. All the Protestant churches began to vie with each other in strenuous efforts to reach the people, and to develop the religious spirit and supply their great wants. There was a marked decline in denominational asperity. The missionary spirit received a new impulse, largely through Mar-

tyn, Carey, Marshman, and Ward. When the nineteenth century began, the entire British Church gave evidence of that aggressive spirit which has grown with the years of the century, and which has won unparalleled triumphs at home and in heathen lands.

Simeon and his School

The leading representative of the Church of England in labors for the spiritual good of the masses, during the transition from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth, is the Rev. Charles Simeon (died 1836). Within the establishment he took rank as a Low-Churchman. When Simeon began his work he was ridiculed and opposed. But when he died he had won himself a place in the affections and respect of the English Church second to no other man. His collected works are very numerous, and his style is diffuse. In one respect his influence has been most vicious. He published skeletons of sermons in seventeen volumes, covering the whole Bible, and such crutches as these for idle ministers have been seized with avidity, and they have well-nigh destroyed the manliness and self-reliance of many of the clergy.* But his labors for the instruction and spiritual elevation of the poor in and about Cambridge had their effect, not only within his own communion, but in all the religious bodies of England. Much of the present effort to evangelize the neglected parts of London and the smaller cities, and provide plain chapels for the poor, and gather the needy within the circle of Christian sympathy and help, can be traced to his example and the effect of his popular appeals.

Later British Preachers and Writers

All the churches of Great Britain have been distinguished by great preachers during the present century. Robert Hall, Chalmers, McCheyne, Dale, Macleod, Guthrie, Spurgeon, Punshon, Newman Hall, Ryle, Stanley, Farrar, Parker, Hughes, and many others, have not only excelled in preaching the gospel, but have enriched the literature of a people already distinguished for producing a Tillotson, South, Barrow, and Wesley. The characteristics of the English pulpit are a fine spiritual tone, a boldness in grappling with the problems of theology and social life, and an earnest-

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* The "Pulpit Commentary" is one of the best specimens of this class of "helps." A fringe of excellent exposition is lost amid a sea of commonplace homiletics.

ness and vigor and freshness in interpreting the gospel to the needs of to-day. The regenerator of modern English preaching was Frederick W. Robertson, Vicar of Trinity Chapel, Brighton (1847–53). With a character of unsurpassed holiness, purity, and beauty, modest, retiring, and of delicate health, he awoke the English mind to the breadth and fulness of the message of Christ to the thoughts and burdens of the time. His preaching, in its interest, suggestiveness, and frankness, was a revelation of the possibilities of the pulpit, and his short and troubled career at Brighton began a new era in the history of preaching. No department of professional life has exhibited more men of genius, or of genius of a higher order, than British theology. Part of the theology has been an accommodation to the German rationalism. But there has been an abundant offset to this in the scholarly and fervid theological writings of the Christian authors of England and Scotland during the present century, whose works will prove a mine of wealth to the Christian world for ages. In hymnology the poet Keble, Bonar, Miss Havergal, and Mrs. Charles, and a large group besides, have written such hymns as will live as long as the English language endures.

CHAPTER XLVIII

LITERATURE AND RELIGION IN ENGLAND

[Authorities.—For the influence of Coleridge and Carlyle on the religious thought of England, see Hutton, Essays on Modern Guides of English Thought in Matters of Faith (London and N. Y., 1887); Tulloch, Movements of Religious Thought in Britain in the Nineteenth Century (N. Y., 1886), chaps. i. and v.; Curry, Fragments Theological and Religious (N. Y., 1880), chap. x. (Coleridge); Bayne, Essays in Biography and Criticism (N. Y., 1881), vol. ii., essay iii. (Coleridge); Pfleiderer, Development of Theology in Germany and Great Britain since 1825 (London, 1890).]

The effect of the new liberal ideas on the Continent, as the result of the French Revolution, was visible in England in the literature at the beginning of the century. Lord Byron was its representative. Beginning with his "Hours of Idleness,"

published at nineteen, he continued to write with a vigor and fertility which were without parallel in modern literary history. Shelley's poetry appeared during the same period, and, while cast in the same mould, was of very different quality. Byron's poetry took its inspiration from history. Shelley took human freedom from restraint as the key-note of his writing. There is no doubt that this school has had a strong influence in giving a sceptical and pessimistic strain to much later English literature. Southey was more conservative, but less brilliant. He was thoroughly loyal to the English Church. His best work was done in his biographies. His "Life of Nelson" (1828) is a classic, and his "Life of Wesley" (1820) is the most interesting, though not the most accurate, account of the great reformer.

The Byronic Tempest

William Wordsworth (1770–1850) was the first of the later poets of England to call the mind back to a love of nature. Living in calm and retirement at Rydal Mount, beside the beautiful Lake Grasmere, he watched the land and sky and water in all their moods. His fame has been in the ascendant in the later years. His fidelity to Christian truth, his clear perception of the spirit of religious life in English history (as evinced in his "Ecclesiastical Sonnets"), and his reverent spirit and unaffected life place him in the front line of Christian poets in every age. Sir Walter Scott toiled mainly in the field of Scottish history, but whatever he touched it was with the magician's wand. Newman was wont to ascribe to him, as rehabilitating mediæval history and reviving an interest in the antique, a part in starting the Oxford movement. De Quincey excelled as an essayist. Matthew Arnold, the son of Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, has written a number of works in the line of poetry and semi-theological criticism. He is, perhaps, most brilliant when he does not touch on theological or Biblical themes. Charles Kingsley, Rector of Eversley, produced principally sermons and fictions. Some of his poems are exceedingly tender. All his writings exhibit a profound sympathy with the needy classes and a disposition to relieve them. Dickens and Thackeray divided the world of English fiction between themselves. The former described the lower social orders, while Thackeray revealed the social frivolity of the more elevated. Thackeray's permanence, if he shall have it, will be due, however, to those

Wordsworth and his School

works of fiction which furnish portraits of certain times. But his historical lectures on "The Four Georges" and "English Humorists" are worth all his other writings together. Tennyson is at present the leading poet in England. His writings are of varied quality. His dramas are undramatic. His best poem is his "In Memoriam"—a tribute to the memory of his friend, Arthur Henry Hallam. Tennyson and the Brownings completely recovered to English poetry a sound optimism and a faith strong and triumphant.

Infusion of the German Spirit

The first evidence of the strong invasion of England by German thought was by Coleridge. He travelled and studied in Germany, and introduced, in disconnected form, many philosophical ideas from the centres of German thought. But he gave only the German spirit, and to the young a desire to know more of what Germany was thinking and saying. His poetry is stronger than his prose, and by it he will live longest in literature. The fruitful thoughts of Coleridge had much to do with liberalizing English theology. Carlyle was the first to engraft on English letters the German branch. He made Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and others, household words throughout Great Britain and the United States. He translated entire works. His version of Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister" is a fine piece of literary reproduction, and was the means of opening to the English public the way to the whole wealth of Goethe's writings. Carlyle's sympathies were with a strong government rather than with the struggling people. He was reverent in spirit, and, more than any literary character of later England, the representative of the magnificent literary result possible from industrious habits and devotion to the exact truth of history.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE SALVATION ARMY

[AUTHORITIES.—For the theology of the Salvation Army, see the Books on Practical Religion published by Mrs. Wm. Booth (1879–1883). For the history and methods, see Mrs. Booth, The Salvation Army in Relation to Church and State (London, 1883); Railton, Twenty-one Years in the Salvation Army, Mrs. Ballington Booth, Beneath Two Flags (N. Y., 1889); Butler, The Salvation Army in Switzerland (London, 1884); Ballington Booth, From Ocean to Ocean (N. Y., 1891). This last writer has a comprehensive article in Jackson, Dictionary of Religious Knowledge (N. Y., 1891). Frazer, of London, has a temperate discussion in the *Presbyterian Review* (N. Y.), April, 1891, and in My Salvation Army Experience (London, 1891), Heathcote, now of the Church of England, calls attention, in excellent spirit, to the defects in their methods and unsatisfactoriness in the results achieved.]

"THE SALVATION ARMY," says Ballington Booth, "has risen out of the terrible need which surrounds it; I might almost say it has formed itself, Phœnix-like, from the ashes of depraved and outcast society."* On July 5th, 1865, the Rev. William Booth, who left the Methodist New Connection for evangelistic work, began to preach at Mile End Waste, in London. His work broadened and enlarged until he was led to consolidate it by the formation of an "Army," or band of Christians pledged to work and sacrifice, and organized under a strict military regimen. In 1878 the Army was formed.

Origin

The new organization at once began an aggressive campaign against sin. It opened "barracks" and rescue-houses in all the large cities. It spread out into other lands, until now it has representatives in every quarter of the world. According to the latest figures, the Army has 3795 corps, or stations, officered by 9457 persons whose whole time is given to evangelistic work. In 1880 it entered America,

Progress

* From Ocean to Ocean; or, The Salvation Army's March from the Atlantic to the Pacific (N. Y., 1891), p. 11.

under Railton; in 1881 it invaded France, under the intrepid Miss Booth (Mrs. Booth-Clibborn), whose sufferings in leading her soldiers in Switzerland (1882 ff.) have given her a world-wide fame; in 1882 it appeared in Australia; then in New Zealand, where it has 164 stations, and afterwards in India, where it was welcomed by Chunder Sen, the founder of the Brama-Somaj. Its success in the European countries has not been so great, but it has carried the gospel with commendable zeal and in large force in South Africa. In its remarkable progress it has had to meet persecution in virulent and insulting forms. Its members have been repeatedly imprisoned, and many have died through injuries received. With just pride the Army can look upon its world-wide fight and say, "And now what land, what region upon earth, is not full of our labors?"*

Theology, Methods, and Results

The theology of the Salvation Army is identical with that of the Methodist Church, in which Mr. Booth was for years a minister. It emphasizes the doctrines of depravity, freedom of the will, repentance, instantaneous conversion through faith in Christ, and the message of salvation to all men. It is its methods which have given it its chief success, and yet have been its chief reproach. Its flags, marchings, band music, its strange watchwords and catchwords, its almost blasphemous use of sacred names, its tyrannical discipline, and dress peculiarities—while these things have helped the Army in its power over the lower classes, they have withdrawn from it the sympathy of the Churches. But as the aim of the Army is being better understood, and as it has justified in a measure its methods in its success in reaching the depraved, that sympathy is being steadily regained. The Army establishes eating and coffee houses, prison missions, food depots, shelters for destitute and for lost women, houses for inebriates, labor bureaus, and factories for the unemployed, and thus combines a practical statesmanship with religious fervor.

In 1890 General Booth wrote a book, "In Darkest England and the Way Out," in which he proposed a gigantic scheme for the solution of the problems of crime and pauperism by religion, labor, and social organization. His book was received

* See Virg. *Æn.*, i. 460, 461.

with great enthusiasm, money has poured into his treasury from all classes for the carrying-out of his plan, and it has already begun to bear fruit. By the end of 1891 $125,000 had been spent in the over-sea colony, $200,000 in the purchase of land for city refuges and workshops, and $200,000 in the farm colony. Each department has been successful. The food and shelter depots have been self-supporting, and the factories have yielded a good profit.*

In Darkest England

CHAPTER L

SURVEY OF RELIGIOUS LIFE ON THE CONTINENT

[AUTHORITIES.—The recent volumes of the proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance give the best view of the religious condition of Europe. See Bonar, The White Fields of France: a Story of McAll's Mission to the Workingmen of Paris and Lyons (N. Y., 1879); Langdon, Possibilities of Religious Reform in Italy: three articles in *Andover Review*, vol. v., 1886.]

THE work of evangelizing France has taken a new departure since the overthrow of the empire in 1871. This has been brought about largely through the labors of Mr. and Mrs. McAll. They were making a short visit in Paris, but, being impressed with the spiritual neglect of the masses, they went to work for their relief. From the time of their first visit to the present the work has advanced with amazing rapidity. The *ouvriers* have been reached as never before. Auxiliary associations have been formed. Lay preachers and teachers are at work in large numbers, and the movement is still extending in all directions.

France

In Italy and Spain Protestant efforts are being made with vigor by many religious bodies. Even several American churches are industriously at work in Rome, Venice, Bologna, Naples, Milan, and other parts of Italy. Christian worship is free throughout the kingdom of Italy. The Protestants are acquiring property, and organizing schools and congregations, with a spirit which increases with

Italy and Spain

* See *The Independent*, Dec. 24th, 1891, p. 16.

every year. Already the Protestant population has grown to large dimensions, while the way is opening for still larger success. There is a strong reaction against the long-dominant Romanism, and the minds of the people naturally drift towards scepticism. This is fostered by the prevalent French literature. There is need, in both Italy and Spain, that Christian effort be redoubled, so that the minds of the people, and especially the young, may be preoccupied with religious truth. Occupation by the light is the only safe way to keep out the threatening darkness. Spain has been opened to Protestantism ever since the flight of Queen Isabella in 1871. The German missionaries, with Pastor Fliedner at the head, are leaders in introducing Protestant doctrines, establishing Sunday-schools, and printing and distributing sound religious literature. A most remarkable work is being carried on in Spain towards building up a national Reformed Church. The native Church is helped by the Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society (Episcopal), under the auspices of Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin. His action in ordaining the Rev. Andrew Cassels to the diaconate of the Reformed Lusitanian Church, in the fall of 1891, has occasioned much comment.

The sceptical philosophy of Haeckel and his school has made great inroads into the faith of the learned circles. In some parts of Germany there has been a growth in evangelical sentiment. But within the past five years we have not been able to notice any numerical increase in the evangelical portion of the clergy. Lately, the approach, for political reasons, towards sympathy with the papacy and with the Roman Catholics of the empire has given great offence to the Protestant clergy.

Germany

Switzerland is still divided, like most of the Continental countries, between conflicting theological opinions. German or eastern Switzerland has its theological centre in the famous University of Basel, where Orelli is the chief theological instructor. French Switzerland takes its theology from Berne. The spiritual life of the republic has been retarded by the sceptical influences, on the one hand from Germany, and, on the other, by the corrupt fiction flowing into French or western Switzerland from France.

Switzerland

Holland has had, of late, a strong confessional warfare going on within the Church. Apart from that, there is still in

progress the strife between the evangelical and rationalistic sections of the Dutch theology. The leader in this conflict is Dr. Kuyper, who claims that the State Church of Holland is in the lap of Rationalism, and who, with his friends, has been expelled from membership in that body. The fight has been a most bitter one ; and although the Kuyper movement has reacted in a revival of Christian life and doctrine in Holland, the splendid promise of its beginning has not been kept. The orthodox wing lost their brilliant champion in the death of the Rev. Dr. J. J. Van Oosterzee, of the University of Utrecht. He was the ablest theologian and the most eloquent preacher of the Dutch Church. Kuenen is the leading sceptical theologian. Holland is no longer the home of an independent and original theology, but follows the fortunes of the German schools of thought.

Holland

The Scandinavian countries are now undergoing a radical change to liberal ideas. The Church and State are almost separated in Norway, while important advances are taking place in Sweden. The incoming of the Baptist and Methodist churches has produced a profound impression, and the members of both communions are largely increasing. The most popular and influential preacher in Sweden is Waldenström, the pastor of an immense congregation in Viele. Many societies have been formed throughout the land which bear his name—Waldenströmians. He aims at the spiritual building-up of the people by more direct and practical efforts than the State Church has ever employed.

Scandinavia

THE CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

A.D. 1492-1892

The history of the Christian Church in America remains to be written. Here is a fine field full of the richest materials for a future historian. Baird made a good beginning in his Religion in America (N. Y., 1856). Sprague, in his Annals of the American Pulpit (N. Y., 1859–69, 9 vols.), collected a vast amount of the most useful information on the lives of men eminent in the history of the American Church. The histories of the denominations have been collected in one volume, first by Rupp (Phila., 1844), then by Belcher (Phila., 1861), and again by different writers (Phila., 1871). The work left by Baird has been taken up by Dorchester, in his Christianity in the United States (N. Y., 1888), a work embodying the fruits of great research, and written in a fair and candid spirit. This is the best single volume yet issued on the history of religion in America. The great work edited by Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America (Boston, 1881–89, 8 vols.), is invaluable to the student of ecclesiastical as well as of secular history

I.—The Colonial Period

1492–1783

CHAPTER I

THE NEW CHRISTENDOM

Europe in the Sixteenth Century

Europe in the sixteenth century was in convulsion. Even before the Reformation, the fearless labors of Wycliffe had stirred England to its centre, while Huss, of Bohemia, had uttered a cry of warning which was heard throughout the Continent and awakened fear in Rome. These and the later reformatory movements reacted on the political life of all the central nations. Not a throne was safe where the new religious revolt was in full force. The entire sixteenth century was a period of universal disturbance. The progress of reform provoked violent hostility, and every land was divided into factions. There were three general grades of sentiment. One class, receiving its inspiration from Rome, wished to continue the old order, with the pope as practical sovereign. Another class, craving liberty and an accommodation to the new order, was willing to break loose from the Roman see, but desired to retain many of the Romish usages. The third class saw nothing but antichrist in Rome, and found hope only in casting off every reminder of papal doctrine and custom.

The Old Issues on New Ground

The transfer of the conflicts of Europe to America was the new order. Whenever a colony came to America, it no sooner settled in its new habitat than it revived, under broader conditions, the struggle in which it had been engaged in Europe. The Cavalier of the Virginia Colony surrendered none of his old attachment to the

Church of England. The Plymouth Pilgrim was even more intense in his revolt against both Romanism and Protestant Episcopacy than he had been when he was a Brownist at Scrooby, a parishioner of Robinson in Leyden, or a Pilgrim on the *Mayflower*. In the New World were fought out, in smaller numbers, and by contestants more dispersed, the issues which had driven the colonists to the Western wilds.

The religious motive was supreme in the mind of all the best colonists. To enjoy the free exercise of conscience was the Pilgrim's one passion, whose bright flame no distance from native land, nor stormy seas, nor rigor of climate, nor danger of death by savage hands, could quench. Our first settlers came as Christians, lived as Christians, and planted the religious principle as the richest inheritance for their posterity. The Pilgrims, before leaving England, had no thought of separating from the Established Church, but longed for reformation within it; and they resolved on the expedient of emigration only when James I. deceived them, and said: "I will make them conform, or harry them out of the land." "The charter of the first colony," says Baird, "that of Virginia, provided that the whole settlement should have a Christian character, and enjoined the worship of the Church of England, requiring every male colonist of sixteen and upward to pay ten pounds of tobacco and one bushel of corn for the support of the Church. When the Puritans gained ascendency in England, under the Protectorate of Cromwell, Virginia and the Carolinas became the refuge for the Cavalier and the Churchman, as afterwards of the Huguenot and the German Protestant. Georgia was colonized expressly as an asylum for imprisoned and persecuted Protestants. Even New York opened its arms to the persecuted Bohemians and the inhabitants of the Italian valleys; and the colony of Gustavus Adolphus was to be a blessing to the whole Protestant world by offering a shelter to all who stood in need of one." *

The Religious Impulse

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* Religion in America, pp. 123, 170.

CHAPTER II

THE SPANISH COLONIZATION

[AUTHORITIES.—A very dark view of Columbus is given by Winsor, Christopher Columbus, and How he Received and Imparted the Spirit of Discovery (Boston, 1891), who makes the most of his sins and failures, and, in fact, denies him any virtue whatever. It is founded on recent studies, however, and must by all means be consulted. With it should be read Tarducci, Life of Christopher Columbus (Detroit, 1891), and the older works of Irving and Prescott, which have not been superseded by these later books. On Las Casas, see Ellis, in Winsor, Crit. and Narrative Hist., vol. ii., chap. v. The later history by Fiske, The Discovery and Spanish Colonization of America (Boston, 1892), may be relied upon as a thoroughly interesting, impartial, and scholarly performance.]

THE earliest on the new American field were the Spanish discoverers and conquerors. When Columbus discovered the little West India island of San Salvador, and raised upon the shore the cross, he dedicated it and the lands beyond to his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. The "Gloria in Excelsis" was sung by the discoverer and his weary crew with as much fervor as it had ever been chanted in the cathedrals of Spain. The faith was the Roman Catholic. On his second voyage, in 1494, Columbus took with him a vicar apostolic and twelve priests, and on the island of Hayti erected the first chapel in the western world. Though all the actions of Columbus cannot be praised, though he had the faults of his age, there is no doubt that he was actuated by a high and sincere Christian spirit. Thoroughly temperate in his habits, he was "so strict in religious matters that for fasting and saying all the religious offices, he might be thought professed in some religious order." He was borne on in his discoveries by the desire to add new domains to the kingdom of the Cross. The success of Columbus in discovering a new world in the west awakened a wild enthusiasm throughout Europe. Visions of gold inflamed the minds alike of rulers, knights, and

The First Discoverer

adventurers. To discover and gather treasures and organize vast missionary undertakings became the mania of the times. No European country which possessed a strip of seaboard escaped the delirium. To send out a vessel or a fleet to the New World was the fashion of the palace and the capitalist.

Mexico was the first broad field of conquest by the Spaniards. Cortez led the expedition, and in 1520 landed at a point which still bears the name of Vera Cruz (the True Cross). He conciliated a tribe which was in rebellion against the Aztec king Montezuma, and succeeded in dethroning the king, and bringing the country into subjection to Spain. The colonists, who arrived in quick succession, had among their members earnest priests, to whom it was a passion to carry the cross into the interior, and to convert, by any means, the aborigines to the gospel of Christ. The apostle of Mexico was Bartolomé de Olmedo, a man of charity and zeal, who accompanied Cortez, and tried to restrain the ferocity of that tyrant. From the capital, Mexico, missionaries representing the principal Roman orders penetrated all parts of the new province, reached the shores of the Pacific, and formed a line of missions up the Pacific nearly to the present State of Washington. In twenty years the native tribes had nominally submitted to Christianity; and although it cannot be supposed that their conversion was a very deep affair, it was something to bury forever their brutal and abominable rites and accept the fair ceremonies of Catholicism.

Mexico

Other fields, more or less dependent on Mexico, were rapidly added to the Spanish domain in America. In 1542 Coronado led an expedition northward into the New Mexico and Arizona of our day, and the mission of the priest continued after that of the military adventurer was ended. The traces of this expedition are still to be seen in the old churches of Santa Fé and Tucson, and in the Roman Catholic faith of the mixed Indian and Spanish population. The conquest of Florida was begun by Panfilo de Narvaez in 1526, and completed about 1601. A Huguenot colony was established there, but the Spaniards would not allow it to live. They murdered the Huguenots, and established their own missions on the spot. This murder was avenged not long after by the intrepid Dominic de Gourges. Texas was organized into a mission by Father de Olmos in 1546. De Soto explored the

Mississippi Valley. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa and Alonzo de Ojeda explored the Isthmus of Darien, and added the contiguous regions to the same broadening domain of Spain and the Roman communion.

The evils of Spanish colonization were manifested in each of these sections. The conqueror was devoted to the Church, and missionaries became willing tools to compel obedience to the new Spanish authority. Wherever the natives refused allegiance to the religion of the conquerors, they were persecuted and even put to death. Las Casas, the one humane servant of the Church, reports that in Yucatan alone five millions of Mexican aborigines were slaughtered. The curse of Spanish cruelty in Mexico has never been counterbalanced by beneficence in other departments. The Aztec and other native races have always cherished a violent hostility to the very name of the Spaniard. As if a divine Nemesis had watched over those suffering people for three centuries, the freedom from Spanish rule and the birth of the Mexican Republic have been brought about by descendants of the natives whom the Spaniards persecuted. Juarez, the Washington of Mexico, was an Indian, and the first president, Diaz, is in part Indian, while Altamirano and other leading literary characters are of unmixed Indian blood.

The Evils of the Spanish Conquest

All the Spanish colonies in North America shared with Mexico the same narrow spirit. The Spaniard was in the New World to get what he could; to enforce his faith; to carry back gold to enrich the coffers of Spain and the pope; to add to his own dignity by grinding down the conquered races. Florida, the Mississippi Valley, the Pacific Coast, the West India Islands, and Central America became a vast feudatory territory, whose treasures were used for filling foreign coffers, and whose people were regarded as little better than slaves.

Scanty education was imparted to these millions newly added to the Roman faith. Some of the priests translated devotional and doctrinal treatises into the native tongues, in order the better to reach the people. The printing-press was early erected in both Mexico and Vera Cruz, but only as an instrument of ecclesiastical authority. Molina published in Mexico an Aztec and Spanish Dictionary in 1545—the first important philological work printed in America. Small works by Zumarraga were also published in

The Literary Result

the Aztec tongue in the city of Mexico. Many devotional works in the Spanish language were printed in Spain and Flanders, and introduced into Mexico for the better holding of the increasing Spanish population in willing subjection to the Roman Catholic Church.

"The Apostle of the Indies"

The one bright name in this history is that of Bartolomé de Las Casas, an heroic worker for Christ and humanity. He labored both as a preacher and a reformer. He felt with keen shame the degradation and slavery to which the Spaniards were subjecting the Indians, and he labored with all his might to do away with the vicious system of *repartimientos* (allotments), which made the natives no better than slaves. He received his inspiration to this work when preparing a sermon on Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 18–22: "He that taketh away his neighbor's living slayeth him; and he that defraudeth the laborer of his hire is a blood-shedder." In these benevolent movements he was thwarted, and often defeated, but he succeeded in materially bettering the condition of the Indians. "He crossed the ocean twelve times; he traversed every then known region of America and the islands; he made repeated journeys from Spain to Flanders and Germany, to see the emperor on the affairs of his mission; his literary labors would have been remarkable even in a scholar who had no calling outside of the halls of his college or the quiet of his private study." To relieve the Indians, Las Casas suggested the importation of Africans. But this he came afterwards to bitterly deplore. In his "History of the Indies" he says that if he had understood what he was doing he would not have given this advice for all the world. "For he always held that they had been made slaves unfairly and tyrannically, since the same reason holds good of them as of the Indians." More than once Las Casas stood between the natives and the ruthless sword of his countrymen.

CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH COLONIZATION

[Authorities.—Some of the best historical work has been done in this field. Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World (Boston, 1865), Jesuits in North America (1867), and his Wolfe and Montcalm (1884) are noble monuments of literary industry. Shea, Hist. of Catholic Missions among the Indians (N. Y., 1855), and The Jesuits, the Recollets, and the Indians in Winsor, Hist., vol. iv., chap. vi. See also Shea, Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi (Albany, 1861), and his translation of Charlevoix's History of New France (N. Y., 1866; new ed., 1872).]

Very soon after the discovery of America the French mariners caught from Spain and Portugal the spirit of discovery, and went westward in search of new lands, to add them to the dominion of France. They explored the regions of the present dominion of Canada, which became known on the map of the world as New France. They threaded the Mississippi, and planted colonies at favorable points. They formed friendly relations with the Indian tribes, and built up a powerful system of colonies, half religious and half political, which grew in strength as time advanced. This was the French Roman Catholic current to America, which, later, threatened to extinguish the Anglo-Saxon domination.

French Navigators

The French navigators who came to the western world were prompted by the spirit of discovery, financial gain, and temporal dominion. They were not willing that the Spanish, Portuguese, and English should monopolize either the glory or the advantage of discoveries and colonization on the Continent. Verazzani led an expedition in 1524 to North Carolina, and went northward as far as Newfoundland. Cartier continued where Verazzani left off, explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence, ascended the river as far as where Montreal now stands, and penetrated the great wilds of Canada. Champlain made still further explorations. He founded Quebec, and in 1608 made it the centre of his author-

ity in New France. He entered into friendly relations with the great Indian tribes. Under him the authority of France was established, and a new and vast territory was added to the domains of the French king.

The French had only to continue their exploration westward. No European colony stood in their way. Their Jesuit missionaries, who accompanied every exploring expedition, organized missions, taught the elements of their doctrines to the new Indian members, and counted no sacrifice too dear to convert the savages to Christianity. Montreal was founded, and became the seat of a strong Jesuit missionary force. Detroit was added to the map of the Jesuit world. The Huron tribes, whose northern territory skirted the frozen zone, became a special object of Jesuit zeal. So intense was this new enthusiasm that the northern regions of the present states of Maine and New York became a mission field. Here labored Fathers Druellettes and Jogues, who exhibited all the energy of Xavier in braving dangers from savages and the elements. Father Jogues, after enduring sufferings untold, was martyred by the Mohawks, with his companion, John Lalande, in 1646. Father Bressani, an Italian, who spent five years (1645–50) among the Hurons, wrote an account of his mission, which was printed at Macerata in 1653, and translated into French, with valuable notes, and published in Montreal in 1852, by Father Felix Martin, S. J., of St. Mary's College, Montreal. Nothing can exceed the consecration and dauntless courage with which the Jesuits carried the cross to the Indians of New York and Canada. One of the most noted of them was Brébeuf, who, with Lalemant, was put to death after horrible tortures (1649). On both sides of the St. Lawrence, and striking far into the interior, and going ever westward, the chain of missions extended along the shores of Lake Michigan, and to the far-off region of Lake Superior. Rome and France divided the glory. Realistic accounts were sent back to Europe, and an intense sympathy was aroused, in palace and hut, in behalf of the evangelization of tribes whose existence the Jesuit missionaries were the first to make known to the European world.

The Jesuits among the Hurons

The Mississippi Valley was explored by the French, and wherever the explorers went the Jesuit fathers established missions. Joliet, the layman, and Father Marquette, the Jes-

uit priest, continued westward until they struck the headwaters of the Mississippi, and descended it as far as the mouth of the Arkansas, when they returned to Canada. La Salle, more bold, descended the river to the Gulf of Mexico, and proclaimed the valley of the Mississippi a possession of his king, Louis XIV. of France. Iberville sailed from France in 1698 with an expedition, and later, in 1700, established a French colony near the mouth of the Mississippi. In the path of these explorations missions were established at every convenient point. Indians were gathered into the Roman fold along the great river and its tributaries. A chain of missions extended from the gulf directly northward into the interior of Canada, and thence eastward as far as the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean.

The outcome of the great French colonial system, in its early period, promised largely. The leading Jesuit fathers were heroes in endurance and daring. In the annals of the Christian Church their self-sacrifice is not surpassed. The accounts which they sent back to France concerning their work, and which pass by the name of the "Jesuit Relations," are among the rarest and most brilliant narratives of missionary operations produced by the modern Church. As time advanced, the Jesuit character passed largely from the spiritual guide into the political agent. No European in America has ever possessed the confidence of the Indian as did the French Jesuit. While the first lesson which the Western and the Northern Indian was taught was loyalty to Christ, in the same breath was taught loyalty to the King of France. In time the second loyalty was the stronger lesson. The Indian was urged to hate the English. The Englishman was loathed as the Protestant, and therefore the enemy. The colonial missions along the Mississippi now grew in commercial importance. The chain along the Lakes, extending from the northwestern limit of Lake Superior to the Atlantic Ocean, was far behind the English advance in New England, the middle, and the southern colonies. There was religious stagnation and political retrogression.

The Outcome of the French Colonial System

English and French colonists in Canada had now developed so far, and had come into such frequent collision, that a final solution was soon to be reached. The struggle between the English on the one side and the French and Indians on the

other at Fort Duquesne (the present Pittsburgh) in 1754 resulted in the defeat of the English under Braddock. This gave the whole West into the hands of the French. But the English were not ready to surrender the contest. The war was carried into Canada and along the southern side of the St. Lawrence. Monckton subdued the French in Nova Scotia in 1755. Fort Duquesne, Frontenac, and Louisbourg fell into English hands in 1758. Niagara, Crown Point, and Ticonderoga were now also wrested from the French. The final struggle was for Quebec. Here the English also won. Wolfe received a fatal wound, but when told "They run!" he had strength to ask, "Who run?" The answer was, "The French." He answered, "I thank God; I die happy."

The English Conquest

This was the end of French dominion in Canada. All the vast dreams of a New France in the western world were now over. The treaty which followed the fall of Quebec gave all the territory east of the Mississippi to England. This conquest of Canada by the English was second only to the Revolutionary War in its effects on Protestantism in America. Without it, the success of the Revolution would hardly have been possible. It meant that America should be a Protestant, and not a Catholic, nation. The pivot of all American Church history turns on the battle where the brave Montcalm met his fate on the plains of Abraham, September 13th, 1759.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENGLISH COLONIZATION: VIRGINIA AND MASSACHUSETTS

[AUTHORITIES.—See the United States histories. For the Virginia Colony, see Hawks, History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia (N. Y., 1836); Meade, Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia (Phila., 1857, 2 vols.); and the Histories of Virginia. For Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, see Goodwin, The Pilgrim Republic (Boston, 1888); and Ellis, The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay (Boston, 1888), which are books of the first importance. Adams, The Emancipation of Massachusetts (Boston, 1887), is too one-sided in its bitterness towards the Puritans. Bacon, Genesis of the New England Churches (N. Y., 1874), develops with accuracy the differences between the Pilgrim Fathers and the Puritans, and traces the successive steps of the former in England, Holland, and America with admirable clearness and fulness. Palfrey, The History of New England (Boston, 1858–78, vols. i.–iv.; 1890, vol. v.), is a standard work, learned and impartial.]

The First English Discoveries

ENGLAND was profoundly impressed by the Spanish discoveries in America. Her rulers and her sailors were alike anxious, from different motives, to gather into the British domain whatever treasures and territory the New World might give them. It was a European race for gold, for furs, for land. So far, Spain had the advantage. But the Anglo-Saxon, in all modern history, has been the king of circumstance. Four years after Columbus knelt on the shore of the little island of San Salvador, and raised the cross, John Cabot sailed from England westward to reach China. Henry VII. had given him authority to discover unknown lands, and incorporate them with the British Isles. While he sailed for China, he touched the bleak shore of Labrador. On a second voyage he discovered Newfoundland and the New England coast, and skirted the Atlantic coast down to Florida. Other English discoverers followed in his bold ocean pathway —Martin Frobisher, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Captain John Smith, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Gorges. Sir Humphrey Gil-

bert was lost at sea, and shortly before his death he was heard to say, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." Wherever these discoverers went they laid claim to the land in the name of the British crown. It was little concern whether Spain or France had already claimed it. The future would decide which was the abler to hold and colonize.

The first stage in development was to colonize. The James River Colony was the first attempt at permanent occupation.

The James River Colony

This colony consisted of English Cavaliers, devoted adherents of the Established Church. The colonists arrived in Virginia, and settled on the bank of James River, in 1607. The easy-going, gentlemanly element predominated. Of the one hundred and five colonists, only twelve were tillers of the soil. The leader was John Smith. The Church of England was established as the ecclesiastical body. It was required that each male over sixteen years of age should pay annually ten pounds of tobacco and one bushel of corn for the support of the clergy. As new settlements should be formed, lands must be set apart for the incumbent. Tithes were afterwards instituted. None but ministers episcopally ordained could officiate in the colony. The laws of the colony were fully as severe as those of the Puritan colony at the North. The Rev. Robert Hunt accompanied the first expedition, and he labored with commendable zeal for the spiritual welfare of the colonists. Alexander Whitaker was a later apostle. It was through his influence that Pocahontas was converted. A noble purpose to convert the Indians was thwarted by an attempted massacre of the whites, March, 1622. Very soon there arose trouble in the little body. John Smith had his enemies, and they were not slow to express their hostility. One of the members of this colony was Sandys, who wrote the first English work ever produced in the western hemisphere—a translation of Ovid's "Metamorphoses." By trouble with the Indians, by depletion through disease, and from other causes, the colonists were reduced to great need, and but for a timely reinforcement would probably have become extinct. The first stage of difficulty having passed, the period of earnest practical work began. John Smith wrote back to England a letter disabusing the public mind of its dream of gold from Virginia by saying, "Nothing is to be expected thence but by labor." Corn was planted, houses were built, tobacco-fields

were cultivated, and in fifteen years the number of colonists, increased by later energetic arrivals, numbered five thousand people.

Plymouth Colony

The Plymouth Colony arrived in 1620, at Cape Cod. These men were the boldest, most original, and most devout of all the organized colonies which landed on the American shore. The Pilgrims were revolutionists in the highest moral sense. The little company of Brownists, who were Separatists from the Established Church, sailed from Scrooby, in Lincolnshire, England, for Holland, intending to make that country their permanent abode. They remained in Amsterdam one year, then went to Leyden, and lived twelve years, where they had a church of three hundred communicants, and finally determined to try their fortunes in the New World; or, as Canning has said, "They turned to the New World to redress the balance of the Old." Two of their number—Robert Cushman and John Carver—were sent to England to secure a patent to unite with the Virginia Colony. A patent seems to have been received, but it did them no good. The Pilgrims left Leyden for England, and set sail from Plymouth in the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*. The latter vessel proved unseaworthy, and returned. The *Mayflower* crossed the ocean, and on November 9th, 1620, she dropped anchor at Cape Cod. The next month they removed permanently from Cape Cod, and settled on the western side of Massachusetts Bay, where they built a town, and called it Plymouth, after the last place which they had left in England. John Robinson had been the pastor in Leyden. He remained in Europe, but comforted his flock by sympathetic administration until they sailed, and by pastoral letters after their departure. Robinson is a man to be held in everlasting remembrance. More than any other man he is the founder of independency as a developed system. A graduate of Cambridge, he was a man of liberal spirit and broad views. He was one of the heralds of toleration. He acknowledged the Church of England as a true Church, and he admitted the Dutch Christians to communion. When the Pilgrims were leaving Delftshaven he told them that he "bewailed the state and condition of the Reformed Churches, which had come to a period in religion, and could go no further than the instruments of their reformation, Luther and Calvin." God had "more truth to break forth

from his Word," and they should be ready to receive that further light. "It was not possible that the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-Christian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once." It was no doubt due to his liberal counsels that the Plymouth Colony ("the Old Colony," as it has been often called) was never rent with such fierce divisions, nor persecuted dissentients with such ruthless rigor, as the later colony of Massachusetts Bay. The Plymouth colonists suffered from disease, the inroads of the Indians, and the scarcity of food. They "knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning." The first winter they buried one half of their little company of one hundred and ten under the snow. One of the noblest members of this band was William Brewster, their ruling elder, who had spent his fortune in aiding his brethren, and had set up a printing-press in Leyden, where he published many theological works. He was the soul of the band, encouraging them, and on Sundays preaching to them. Not being ordained, he never administered the sacraments, and was superseded by the coming of the first regular minister, William Ralph, in 1629.

Massachusetts Bay Colony

The Colony of Massachusetts Bay was secured by the English Puritans in 1629. Probably Charles I. would never have granted this Puritan request but for its character —permission to leave his realm. Then, too, he may have been influenced by the fact that James I., in November, 1620, had granted a charter to forty persons for a belt of territory between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This charter had been dissolved, and the new charter for Massachusetts Bay might safely take its place. Winthrop, with a company of eight hundred men, was the Massachusetts leader. He said, "I shall call that my country where I may most glorify God and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends." The Massachusetts men consisted of the middle class of English Puritans. Some were lawyers and members of other learned professions. Others were good farmers, men of large landed estates, Oxford scholars, and divines. Among the clergy were such intellectual giants as Cotton, Hooker, and Roger Williams. We must remember the difference between the Pilgrim colony of 1620 and the Puritan colony of 1628. The

Pilgrim Fathers were Congregationalists, out-and-out Separatists, who believed the Church of England to be Antichrist, and still involved in the toils of popery. They were irreconcilably opposed to any compromise with her. The Puritans, who came later, were members of the Church of England, who believed in and loved "their dear mother Church," but who desired to see in her a more radical reform. They would not willingly break with the national Church, but they labored earnestly for a further reformation on the lines of the New Testament.* This being the case, it is remarkable that, when out of the shadow of the Establishment, the Puritan immigration should have drifted of their own accord to substantial agreement on matters of church government with their more thorough brethren. For one thing, the spectre of Laud made them afraid of a polity that could arm itself with the terrors of a Star-Chamber Court.

A body of two hundred colonists was already established at Salem. Winthrop's men united with them. Some seven hundred more colonists followed in the wake of Winthrop's ships. There was no hope whatever for any favor in England. The whole trend of royal authority was against the Puritans. Archbishop Laud was persecuting all non-conformists, without even the pretence of mercy. The Puritans looked to America as probably their only safe asylum. It is safe to believe there was not a Puritan fireside in England at which the hope of going to America was not entertained. During the ten or eleven years preceding the Long Parliament not less than two hundred ships left England, bearing towards the western world twenty thousand Puritans. "Farewell, dear England," they said, as the English coast faded from their view, while Winthrop's followers wrote back to the less fortunate brethren: "Our hearts shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness."

The amalgamation of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay was only a question of time. The two bodies differed essentially. The Plymouth men had no royal author-

* The principles of the two parties are excellently and fully drawn out by Dr. Leonard Bacon in his "Genesis of the New England Churches" (N. Y., 1874).

ity; were without charter; cared nothing for it; rejoiced in their independence; were outside of the Church of England; indeed, carried a free lance from the hour they left Scrooby for Holland. The men of Massachusetts Bay were a political body. The charter was to the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England. They had large authority, and could admit new members on any terms they pleased. They professed strong attachment to the king, but enjoyed the liberty of an ocean between Massachusetts Bay and Charles I. We cannot be surprised that a serious question now arose: How would these two colonies stand related to each other? While Massachusetts Bay Colony had royal credentials, and was of greater number, the Plymouth Colony was older; had been making laws; expanding; studying the Indian character; organizing a church; developing, under Miles Standish, a military system; in fact, founding a nation. The smaller body gave strength to the larger. Whatever bonds held the Massachusetts men to dear England were now seen to be useless. In due time the two bodies were marvellously alike—all were Separatists from the Establishment; all met together in ecclesiastical synods; the civil and the religious life became a unit. Little Plymouth had proved stronger than large Massachusetts Bay. At the organization of the Salem Church, the mother Church of Massachusetts Bay, in 1629, when Skelton was ordained pastor and Francis Higginson teacher—the first ordination in New England—the Church at Plymouth sent fraternal delegates who approved what was done, and gave the right hand of fellowship. From that moment Congregationalism has been the historic polity of the New England Churches.

Union

CHAPTER V

MARYLAND, PENNSYLVANIA, AND OTHER ENGLISH COLONIES

[AUTHORITIES.—Neill, The English Colonization of America (London, 1871), is of special value here. For Maryland, consult Bozman, History of Maryland (Baltimore, 1837, 2 vols.); McSherry, ditto (1849); and Scharf, ditto (1879, 3 vols.)—Scharf's views of the Maryland toleration are just and discriminating; Hawks, The Episcopal Church in Maryland (N. Y., 1839); Randall, The Puritan Colony at Annapolis, Md. (Baltimore, 1886); Ingle, Parish Institutions in Maryland (Baltimore, 1883); McIlvain, Early Presbyterianism in Maryland (Baltimore, 1890); Egle, History of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 2d ed., 1882). The character of Penn and the nature of his toleration are still in dispute.]

THE Colony of Maryland was the only English colony of the Roman Catholic faith. Sir George Calvert (Lord Baltimore) had been a Protestant, but became a Roman Catholic. England was therefore no place for him. He, with a company of the same communion, secured a charter for the founding of a colony in Maryland. In order to carry out his plan, he had the shrewdness to see that a colony of Roman Catholics alone would not be tolerated. The first Lord Baltimore died before his charter received the royal seal, but the pledges were made good to his son Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore. Freedom was granted to all Christian faiths. The first Maryland law was: "No person within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." This was the first declaration of perfect religious liberty in the New World. Unitarians, however, were excluded. The colonists, about two hundred in number, arrived in 1634. The colony was called Maryland, after Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I. The first stage in its history was prosperous. The legislative assembly was composed of all the freemen of the colony. People of different religious beliefs dwelt peaceably together. While the Catholics were

Maryland

at the outset in the majority, the Protestants increased so rapidly that they soon gained the upperhand. By the end of the century the Protestants had control. In 1654 the Assembly deprived Catholics of their civil rights, and further decreed that liberty of conscience should not extend to "popery, prelacy, or licentiousness." On this Bancroft makes the remark, "The Puritans had neither the gratitude to respect the rights of the government by which they had been received and fostered, nor magnanimity to continue the toleration to which alone they were indebted for their residence in the colony." In 1688, when the deputies of Baltimore delayed in proclaiming the new government of William and Mary, the Protestants revolted, and overthrew the feudal government. Then the Church of England was established by law and supported by public taxes. Very soon (1704) additional penal laws were enacted against the Catholics, whose priests were forbidden to hold mass or exercise any spiritual function, except in private houses. These restrictions continued until the Revolutionary War. Maryland presents the only case known in history of a country founded by Catholics for Catholics giving entire religious liberty to all comers, who, when they became the majority, took their sweet revenge by turning against their fellow-religionists the weapons of intolerance.

Southern Colonies

Other southern colonies were now organized. North Carolina was settled mainly through the Virginia colonists, who went thither, introduced their own usages and laws, and established the Church of England as the faith of the colony. South Carolina also received colonial settlers from Virginia. It began to be a colonial field about 1670. Its laws were at first very liberal, all faiths being protected with equal favor. But in time the Church of England gained greatest strength, and became the established ecclesiastical system. Georgia was colonized by the humane Oglethorpe in 1732. He brought thither a colony consisting mostly of English debtors. At this time one of the most badly treated of all classes in England was the debtors. The mere inability to pay a debt was the ground of the grossest inhumanity. These people were invited to join Oglethorpe, and they became the basis of the future population of Georgia. Persecuted Protestants from Austria settled later in Georgia. Jews were welcomed. In Oglethorpe's colony were John and Charles Wes-

ley, who came as missionaries to the Indians. Wesley's mission in Georgia was a failure. His extremely High-Church notions, and his enforcement of the canons of his Church, produced a most virulent opposition, which compelled him to leave the colony.

The first colonists in Pennsylvania were Swedes, Dutch, and English. But the first charter for a regular colony was granted to William Penn, by Charles II., in 1681. Though Penn was a Quaker, and his faith prevailed among the people whom he led to Pennsylvania, all communions were granted full liberty. The restrictions on individual liberty were in the direction of morals rather than of faith—balls, theatres, masquerades, cock and bull fights being prohibited. Penn visited Germany, and large numbers of Germans accepted his invitation and settled in the new colony. Penn's just and humane attitude towards the Indians made them the friends of his colony. He bought of them the land where Philadelphia now stands. They promised: "We will live in love with William Penn and his children, and with his children's children, as long as the moon and sun endure." The Quakers, who were persecuted everywhere else in America except Rhode Island, came to Pennsylvania. It was the refuge for all the persecuted along the Atlantic coast.

Pennsylvania

The Scotch-Irish became an important factor in the new Protestant colonization. It is probable that the Scotch stood next to the English in determining the religious quality of the great body of American colonists. Charles II., when he became king, forgot the service which the Scotch had done for his succession to the English throne, and immediately began to persecute them. They were Presbyterians, and in sympathy with the Puritans. That was enough for Charles II., who, being a Stuart, was not bound by a sense of honor or obligation. He abolished Presbyterianism in Scotland, and established the Court of High Commission. Persecution of the Presbyterians in Scotland and the North of Ireland became the order of the day. They saw that their only hope lay in hastening to America. They fled the country in large numbers during the reigns of both Charles II. and James II. They went to no particular colony, but only where they had an opportunity to exercise their rights of conscience. Some went to Maine, but the larger number went to East New Jer-

The Scotch Quota

sey and Pennsylvania. They went westward in Pennsylvania along the Susquehanna valley, entered the Cumberland valley, and continued into Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky. This element has been one of the most useful and influential in our national life, as it has always stood for education, morality, liberty, and progress.

Other colonists arrived from various parts of Europe. The Moravians, under the guidance of Zinzendorf, came to Pennsylvania, organized societies in Philadelphia, and made Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, the centre of their work. Moravians also settled in Connecticut, North Carolina, and, to a limited extent, also in Georgia. The Salzburger Protestants, driven out of Austria because of their faith, were granted land and all civil and religious rights by Oglethorpe in Georgia, where they aided largely in the development of that colony. Protestant Poles joined in the colonial current to America. Italian Protestants came over, and settled in New York, where the people of the Reformed Church extended hospitality to them and took collections in the churches for their relief.

CHAPTER VI

CONTINENTAL COLONIES: DUTCH, SWEDES, HUGUENOTS, AND OTHER PROTESTANTS

[Authorities.—Brodhead, History of the State of New York, 1609–91 (N. Y., 1853–71, 2 vols.); O'Callahan, History of New Netherlands (N. Y., 1855, 2 vols.); Martha Lamb, History of New York City (N. Y., 1877); Baird, History of Huguenot Emigration to America (N. Y., 1885, 2 vols.); Weiss, History of French Protestant Refugees (N. Y., 1854, 2 vols.), vol. i., book iv.]

The Dutch

The Dutch were among the most daring navigators of this period. Rejoicing in their new independence, they sailed over distant seas, and took possession of new territory with all the vigor and heroism which they had displayed in enduring the siege of Leyden and resisting the oppression of Spain. Their present possessions in the East Indies are still a testimony to their success on the Oriental seas. "The Truth of the Christian Religion," by Grotius, written for the heathen world, was one of the strongest, as it was one of the first, pleas

of the times for a universal gospel. America came in for its share of Dutch colonial enterprise. The discovery of the North River by Henry Hudson gave his country the first claim to Manhattan Island, now the site of New York. The Dutch erected there the first cluster of houses in 1614, which was meant as a trading-station with the Indians. They established other posts along the coast, but this was always the centre of their trade, which consisted chiefly in the exchange of European articles with the Indians for furs.

Little Dutch communities were established on Long Island, Staten Island, along the Hudson River, westward along the Mohawk, and in New Jersey along the Passaic valley. They organized their first church in New York in 1628, though there is evidence that laymen called comforters of the sick, who came over with the original traders, gathered the people for worship as early as 1619, or earlier. It was not until 1623 that the first permanent Dutch settlement was made. Jonas Michaelius has the credit of organizing the first Dutch congregation (1628). A church in Albany was erected soon after. The established religion was the Reformed. The ministers, such as Frelinghuysen and others, who were educated and talented men, came directly from Holland. The Dutch language was used in the pulpit, and even continued in some cases down to 1764. When New Netherlands was ceded to the English, the name of New York was given to the town and the colony. The population of the town at the time of the cession was about ten thousand.

The Colony of New Sweden was established by Swedes, who settled on the banks of the Delaware in 1638. They brought with them the Lutheran faith, and lost nothing of their Protestant attachment by removing to the New World. Gustavus Adolphus took special interest in the colony at its inception, but was killed on the victorious field of Lützen before its success was assured. The pastors of the colony paid special attention to the conversion of the Indians. Luther's Catechism was translated into the Indian tongue. Campanius and Acrelius sent back minute accounts of the progress of the colony, and their works are two of the best accounts of American colonization extant. There was early conflict with the Dutch, who asserted their claim to the Swedish territory. Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of New Netherlands, led an expedition

against the Swedish Colony in 1655, which, after seventeen years of prosperous existence, now came to an end. But the Dutch ownership was brief. The same Stuyvesant, nine years later, hauled down the Dutch flag, surrendered to the English fleet, and New Amsterdam henceforth became New York. After this the Church of England became established by law, and it was with difficulty that even the Dutch could maintain their ancestral rights.

The French Huguenots were an important part of the great body of the incoming colonists. The Edict of Nantes had been issued in the interest of the Protestants, who, in France, bore the name of Huguenots. It was not all they wished or merited, but it guaranteed certain civil and religious rights. When this Edict was revoked by Louis XIV. (1685), it was a signal for violent persecution. As many as half a million of French Protestants were driven out of the country. Some went to Holland, others to Germany, others to England, others to the Cape of Good Hope, and still others to America. As early as 1662 we find Jean Touton applying to the Massachusetts Bay Colony for permission to live there. He was granted the privilege. In 1686 a tract of eleven thousand acres of land in Massachusetts was ceded to a Huguenot colony, who settled at Oxford. In 1656 a body of Huguenots was welcomed at New Amsterdam. They founded the town of New Rochelle, on the East River. In 1666 there were Huguenots in Maryland, and in Virginia in 1671. In 1679 Charles II. of England sent two ship-loads of Huguenots to South Carolina. In 1703 the Huguenots were naturalized as citizens in New York. The Huguenots who came to America, and thus distributed themselves in various parts of the colonies, had neither the ambition nor the taste for political colonization. Their sole purpose was freedom for life and faith. No purer Europeans have ever landed on the American coast than the Huguenots of France. Their descendants have adorned every path of life, and in war and in peace their names have been in the front rank of Christians and citizens.

The German immigration to America arose out of the persecution of Protestants in the Palatinate by the troops of Louis XIV. of France. The French soldiers persecuted them without mercy. All were stripped of their possessions, and many were killed. Those who escaped had to flee the country.

Some fled to Northern Germany, where the Elector of Brandenburg gave them a cordial welcome to Berlin. Others fled to Ireland, and yet others settled in England. But the general wish was to reach America. Some settled along the Hudson and the Mohawk, but the most of the Germans went to Pennsylvania, distributing themselves from Philadelphia into the interior of the State. The new colony founded by William Penn received large accessions from the Germans. While they did not become Quakers, they were equally welcomed, and became an important population of the new colony. Before the Revolution nearly all the Germans coming to America were Protestants. From Maine to Georgia they rapidly distributed themselves, uniting with the colonies in all their great interests, and helping to plant political liberty and an unfettered gospel.

The Germans in Pennsylvania

CHAPTER VII

THE PROVIDENTIAL PLANTING

When the American planting began, Europe was undergoing a complete transformation. The old conditions were breaking up, and a new departure was at hand. The English language had taken the place of the Norman French in England, and represented the popular drift towards larger political and religious liberty. In 1362, the English was ordered in the courts of English law. Wycliffe's tracts were in the newly liberated tongue, and gave the people their first taste of truth in a language dear to their hearts. Chaucer was the first poet to present in English verse the coming larger life of the Anglo-Saxon intellect. English and Continental commerce was extended all over the face of the world. Caxton had made the printing-press the possession of the Anglo-Saxon race. The people of England now first saw the industrial field opening before them. Agriculture showed signs of becoming what it was in republican Rome—the best of all manual employments. The eastern coast of England was learning from the Flemish weavers, who were now their guests,

Favorable European Conditions

those lessons of manufacturing which to this day have made England a large producer for all lands.

Protestants were conquering on the great fields of Germany, England, and Scandinavia. Even when they failed in liberty, their faith in final triumph failed not. The Puritans, burning with shame at the royal deception, looked westward to find their true home. When the colonies in America were planted, both from England and the Continent, the people who constituted them arrived at the moment of European awakening. They brought the best aspirations of the Old World, and determined to realize them in the New. The hour of American colonization was the fittest one, in all modern times, for the New World to receive the best which the Old World had to give.

The Territorial Allotment

The territorial distribution of the colonists was not less providential. The territorial successes of the Spanish knights, and Jesuit fathers who accompanied them, were confined to a doubtful settlement in Florida, to the great province of New Spain (Mexico), and to a strip of the Pacific coast. The French Roman Catholic explorers and the Jesuit fathers were limited to Indian evangelization and an uncertain territory along the St. Lawrence, the northern chain of lakes, and the Mississippi valley. The great English field of colonization lay between these two. It is the temperate belt of North America—the region which nature had fitted for the most aggressive mission in Western civilization. Spain's field has become more contracted as the centuries have passed. She now holds no foot of land on the North American continent. Louisiana passed from her hands into French possession, and in 1803 the French sold it to the United States. This purchase, made to fill the empty exchequer of Napoleon I., placed the Mississippi in the possession of the United States, and made the whole domain from that river to the Pacific a future certainty. The French bade fair to own all Canada. The ownership was at last reduced to the fortunes of one battle—that of Quebec, in 1759. Here the English conquered. This culmination of a long and bitter series of wars between France and England made the English the possessors of that immense tract lying between the United States and the polar seas, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The war with Mexico, closing in 1848, gave the

United States the great State of Texas, which covers an area of two hundred and seventy-five thousand square miles. The territory now protected by the flag of the United States is a rich inheritance. Every part of it is a witness to the providential guidance of our fathers to these shores, and a reminder of the obligation upon their posterity to mould our immigrant population into a righteous citizenship.

God's ordering for America is seen as well in the type of men who made the nation. With some exceptions, they were the wheat of the Old World. Unlike many of our recent immigrants, they came to make here their permanent homes. They cut the last tie that bound them to the elder civilization, and entered heart and soul, for life and death, into the struggle of this new and rising land. Besides, they were religious men, swayed by righteous principles, who feared God, and him only. They were men of intelligence, far-sighted, who had been trained in the rough discipline of an age that tried men's souls, and they were thus able to lay broad and deep the foundations of a republic whose corner-stones are freedom and law.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE COLONIES

[Authorities. — Besides general histories and authorities previously cited, see Curtis, History of the Constitution of the United States (N. Y., 1854; new ed., 1890), and Lodge, Short History of the English Colonies in America (N. Y., 1881).]

No uniformity in authority is perceptible in the first colonial organizations. Each arose out of the exigencies of the time. The caprice of the ruler, the necessity of the emigration because of suffering at home, and the favor of the leaders with the court and the people, were each a factor which determined the nature of the new government. The colonies, when once established in the New World, were simply a group of local governments, a cluster of diverse republics, each dependent more or less on the order of the government at home. But in all there was larger liberty than either the colonists or their

rulers had anticipated. The Atlantic added new and deeper colors to the aspirations for freedom by giving scope and occasion to self-government. Freed from embarrassment by their distance from the Old-World tyrannies, the colonists could set themselves to the task of government in the serious spirit of men placed by Providence at the beginning of a new venture in the history of the world.

The Systems of Colonial Government

There were four varieties of colonial authority and government. One was the Charter governments. This was the type of Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Plymouth, without the formality of charter, possessed the same authority. Large liberty was allowed, and larger liberty was taken than was granted. While there was a general accounting to the home government, these colonies had the power of assessing their own taxes, regulating their ecclesiastical system, and determining their colonial legislature. The governor had to account to England for his conduct. But the Assembly chose his council, and the Assembly was elected by popular suffrage. This large liberty to the popular will was the one fatal cause of dissolving the subjection of the provinces to England. It bred the Revolution, and the Republic. The Provincial and Royal Grants were the second form of authority. Here was the closest relation to the British crown. Both the governor and the council were appointed by the king. There were two houses of legislature, the council being the upper one. The lower house were elected by the people. New Hampshire, New Jersey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia were under this form. The third were the Proprietary Grants. These were grants to the proprietors, who could appoint their own governor and convene the legislative body. But there was provision that no act should be done which would interfere with the original authority of the crown. Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware were under this form. In appearance, this was the most liberal of all the forms of colonial government. But New England was so managed by the people and their governors that they *took* the most authority. The fourth class consisted of irregular colonies, which had no royal authority whatever, but settled among others who did possess it. The Huguenots, the first Germans, the Salzburg emigrants, the Moravians, and the few Polish and Waldensian Protestants belonged to this class. They

identified themselves with the interests of the colonists who received them and gave them hospitality.

Religious liberty under these various forms was very diverse. Pennsylvania and Delaware had it in the fullest sense, and the later colony of Rhode Island made it one of her chief boasts. Discriminations were allowed, however, against the Catholics even in Pennsylvania, and some time after 1688 Rhode Island passed a law disfranchising them. This law remained in force till the Revolution brought French soldiers and chaplains to the harbor of Newport. The Church of England was established in Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, the Carolinas, and Georgia. But even here there were varieties of liberty. The Episcopalian establishment in Virginia was exceedingly tyrannical. No one but Episcopalian ministers was allowed to conduct service. When, on account of the shocking moral condition of the people, some New England ministers were sent for, they were immediately banished the colony. "Schismatical persons, either out of averseness to the orthodox established religion, or out of the new-fangled conceits of their own heretical inventions, who should refuse to have their children baptized, in contempt of the divine sacrament of baptism," should be fined two thousand pounds of tobacco, half to go to the informer and half to the parish. The attempts to suppress the Baptists and Quakers proceeded to great lengths of cruelty. In Georgia, however, where the benign plans of Oglethorpe were carried out, the spirit of toleration reigned. While in New York the Reformed Church was established by immigrants from Holland, under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company, as early as 1628, or earlier, there was but little freedom of conscience. After the English conquest of New Amsterdam the English Church, by the act of 1693, became virtually established by law,* and it was with difficulty that even the Dutch Church could maintain

Religious Liberty

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* Dr. E. T. Corwin holds that the Church of England was never a legally established Church in New York Colony. The Ministry Act of 1693 was changed in its passage to assume a much more liberal complexion than its framers intended, so that there is nothing in it to warrant the statement of the Trinity Church charter (1697) that the Church of England is established by law. Besides, the act applied only to four counties.

her rights, while to the Presbyterian and all other churches no legal privilege was allowed. Of all the New England colonies, Rhode Island was the first to declare perfect religious toleration. This was due entirely to the leadership of Roger Williams. He was at first a Puritan, but, adopting Baptist and Independent views, he was outlawed, and but for timely escape would have been forcibly exported back to England.

CHAPTER IX

CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THE COLONIES

The Church of England being the established faith for the most of the colonies, there was no separate colonial legislation for ecclesiastical order. All that the governors and councils and legislative bodies needed to do was to provide for the support of the clergy and the erection of edifices. There was universal scarcity of ministers. One of the great causes of the religious decline in Virginia was the want of clerical supplies. All who were in office had to come over as ordained men.

The Church laws in New England proceeded directly from the civil authority. The support of the clergy, the establishment of churches, and the duties of the governing body were prescriptions of colonial legislation. In the first Court of Assistants for Massachusetts Bay, on August 23d, 1630, the first question was the support of the clergy. In the same year the first church in Boston and Charlestown was organized, and Wilson was ordained to the ministry. There was, considering the population, a rapid increase of churches. In fifteen years after the landing at Plymouth the tenth church was organized.

Church Laws

The New England synods were the source of ecclesiastical doctrine until a definite order of local church government was adopted. Cotton's book, "The Keys," was the guide. The first New England Synod met in 1637. But this was a tentative measure. No platform of discipline or doctrine was established by it. In 1646 a request was made to the legislature

of Massachusetts that it should call a synod for the purpose of establishing a "Platform of Church Discipline." Objections were made, many people fearing tyrannical measures. In 1647 the synod met, by order of the legislature, and Cotton, Partridge, and Richard Mather were appointed to frame a platform.

The Cambridge Platform

In 1648 the celebrated Cambridge Platform was produced as the report of the committee. The Westminster Confession of Faith was adopted as the doctrinal basis of the synod, and "commended to the churches of Christ among us, and to the honored court, as worthy of their due consideration and acceptance." It declared that the members of the visible Church are saints; that their children are holy; that the offices of pastor and of teacher are distinct; that the special work of pastor is to attend to exhortation, and of the teacher to doctrine; that the office of ruling elder is distinct from those of pastor and teacher; that Church officers are to be chosen by the Church, and ordained by imposition of hands; that the requisite for membership is repentance of sin, and faith in Jesus Christ; and that synods and councils must determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience, and bear witness against maladministration and corruption in doctrines and manners. In 1679 another synod confirmed this platform. As all these synods met by order of the legislature, and were approved by the same body, the platform itself had all the force of civil law, and was the order in courts of law. There was a strong dash of Presbyterianism in the early New England polity, which was, in fact, not purged out till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Reforming Synod

The Reforming Synod—the one of 1679—was held for the special purpose of taking action in regard to the sufferings of the New England colonists. Probably at no time in the colonial or national history has there been such an accumulation of disasters as at this time. The Indian depredations were widespread and devastating; storms along the coast had wrecked many vessels; droughts had cut off the harvests; pestilence had raged in various localities; and fire had spread havoc in the homes and among industries. The legislature called on the churches to send elders and messengers to meet in synod, and discuss two questions—What are the prevailing evils of New England? and, What

is to be done that these evils may be removed? The synod concluded that the disastrous phenomena were due to the wickedness of the people, such as decay of godliness; spirit of contention; young people not mindful of the obligations of baptism; profanation of the Sabbath; profaning of God's name; neglect of prayer and scriptural reading; intemperance; and forsaking the churches. The synod also declared that the members of the churches must advance in piety, renew their vows, support the schools, and cry fervently for the "rain of righteousness." The result was that "this synod was followed with many of the good effects which were desired and expected by its friends."

The Boston Synod of 1680, of which Increase Mather was moderator, adopted a Confession of Faith. With few exceptions, it was the same as that of the Westminster Assembly, and later of the General Assembly of Scotland. It was, in fact, only more elaborate, the same Confession as the Cambridge Platform of 1648. A reason was urged for adopting the European Reformed Confessions, "that so they might not only with one heart, but with one mouth, glorify God and our Lord Jesus Christ." Henceforth this was the doctrinal basis of the churches of colonial New England.

The Saybrook Platform was adopted by the ministers and delegates of the Colony of Connecticut in 1708. The motion for a synod arose from a request of the trustees of Yale College in 1703. This platform reaffirmed the Savoy Confession, a Congregational symbol of Cromwell's time (1658), and took its doctrinal form chiefly from the Westminster Confession. It made a departure towards Presbyterianism in its creation of consociations or permanent councils whose decisions were to be final, as some hold, or merely advisory, as others maintain. But the tendency afterwards was here also towards purer Congregationalism. These articles were approved by the legislative body as a law of the colony of Connecticut, and became the civil constitution for all the churches of the colony.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION

[Authorities.—Schem and Kiddle, Cyclopædia of Education (N. Y., 1877); Boone, History of Education in the United States (N. Y., 1889); Quincy History of Harvard University (1840), The Harvard Book; Clap, Annals of Yale College (1766); Baldwin, Annals of Yale College (New Haven, 1831); Adams, The College of William and Mary (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1887); Richardson and Clark, The College Book (Boston, 1878). The Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior is publishing a valuable series of monographs on the educational history of the various states.]

Educational Efforts

The educational spirit of the first colonists was intense. The Virginia colony numbered among its members men who had been thoroughly educated, and whose associations and tastes fitted them for an appreciation of the value of education to their posterity. The New England colonists, while not from an equally elevated social position in the Old World, were far more devoted to literary pursuits, and were more keenly alive to the importance of culture for the well-being of the population. It was the authorship of the Pilgrims which caused their exile in Holland. They had written, and therefore they had to suffer. John Robinson, their pastor, was a disputant against Episcopius in the University of Leyden. His writings, which have been preserved, were such as to aid largely in moulding the New England mind in its most plastic period. Brewster was both publisher and author. The records of Winthrop, Morton, and others show the skill with which the first Puritans of New England knew how to use the pen. One half of their ministers were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge. Divines like Mather, Cotton, and Thomas Hooker were men of great ability and learning.

One of the first thoughts of the New England colonists was elementary education for their children. The first common

school was established in New England about 1640, and became the herald of all the common schools in the United States. "Salem had a free school in 1640, Boston in 1642, Cambridge about the same time, and the state, in 1647, marked out an elaborate system of common and grammar schools."* Instruction was gratuitous, the expenses being met by direct tax on the inhabitants of the town. Schools of various grades sprang up in all parts of the New England colonies, though Boston very early became the centre. In 1635 an appropriation was made for Pormont as schoolmaster. Six years afterwards the foundation was laid in the same place for the celebrated public Latin School. Academies sprang rapidly into existence. Here young men were prepared for Harvard, Yale, and similar institutions.

Elementary Education

Harvard College was the first institution of advanced learning in the American colonies. It was founded in 1636, for the special purpose of a theological school, for the benefit of posterity, "fearing an illiterate ministry." The General Court had already voted four hundred pounds for a public school. The Rev. John Harvard, of Charlestown, made a bequest of over eighteen hundred dollars as an endowment to the school. He also donated three hundred and twenty volumes as the beginning of a library. It was called a college, and the name of Harvard, its principal benefactor, was given to it. The name of Newtown, where it was located, was changed to Cambridge, in honor of the University of Cambridge, where many of the New England Puritan fathers had been educated. The legislature ordered that the income of Charlestown ferry should be granted the college as a perpetual revenue. The Rev. Henry Dunster was appointed the president. The mottoes of the college were: *In Gloriam Christi* ("For the Glory of Christ"); *Christo et Ecclesiae* ("To Christ and his Church"). The college received its first charter in 1650. That the first idea of the founding of Harvard—as a theological school—was never lost sight of during its early period may be seen in the fact that during the first century of its history three hundred and seventeen of its alumni became ministers of the gospel. Its first professorship was that of divinity, established by

Harvard

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* Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "Larger History of the United States" (N. Y. 1885), p. 201.

Thomas Hollis, an English Baptist layman, in 1721. This institution and its great success led to similar ones in other parts of New England. Yale followed in 1701; Brown, in 1764; Dartmouth, in 1769; Burlington, in 1791; and Bowdoin, in 1795.

College of William and Mary

The first important educational movement in Virginia was an undertaking to found the "University of Henrico," for the education of English and Indians. This began within a few years after the settlement in Jamestown. Friends in England took pains to collect funds for the purpose. The Bishop of London gave one thousand pounds sterling for the new institution of learning, and another contributor presented five hundred pounds for educating young Indians. The preacher at Henrico, the Rev. Mr. Bargrave, donated his library. A school preparatory to the university was proposed, to be located at St. Charles City, to be called the East India School, the first gift having been made by the officers and crew of an East India ship. This whole movement failed because of the Indian massacre of 1622. The colonists, however, never lost sight of the founding of a higher institution of learning. Occasionally they had to contend with the opposition of those who governed them. Sir William Berkeley, in 1670, resisted an application of the Lords of Plantation in the following language: "I thank God there are no schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these one hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" But the educational demand could not be resisted, and William and Mary College arose as the first successful attempt to establish an institution of high grade in Virginia. It was founded in 1693. As Harvard College grew out of the great success of the pastoral labors of the Rev. Thomas Shepard, so the College of William and Mary grew out of the long and arduous labors of the Rev. Dr. Blair. This institution became the most important educational centre in all the Southern colonies. During the entire colonial period it was the place where many of the statesmen and clergy of Virginia were educated. Its power was felt, not only in that one colony, but in the leadership which led to the War of Independence.

The remaining colonies were far behind New England in ed-

ucational measures. New York had its Dutch teachers early, but it was not until 1746 that its first great college—Columbia—was founded. Princeton, for New Jersey, was founded in the same year. Dickinson, at Carlisle, was established in 1783, to meet the wants of the rural population in the valleys of the Cumberland and the Susquehanna. The first provision in Maryland for a school was in 1723. No school of college grade was established in Georgia or the Carolinas before the Revolution. Much of the instruction given throughout the Southern colonies was private. The planters took care to have good tutors from England brought over and placed in charge of their sons. The tutors lived on the plantations, in the families where they taught. Governesses were provided for the daughters of the planters. This method of education seems to have been preferred to the schools of higher grade. We cannot infer from the absence of such foundations in the South that education was neglected. For the great mass of the people there was no good provision. But for the more wealthy there was ample provision in this private system of instruction. The planters had not only their tutors, but they were attentive to the introduction of the best works in all departments of European literature. The libraries in the homes of the planters of Virginia and other Southern colonies, during the colonial period, were in some cases magnificent. Books from the European press were constantly arriving. Besides, many young men went over to Europe for an education. The fashion of young Americans attending the foreign universities seems to have had its origin in the South, and particularly in South Carolina, during the colonial period.

CHAPTER XI

INTOLERANCE IN THE COLONIES

[AUTHORITIES. — See the literature at Chap. IV. Fiske, in Beginnings of New England (Boston, 1890), gives a just and impartial view. Hallowell, The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts (Boston, 1887), should also be read. For Roger Williams, see Dexter, As to Roger Williams (Boston, 1876), and Arnold, History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (N. Y., 1859–60). These are sufficient to enable the reader to come to a just conclusion. The best short summary is given by Newman, Roger Williams, in *Magazine of American Literature*, Jan., 1892. Higginson, Larger History of the United States (N. Y., 1885), can be read with advantage. Fisher has some excellent remarks, History of Christian Church (N. Y., 1887), pp. 468–475.]

THE intolerance of the Old World was transferred, with modifications, to the New. The two colonies of Virginia and Plymouth represented the two great rival ecclesiastical bodies of England—the Established Church and the non-conformists. The Virginia colonists were of the Established Church. They had with them a clergyman, Hunt, of that body, and were under his pastoral care. The parish system was adopted after the established model at home. The hostility in England to the non-conformists, of whom the Puritans were the largest portion, was reproduced in Virginia, and exercised without any show of serious opposition. The New England colonists had suffered keenly from the intolerance of Laud and the crown at home. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 had thrown out of their livings two thousand English non-conformist preachers, for the sole reason that they would not submit to reordination and full endorsement of the Book of Common Prayer. The Puritan exile to America was the child of bitter persecution. The colonists had grown into solidarity and strength under the lash. It is not surprising that when these Puritan colonists now enjoyed liberty they should not forget the oppressor's hand, nor have a very kindly feeling tow-

ards those who had persecuted them. Their intolerance was their means for guarding against a new mastery in the New World.

The New England intolerance was directed against all who differed in religious matters from the colonists. The Massachusetts and New Haven colonies were particularly severe against the Quakers. In 1658 the General Court of New Haven passed a severe law against the Quakers, as a body "who take upon them that they are immediately sent from God, are infallibly assisted by the Spirit, who speak and write blasphemous opinions, despise government, and the order of God in Church and Commonwealth." The penalty of bringing in any known Quakers, or "other blasphemous heretics," was a fine of fifty pounds. If a Quaker should come for a business purpose, he should appear before a magistrate and receive license to transact his business, and in case of first disobedience should be whipped, imprisoned, put to labor, and deprived of converse with any one; for a second offence, should be branded on one hand with the letter H, imprisoned, and put to labor; for a third offence his other hand should be branded, and he be put to labor and imprisoned; and for a fourth offence he should be imprisoned, kept to labor until sent away at his own charge, and his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron. This law continued in existence but two years. Stiles says that, notwithstanding this law, no witch or Quaker was ever punished in the New Haven Colony. The Massachusetts laws were very severe against the Quakers. The records show that thirty were imprisoned, fined, or whipped; twenty-two were banished, three had an ear cut off, and four were hanged. The same colony was intolerant of the Baptists. The first members of that communion were fined and imprisoned. The Maine laws were not less intolerant. The first Episcopalians in Connecticut were cast into prison. It should be remembered that the penal laws of New England, against which so much has been said, were only of a piece with the legislation of that time. The laws in England were fully as Draconian, even to compelling church-attendance, and punishing with death larceny to the value of twelve-pence. Maryland punished blasphemy at the third offence with death. Virginia outstripped New England in the severity of her punishment

Intolerance in New England

against religious offenders. And if no one was put to death by the Episcopalian colony, it was not, as Jefferson remarks, due to the laws, which were harsh enough, but to circumstances.

Banishment of Roger Williams

The expulsion of Roger Williams from Salem was a notable case of colonial intolerance. He gave great provocation, however, and the wonder is that he did not fare worse than suffer banishment. He was a Puritan preacher, and arrived with the Salem Colony in 1631. He demanded that the Church in Boston should repent publicly of the sin of remaining in communion with the Church of England before coming to America. This the Church in Boston refused to do, and Williams refused to join the Church. The magistrates refused to settle him as pastor. He therefore moved to Plymouth, where he became an assistant pastor. He returned to Salem and succeeded Skelton as pastor, but his permanent settlement was opposed by the magistrates on the ground that he had taught that "it is not unlawful for an unregenerate man to pray; that the magistrate has nothing to do in matters of the first table; that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions; that to punish a man for following the dictates of his conscience was persecution; that the patent granted by Charles was invalid, and an instrument of injustice which they ought to renounce, being injurious to the natives, the King of England having no power to dispose of their lands to his own subjects." As a result, in the winter of 1635–36, Williams was banished. He fled to Rhode Island, where, in 1636, he founded the present city of Providence, which he so called "from a sense of God's merciful providence to him in his distress." The case of Roger Williams has produced a large literature and a wide difference of opinion. His manner was unfortunate. A man of gentler method might have escaped punishment. The real grounds of his banishment were twofold: his attack on the validity of the company's charter, and his denial of the right of administering oaths to the unregenerate. The first point was one on which the colonists of Rhode Island were peculiarly sensitive, as they had suffered too much to have their rights in the New World put in jeopardy. Williams's views on religious liberty had nothing whatever to do with his expulsion. He was a man of the utmost conscientiousness and sincerity,

far in advance of his age, but he was contentious, obstinate, and visionary.

The colony of Rhode Island, which was thus founded by Williams and other refugees, granted full religious liberty.

Rhode Island

Professor Masson speaks of this part of Williams's work as the "organization of a community on the unheard-of principle of absolute religious liberty combined with perfect civil democracy." In the agreement of 1640 are these words: "We agree, as formerly hath been the liberties of this town, so still, to hold forth liberty of conscience." "To this day," says Professor Guild, of Brown University, "the annals of both city and State have remained unsullied by the blot of persecution." The fair promise of this colony, however, was not kept. A law of 1663 excluded Catholics from civil rights, and if none of this faith suffered for their religious beliefs it was because they kept themselves from so inhospitable a territory. This law was in force until the days of the Revolution.

The Virginia Colony compelled all persons to attend the parish worship. Roman Catholics, Quakers, and all Dissenters were prohibited from settling in the colony, and people of every country who had not been Christians at home were condemned to slavery. There seems to have been more leniency at first than later. In 1642, owing to the few clergymen, a petition went from Virginia to the Plymouth Colony to send down some Puritan preachers. Knolls and James were sent in answer to the request. But they were not permitted to remain long. Fears of a large influx, and especially of new opinions, seem to have been entertained; for these men were sent back, and their followers were scattered. In 1661 there was a rigid enforcement of the laws against Quakers and all others who were not of the Established Church. When the dissenting bodies increased, the same prohibition was observed. Moravians, Baptists, Presbyterians, "New Lights," and others were persecuted. In 1747 the Rev. Mr. Davis was sent to labor in Virginia. He was a wise, learned, and skilful man. He was very successful. His character and conduct were such as to commend him to all the people. He placed the Presbyterian Church in Virginia on a secure footing.*

Virginia

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* See the additional remarks on Virginia, pp. 498–500.

Maryland and New York

The original Roman Catholic colony of Maryland underwent important changes from the beginning. The liberty of all to settle there was made use of to such extent that, by 1704, the non-Catholics were in the majority. An act was passed by the General Assembly to prevent an increase of Roman Catholics. This remained in force until 1776, when full religious liberty was restored. The Reformed Church was the established faith in the early history of New York. Quakers were fined and imprisoned. In 1656 the governor, Stuyvesant, forbade any other meetings than the Reformed. Baptists were persecuted. When the English came into possession of New Amsterdam (New York), they were tolerant of the Reformed Church, and in one case the same building was used for the Reformed and the Episcopal services. But this toleration was limited at first to the Reformed. Members of other communions received little favor. The first Presbyterian preachers, for example, Mackemie and Hampton, were fined and imprisoned for preaching in a private house.

Reasons for the Universal Discrimination against Catholics

The grounds of opposition to the Roman Catholics are not hard to find. They are the only body which was everywhere opposed, except for a time in Maryland, and all the while in Pennsylvania. The extensive missions in Canada, with the line of missions in the West extending down to the Gulf, indicated a progress among the Indians which no Protestant body had met with. The relations of the Roman Catholics with the Indians were cordial. The Indians were very shrewdly taught by them to believe that the English were their enemies. The Puritans had just ground for hostility to the Roman Catholics in England; and, when these were added the Indian wars, and the association in the minds of the colonists of the Roman Catholics with the uprisings on account of their missionary zeal, it can occasion no surprise that everywhere the Roman Catholic was regarded as not only an ecclesiastical opponent, but a civil enemy. To this must be added the profound antagonism which was naturally engendered in an age of positive religious sensitiveness. Down to the Revolution there was almost a universal opposition to Roman Catholics on the part of the colonists—in New England very decided, but in the Southern colonies less. Only after the Revolution were

all confessions in full liberty of civil and religious rights. The great Roman Catholic immigration then set in, and soon the people of the Roman communion began, by labor and by numbers, to make ample amends for the energy with which their coming to Protestant colonies had been contested.

CHAPTER XII

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE COLONIES

[AUTHORITIES.—For a sympathetic, able, and sufficiently full account of the Puritan preachers, see Tyler, History of American Literature (N. Y., 1878), vol. i., chs. v.–x.; vol. ii., chs. xi.–xv. For the Great Awakening, see Edwards, Narrative of the Work of God in Northampton, Mass., 1763, and Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England, 1742, in Works (N. Y., 1829, and later); Tracy, The Great Awakening (1842).]

Religious Zeal

THE zeal of the first colonists was intense and steady. No material embarrassment was permitted to obscure the original idea of colonization—namely, an open field for spiritual life. Extensive revivals prevailed throughout New England. The later colonists were received by the earlier groups with a cordial spiritual salutation. The first generation of Protestant American citizens took better care of new immigrants, and more rapidly incorporated them into the religious life of the country, than any succeeding generation has done. Schools were founded, churches were built, and large plans made for the conversion of the Indians. The prevailing idea of the Puritan colonies was, that they had the mission of building up great religious commonwealths, and solving in the New World the religious problems which could not be solved in the Old. This period of religious fervor continued to 1660, when a season of decline began, which continued down to 1720. The decline was induced by the devastating Indian wars, the witchcraft delusion, and the political agitations arising out of the oppressive measures of the British government.

The New England preachers were able guides. Many of them had come from English universities, and brought with them great literary skill, an intimate acquaintance with the-

ological controversy, and a practical knowledge of the dangers of political oppression to religious life. Wilson, Cotton, Shepard, the Mathers, Philips, Higginson, and Skelton wielded the colony of Massachusetts Bay at will. The religious spirit absorbed all others. The preacher was the real governor. No public measure had any chance of success without the clerical support. Brewster in Plymouth, Hooker in Connecticut, Davenport in New Haven, Roger Williams in Rhode Island, and Hunt and Whitaker in Virginia, were the giants of their time. Political preaching was the order of the day. The Old Testament was searched for parallels of duty whenever a war against the Indians was to be fought, or a new British aggression was to be resisted, or pestilence, famine, witchcraft, or earthquakes were to be wisely interpreted and guarded against in the future. Books on the current questions were multiplied. The printing-press of New England was the powerful battery ever thundering against evils existing or apprehended.

Early Divines

The Great Awakening began about 1735. Its first indications were seen in the wonderful effects of the preaching of Jonathan Edwards in Northampton, Massachusetts. Whitefield came over from England, and made several tours through the Atlantic colonies. His preaching attracted multitudes, and the numerous converts through his preaching united with the non-episcopal churches. The number converted through his American ministration has been estimated as high as fifty thousand. The physical manifestations attending the Great Awakening were very similar to those with which we are familiar in the Wesleyan movement. Trances, swoons, transports, tears, cryings, tremblings—these were some of the physical signs of that wonderful religious upheaval. Prince, Frelinghuysen, Finley, and the brothers Tennent, of New Jersey, and Davis and Blair, of Virginia, and others, contributed greatly to the spiritual result. All the churches had their earnest leaders. The effects of the great revival, which extended from New Hampshire down to the Carolinas, were immediately seen. A new spirit of consecration thrilled every nerve of the colonial churches. New church edifices were erected. Many young men entered the ministry. Schools of all grades sprang into existence, and large funds were brought from their hiding-places and cast into the

The Great Awakening

Lord's treasury. Religious books multiplied. Even the conservative Benjamin Franklin rejoiced to publish the sermons of Whitefield and Tennent, the Westminster Catechism, and the powerful tracts of John Wesley.

The Southern colonies, though visited by Whitefield, did not share extensively in the great revival of the middle of the eighteenth century. The Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia did not give a cordial welcome to the revival influences. The preaching in Virginia pulpits was generally formal, and on topics merely moral, although Morgan Morgan and Devereux Jarratt were notable exceptions.

The writings of Puritans in the Old World were promptly introduced into the New. Special pains were taken by the New England fathers to get early copies of the great works which their co-religionists in England were producing. The works of Baxter were reproduced in Boston, and brought promptly into the early New England homes. The songs of Watts were reprinted in many editions, and were sung in the most distant settlements. Bunyan was beloved, and became a household companion. For Milton's poetry there was little taste; but his political tracts were great favorites, for they were thunderbolts against tyranny. Of all the writers who contributed most to found the republic of the United States, Milton probably bears away the palm.

English Books in New England

CHAPTER XIII

COLONIAL WORSHIP AND USAGES

[Authority.—Earle, The Sabbath in Puritan New England (N. Y., 1891).]

The sermon was the chief part in the Puritan service. The preacher was supplied with an hour-glass, and it was not uncommon for it to be reversed twice during his discourse, when a new start was made each time. There was a wide range to the sermon. The Old Testament was a favorite part of the Scriptures for subjects. The formal divisions, extending to great numerical length, were the rule. The peo-

Sermon

ple were kept awake, if not by the sermon, at least by the tithing-man, who walked around at fit times with his pole, and touched the offenders on the head. The colonial period was the golden age of political preaching in New England. Soldiers about to start against the Indians were addressed in the church. All unusual phenomena of nature were recognized in the discourses. A comet was not too small an affair to produce several sermons by Cotton Mather, which in due time were clothed with the dignity of print. The Election Sermon was a permanent institution. The Monday Lecture in Boston was only a continuation of the Sabbath.

The prayer was long. The congregation stood during prayer. There was first an invocation. But the long prayer was second in importance only to the sermon, and fully as formal, the difference being that the divisions of the prayer were not announced. The subjects of the prayer were of great number. Few, indeed, we may well imagine, were the public events which were not considered in the course of the "long prayer." In some cases the pastor made a halt in his prayer, which it was understood was intended to be improved by the more weary to sit down. Dorchester says he has seen a manuscript volume of sermons of Rev. Thomas Clap (1725) which contains a "Scheme of Prayer," with five general divisions and two hundred and forty sub-heads. Sewall, in his "Diary," speaks of a fast-day service where, after three persons had prayed and one had preached, "another prayed an hour and a half."

Prayer

The singing was congregational, and the psalm was lined by the ruling elder. The "Bay Psalm Book," printed in 1640, in Boston, was the universal favorite. The first two editions of this work were the Psalms of David as we find them in the Old Testament. But all subsequent editions were metrical. The "Psalterium Americanum" came into vogue, and was a great favorite in New England. It contained the musical notes. Great care was taken that the singing should be exceedingly simple, lest an approach might be made to the choral enormities of the Church of England, which to the Puritans was only a younger Church of Rome. Instrumental music was absolutely prohibited, and the reading of the Bible in the church must always be accompanied with exposition.

Singing

Special services were held on Thanksgiving and fast days.

The law required that all should attend these services, as well as those on the Sabbath, or pay a fine of five shillings for every absence. The services on Thanksgiving and fast days were the great occasions of the year. There was a general gathering up of themes which had excited public attention. The preacher had before him the great officials of his town. In the churches of the larger towns the same prominence was given to the service. The governor and his council were expected to be present. The preacher considered himself unfettered, and he made full use of his liberty. The Thanksgiving Day celebration is now a recognized feature of our national observances, but fast days, fully as important, and capable of fine adaptation to moral uses, is almost entirely done away with, even in New England.

Thanksgiving and Fast Days

The church buildings in the Southern colonies were modelled after the Church of England edifices in England. While small, there were the tower, the bell, the choir, and all the arrangements found in the smaller churches of England. But in New England there was a shunning of all ornamentation. Every reminder of the Church of England soon became an object to be avoided. The log church, which often served as fort for the gospel and for earthly weapons, was one of the first buildings thought of in the new town. No carpet or stove was present in the sanctuary, to remind of the repulsive luxuries of the wealthy across the sea, or to distract from the simple severity of the gospel. Even the Scripture lesson was avoided in New England during the seventeenth century, lest there might slip in a ritualistic tendency. The seats were guiltless of cushions. The women and girls of the congregation sat on one side of the church, while the men and boys occupied the other. The people from the country brought their lunch, and remained until the afternoon service was over.

Church Edifices

CHAPTER XIV

MISSIONS TO THE INDIANS

[AUTHORITIES.—Bliss, Encyclopædia of Missions (N. Y., 1891); Francis, Life of John Eliot, in vol. v. of Sparks, Library of American Biography (Boston, 1836); Prentiss, article "Eliot," in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia (N. Y., new ed., 1887); Edwards, Memoirs of David Brainerd, revised and enlarged by S. E. Dwight, edited by J. M. Sherwood (N. Y., 1884).]

THE conversion of the Indians was one of the early objects of the colonists in America. The Virginia Colony took the first steps. In 1619 a law was adopted requiring the instruction of Indian children. King Charles I. interested himself in their behalf, and directed that collections be taken in all the churches of England for training up and "educating infidel (Indian) children in the knowledge of God." But the most systematic and successful efforts in the direction of Indian evangelization were made in New England. In reply to a report from Plymouth, John Robinson wrote from Leyden: "Oh, that you had converted some before you killed any!' In 1636 the Plymouth Colony adopted an act for preaching the gospel to the Indians of the region. A special building was erected in connection with Harvard College for the education of Indian youth, while young men, the sons of colonists, were educated in Harvard for the special work of Indian evangelization. The chief tribes of Indians were the Mohegans, the Narragansetts, the Pankunnawkuts, the Massachusetts, the Pawtuckets, the Algonquins, and the Housatonics. The most successful of all the Indian schools in the colonies was founded in 1743, at Lebanon, Connecticut, by the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock. He received an Indian, Samson Occum, into his own house, and taught him for five years. This Indian became a distinguished preacher, and went with the Rev. N. Whitaker to England, to collect funds for Wheelock's work, which had now developed into a school,

An Aim Never Lost Sight of

where about twenty Indian youths were taught. It was called "Moor's Indian Charity School," from the man who gave a house and two acres of land to Wheelock for the school. Occum and Whitaker collected in England seven thousand pounds for the school. In 1770 Wheelock removed his school to Hanover, New Hampshire. Out of this humble beginning has grown Dartmouth College.

John Eliot

John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, stands first of all men in devotion to the conversion and education of the aborigines. He was born in England, educated in Cambridge University, and came to Boston in 1631. He was settled in Roxbury as pastor in 1632. He very early became interested in the Indians, and urged upon the General Assembly of Massachusetts the necessity of instructing them. The grandeur of Eliot's work lay in his own example. He hired a Pequot captive to instruct him in the Indian language, and in two years was able to preach in it. Owing to his representations a society was established in England, called "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." The sum of twelve thousand pounds was raised in England for Indian evangelization. Eliot's evangelistic labors continued to the end of his life. He was about forty-two years of age before he began the study of the Indian (Mohegan) language, but used every possible means to perfect himself in it. With his usual modesty, he lamented to the end of his life his deficiency in mastering it. His first group of Indians was at Nonantum, now a part of Newton, near Boston. He then began to work at Neponsit, a part of the present Dorchester. He preached a number of years in both places, without compensation, and prayed in the Indian families. At no time in Eliot's life did his salary exceed fifty pounds. His eldest son preached for several years to the Indians at Natick, Pakemit, the present Stoughton, and other places. The first Indian church was at Natick, where, in 1670, there were about fifty communicants. An Indian laborer, William Shawton, preached at Pakemit, and Tackuppawillin preached at Hassanamenit, the present Grafton. Many societies of Indian worshippers sprang up in consequence of the labors of the two Eliots. In fourteen towns, within seventy miles of Boston, there were Indian services, where about eleven hundred Indians were under direct pastoral care. By the

year 1664 it is estimated that there were in eastern Massachusetts about three thousand and six hundred "praying Indians." The Indians became not only moral, but many of them were devout Christians.

His Literary Labors

The literary labors of John Eliot are among the marvels of the Colonial Period. He learned from every quarter, and aimed to get at the finest shades of meaning in the Mohegan tongue. He translated Baxter's "Call" and Bayly's "Practice of Piety." He wrote grammars and primers and other small works, six in all, which, in literature, bear the name of "Eliot's Tracts." These works are now very rare. Copies of them, and, we believe, of all Eliot's works, are to be found in the Lenox Library, New York. The great literary achievement of Eliot was his Indian Bible. The New Testament was published in Boston, in 1661, and the Old Testament in 1663. A second edition appeared in 1680–85. This work was printed from type sent over from England by the Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England. This was the first Bible printed in the New World, and is a monument to the philological skill and sublime devotion of John Eliot, which will long continue to excite the admiration of men.

Other Indian Missionaries

Other laborers in New England were attentive to the spiritual needs of the Indians. In Plymouth Colony the Rev. Mr. Bourne had an Indian congregation of about five hundred on Cape Cod and the vicinity, and the Rev. John Cotton had a small congregation on Buzzard's Bay. The two Mayhews, father and son, made Martha's Vineyard the field of their labors, where they began their work about 1649. On the island of Nantucket there were, at the end of the seventeenth century, three churches and five congregations of "praying Indians." The Stockbridge Mission, in Massachusetts, was under the care of the Rev. Mr. Sargeant, one of the most devoted of all the New England laborers for the aboriginal tribes. He made lengthy journeys to other Indian tribes. He introduced manual trades and agriculture for the boys, and taught the girls the various duties of domestic life. His plan was largely that which our government has been too slow to learn—that, to build up the Indian character, the Indians must be taught the exercises and employments of the usual American citizen.

In the Lower Colonies

Indian evangelization in other colonies was not neglected. The Reformed Church of Albany organized work among the Mohawks living along the Mohawk River about the time when Eliot began in New England. Schenectady became an important centre of missionary work, and the Liturgy of the Reformed Church was published in New York for the Mohawk tribe. The Protestant Episcopal Church of New York published the Book of Common Prayer in the Mohawk tongue in 1715. Moore, Barclay, Andrews, Miles, and the Moravian Rauch were zealous missionaries among the Indians along the Hudson and the Mohawk. David Brainerd, in 1742, began work among the Indians at Kinderhook, near the Hudson, but his chief labor was on the Susquehanna. His career covered the brief period of about four years; but such was his devotion and courage that, though he was but thirty years old at the time of his death, his name will ever be associated with Eliot as a master-workman in the difficult field of Indian evangelization. What Henry Martyn was to India, David Brainerd has been to the American Indians. Hawley, Forbes, Kirkland, and Spencer were strong and successful laborers among the Six Nations. Hunt, Whitaker, and Thorpe distinguished themselves in Virginia for labors in behalf of the education and conversion of the Indians. But this work came to an end through a massacre of the whites by the Indians. John and Charles Wesley worked for a while as Indian missionaries in Georgia.

CHAPTER XV

THEOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS

[Authorities.—Cotton Mather describes Mrs. Hutchinson's views, though from a hostile attitude, in Magnalia, vii., 3 (best edition, Hartford, 1855, 2 vols.). See also Sparks, American Biography, vol. vi.]

The Puritan mind was intensely theological. The experiences of the Pilgrims in the Old World had been such as to make them thinkers on fundamental doctrinal themes. The Brownists owed their existence as a separatist community to

their divergence from the prevailing doctrines of the Established Church. The great Arminian controversy in Holland was in progress in Leyden during their residence there. John Robinson, their spiritual guide, was a warm disputant on the Calvinistic side. Their theological tendency was not thrown into the background by their immigration to America. The early Puritan preachers were skilful theologians. The sermon was often a mere section out of dogmatic theology. The future theological integrity of the colonies seems to have been prominent in the minds of all the spiritual leaders, and not to have been forgotten by the civil administrators. The frequent synods busied themselves fully as much with theological adjustments as with measures for parish government.

Theological Bent of the Puritan

The Hutchinsonian controversy arose out of the extreme views of a capable woman, Ann Hutchinson. While she was the leader, she was largely assisted by her brother-in-law, Wheelwright. She was described as a "gentlewoman of nimble wit and voluble tongue, of eminent knowledge in the Scriptures, great charity, and notable helpfulness in cases of need among her own sex." She claimed great attainments in spiritual life, and was very impressive in declaring her extreme views. She held that justification is produced by direct revelation or impression; that there is at once a perfect union between the Holy Ghost and the justified individual; that the Holy Ghost dwells in the justified one in person; that henceforth such an individual is as incapable of sinning as the Holy Ghost himself; that the letter of the Scriptures is subordinate, being only a covenant of works; and that the Spirit must be looked to for the covenant of grace. Her followers carried her views to still greater extravagance: that Christ himself is a part of the new creature; that Christ and the new creature are personally one; that a man is justified before he believes; that believers are not compelled to obey the divine law; that the Sabbath is the same as other days; that the soul is not immortal until it becomes united to Christ; that the final doom of the wicked is annihilation; that there is no resurrection of the body; and that the ground of all salvation is assurance by immediate revelation.

The Hutchinsonian Controversy

The rapid spread of the Hutchinsonian views was due large-

ly to the great ability of Mrs. Hutchinson herself, and her influence with leading men in the Boston Church, of which she was a member. Many of the leading people adopted her opinions, and were not slow in propagating them. An effort was made to have Wheelwright settled as pastor in Boston, which led to great excitement and serious divisions. Governor Vane, and Cotton, the pastor in Boston, placed themselves on the side of the Hutchinsonians. The General Court met in 1637, and the matter came to a crisis. Vane and those who sympathized with him were in the minority. He was not re-elected governor, but Winthrop, who was orthodox, was elected in his stead. Wheelwright was expelled as "guilty of sedition." The Synod of 1637 declared against the sedition, and Cotton finally came back to the orthodox position, and declared that he "disrelished all these opinions and expressions, as being some of them heretical, some of them blasphemous, some of them erroneous, and all of them incongruous." The respectability of the Hutchinsonian aberration disappeared with the surrender of Cotton, who, as Mather declared, "was not the least part of the country." Mrs. Hutchinson was excommunicated, went to the Rhode Island colony, and united with the co-religionists of Roger Williams. But she had a small following here, and removed farther south, where she was murdered by the Indians.

The first practice of the New England Church was that only persons professing to have faith in Christ, and to have become regenerate, were members of the Church, and had the privilege of having their children baptized. But many of the descendants of the colonists, and many who came over as new members of the colonies, made no profession of experimental faith. What was their position? The parents of such adults were anxious they should be received as members of the Church, and that their children should be baptized. Others declared against such action. Then, again, the law of 1631 maintained that those who were not members of the Church could not be political freemen: "No man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." If only those professing experimental religion could belong to the Church, many children could not be baptized, and many adults could not have political

The Half-way Covenant

rights. It should be said, however, that there is not the slightest evidence in the contemporary discussions that the matter of political rights had anything to do with the proposed change. The laymen took no interest in it, and, besides, Charles II. had issued a decree in 1662 doing away with the Church-membership qualification of the suffrage. It was purely a matter of Church privilege, and grew out of the desire of the pastors to extend as far as possible the blessings of attachment to the Church. Indeed, the form of these covenants was very strict, and it was impossible for any conscientious man to take them unless he were seeking conversion, or was already converted. Connecticut was the first scene of this important controversy, but Boston was the place where the matter culminated. The meeting of ministers in Boston in 1657, and the General Synod there in 1662, decided in favor of granting membership in the Church to all who owned in person the covenant made in their behalf by their parents, and led a life "not scandalous," and gave themselves and their children to the Lord. To the children of such persons the rite of baptism should not be denied. This synodal deliverance was called the Half-way Covenant, which produced universal agitation in New England, and was not suppressed until the great revival in the middle of the last century.

The effect of the Half-way Covenant was universally disastrous. Persons who now entered the Church could do so on simple acknowledgment of the baptismal covenant and the leading of a moral life. Regeneration was not necessary. Children of the unregenerate could be baptized, and the whole family were then connected with the Church. Repentance might be felt to be important, but, not being made a condition of membership, its value was not considered as great as formerly. The general tendency was a lowering of the spiritual standard of Church membership throughout New England.

A new view of the Lord's Supper was now advanced. It was held that the Lord's Supper was a means of regeneration, and that unconverted persons might safely be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Brattle Street Church, Boston, was the first to advocate this new doctrine. The Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, grandfather of Jonathan Edwards, publicly defended

Stoddard's Views

it, in 1707, in a sermon in which he declared that "sanctification is not a necessary qualification for partaking of the Lord's Supper, and that the Lord's Supper is a converting ordinance." His views were opposed by Increase Mather and others. But Stoddard's theory was the natural consequence of the Half-way Covenant. It found favor in many parts of New England. The effect was to intensify the disastrous tendency of the Half-way Covenant. The churches were greatly increased by the addition of unconverted members. Some of the churches consisted chiefly of unregenerate people. The conditions of repentance and conversion not being required for admission to membership and to the sacred ordinances, there was the same laxity in receiving unconverted candidates into the ministry. Between the years 1680 and 1750 many such persons became preachers, and were settled as pastors. Their sermons were unspiritual, and their parishioners were cold and formal. The Unitarian secession was no doubt partly due to the declension of this time. Cotton Mather's prediction was fulfilled: "Should this declension continue to make progress as it has done, in forty years more convulsions will ensue, and churches will be gathered out of churches."

CHAPTER XVI

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

[Authorities.—Tyler, History of American Literature, 1607–1765 (N. Y., 1879), is invaluable for the light it throws on the religious literature of the early period. It is written in a charming style, and is the fruit of much research. The first and second volumes of Richardson's American Literature (N. Y., 2 vols. 1887–90) are also of importance. The older work of the Duyckinck brothers, Cyclopædia of American Literature (N. Y., 1855, 2 vols.; new and enl. ed. by M. L. Simons, Phila., 1875), is still an invaluable authority.]

In the fierce struggle for existence which the colonies had to pass through, it is not a matter for wonder that the literary production of the early period was scanty. And had it not been for the imperial intellectual endowments of the Puritans the literary output would have been scantier still.

In Virginia a premium was put on ignorance. When Sir William Berkeley was recalled, in 1677, his policy of discouraging learning was continued. There was no printing-press in Virginia earlier than 1681; and when one was set up, the poor printer was required to give bonds "not to print anything hereafter, until his majesty's pleasure shall be known," which Professor Moses Coit Tyler rightly calls "a gracious way of intimating a perpetual prohibition." Governor Effingham received from home, in 1683, the caution "to allow no person to use a printing-press on any occasion whatever." The first printing was done in Virginia in 1729, and until the eve of the war of the Revolution there was only one press in the colony.

Virginia

Nevertheless, Virginia is not without some worthy literary remains. Alexander Whitaker, "the Apostle of Virginia," one of the noblest and purest men God gave to America, wrote "Good News from Virginia," which was published in London in 1613. It was an earnest appeal for English evangelism in the new land. Father Andrew White, the Jesuit priest who accompanied the first colonists to Maryland, wrote in Latin an account of the country, "Relatio Itineris in Marylandum," which was discovered in Rome in 1832. James Blair was the first author of any merit in Virginia. His "Present State of Virginia and the College" [of King William and Mary, of which he was president for fifty years], published in London in 1727, is written in excellent style; and his one hundred and seventeen discourses on "Our Saviour's Divine Sermon on the Mount" was twice published in London during the author's lifetime, and received the praise of Daniel Waterland. Hugh Jones, rector of Jamestown and chaplain to the Colonial Assembly, issued in London, in 1724, a book on "The Present State of Virginia," which is one of the most useful books of the colonial period. In it he describes the college as "without a chapel, without a scholarship, and without a statute; there is a library without books, comparatively speaking; and a president without a fixed salary till of late." He makes an appeal for ministers, not "quarrelsome and litigious ministers who would differ with their parishioners about insignificant trifles, nor mere scholars and stoics, nor zealots too rigid in outward appearance," but earnest men, with level heads and pure hearts, who can labor among a people who "are for mod-

erate views neither high nor low, and who never refuse to shout,

> "'God bless the Church, and George its defender,
> Convert the fanatics, and balk the Pretender.'" *

In the Middle Colonies only two names appear as worthy of mention here—Jonathan Dickinson and Samuel Davies. Dickinson was a New-Englander and an able theologian, ranking next to Jonathan Edwards. Davies was an eloquent preacher, but his published sermons hardly bear out his great reputation when living.

Middle Colonies

In literary productiveness New England made up for what the other colonies lacked. Yet here also the dread of dissent acted as a gag. When the first printing-press was set up in Cambridge, in 1639, the president of Harvard College acted as a kind of censor. But he was not strict enough. The clergy thought they discerned in some of the books a tendency "to open the door of heresy." In 1662 two men were appointed to officially superintend the issues of the naughty machine, and their consent was indispensable before anything could be printed. A revised edition of the "Imitation of Christ" passed this ordeal in 1667, but the clergy discovered that it was a book written "by a popish minister, wherein is contained some things that are less safe to be infused among the people of this place," and ordered "a more full revisal" of the book. In the meantime the press should stand still. It was not till twenty-one years before the Revolution that this censorship ceased.

Printing in New England

In one sense all the literature in early New England was a religious literature. But here we will speak only of those writers of some prominence more directly connected with the religious development. William Bradford, of the *Mayflower*, the father of American history, wrote a "History of Plymouth Plantation," in which the religious idea predominates. This book was given up for lost until it was found, in 1855, in the Fulham library of the Bishop of London. Bradford's nephew, Nathaniel Morton, secretary of Plymouth Colony from 1645 to 1685, made this history the basis of his own "New England's Memorial"

Religious Literature in New England

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* See Tyler, History of American Literature, vol. ii., p. 270.

(1669), which was printed at Cambridge. A simple faith breathes throughout Governor Winthrop's "History of New England" (1649). Of great interest is Captain Edward Johnson's "Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England," first published anonymously in London, in 1654, republished by Draper, of Andover, in 1867. Johnson was the founder of Woburn, Massachusetts, and a typical Puritan layman. Thomas Hooker, the founder of Hartford in 1636, had a mind of lofty grandeur and masculine force. He wrote twenty-three books, all in the different departments of theology. Thomas Shepard, the minister of Cambridge, 1636–1649, "a Timothy in the family and a Chrysostom in the pulpit," was the spiritual quickener of Jonathan Edwards, who drew deeply from him for his "Treatise Concerning Religious Affections." John Cotton was the pope of New England. Roger Williams reported the people of New England as saying that "they could hardly believe that God would suffer Mr. Cotton to err." He was a prolific author of all kinds of theological works. He carried on a controversy with Roger Williams on the right of persecution. Peter Bulkley, the founder of Concord, and minister there from 1636 till his death in 1659, published in London a series of sermons on "The Gospel Covenant" (1346), "one of those massive, exhaustive, ponderous treatises into which the Puritan theologians put their enormous Biblical learning, their acumen, their industry, the fervor, pathos, and consecration of their lives."

As we go down the stream it becomes impossible to do justice, in this slight sketch, to the religious writings of the New England fathers. We pass President Chauncey; Roger Williams, who bravely pitted himself against the giant Cotton; the marvellous Mather family — Richard; Increase, his son, with his ninety-two works; Cotton, the son of Increase, with a list almost as large, among them the "Magnalia Christi Americana" (London, 1702), a storehouse for all our historians—the sturdy John Wise; Samuel Sewall, with his plea for women; Thomas Prince, who first applied historical criticism to the writings of our annals; Anne Bradstreet, the Mrs. Browning of Puritanism; Michael Wigglesworth, the poet of its grim Calvinism; Willard the theologian; John Higginson, and many another clergyman of cultured mind and strong

thought; and, lastly, Jonathan Edwards, the flower of Puritanism, the saint, the philosopher, the missionary, the scholar, the man of science, the divine, the preacher—a Thomas à Kempis, a Calvin, a Jeremy Taylor in one.

CHAPTER XVII

EARLY LEADERS

[Authorities.—Hawks, History of the Episcopal Church in Virginia (N. Y., 1836); Meade, Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia (Phila., 1857); Edward D. Neill, Notes on the Virginia Colonial Clergy. For Bray, see Overton, The English Church and its Bishops (London, 1867), and his art. in Stephen, Dictionary of National Biography; also Hurst, Proceedings of American Society of Church History, vol. ii., 1890. On Dickinson, see Gillett, History of Presbyterian Church (Phila., rev. ed., 1873), and Sprague, Annals of American Pulpit, vol. iii., which is of value everywhere in this history. Hooker: see Lives, by Hooker, McClure, and Walker (N. Y., 1891). Cotton: Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (Hartford, 1855), and Dexter, Congregationalism as seen in its Literature (N. Y., 1880), both works indispensable for the understanding of the religious history of New England. Edwards: Park, arts. in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia and the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia; Memoir in the N. Y. ed. of his Works (1829), edited by Sereno Edwards Dwight; Memoir, by Samuel Hopkins (1764); Allen, Jonathan Edwards (Boston, 1889).]

No man is more worthy of grateful memory than the founder of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, Alexander Whitaker. He was a graduate of Cambridge University, where his father was master of Saint John's College, and in 1611 he left a comfortable parish, or, as William Crashaw says, he "did voluntarily leave his warm nest, and to the wonder of his kindred and the amazement of them that knew him, undertook this heroical resolution to go to Virginia and help to bear the name of God to the heathen." He was a true missionary of the cross, and when he was drowned, some time before 1617, he was revered as an apostle by colonist and Indian alike.

Whitaker

James Blair, a native of Scotland, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, came to Virginia in 1685. He labored to elevate the colonists intellectually as well as spiritually.

"He could not rest until school-teachers were in the land." It was through his untiring zeal that the College of William and Mary was chartered in 1692. Its noble aim was "that the Church in Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel; that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners; and that the Christian faith may be propagated among the Western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God." For half a century he was the leading spirit of this college, and his name is second to none among the fathers of the American Church.

Blair

Thomas Bray, the commissary (deputy) of the Bishop of London in Maryland (1700–1) is principally famous for his remarkable movement in founding parochial libraries.* Thirty-nine libraries were founded throughout the Southern Colonies. He brought over ministers as well as books, and in every way possible aided the passage of the Church Establishment bill in the Maryland legislature. His library scheme was the germ of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and he founded, in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Bray

Jonathan Dickinson, for thirty-nine years (1708–47) the Presbyterian minister of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was a commanding figure in the ecclesiastical life of the times. He was a physician as well, an educator and an author, and he exerted a great influence on the religious affairs of the Middle Colonies. He was the principal founder of the College of New Jersey, and its first president. Dr. John Erskine, of Scotland, testified that "the British isles had produced no such writers on divinity in the eighteenth century" as were Jonathan Edwards and Jonathan Dickinson—"both born on the confines of the New England forests, and both bred at Yale College."†

Dickinson

Thomas Hooker was the first of the Puritan divines to die in America (1647) aged sixty-one. After a troubled career in England, pursued by the pertinacity of Laud, this Cambridge scholar went to Holland. After three years he came over to Massachusetts Bay in the same ship with John

Hooker

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* See Hurst, "Parochial Libraries in the Colonial Period," in Papers of American Society of Church History, vol. ii., pp. 37–50.

† Tyler, American Literature, 1607–1765. vol. ii., p. 217.

Cotton. He preached in Cambridge for three years, when he and his congregation went in a body over the wilderness to the Connecticut River, where they built the town of Hartford (1636). Hooker was the king of his colony, and, whether as a statesman, a theologian, or a preacher, he was excelled by no man of his time. His "New England Way" was commended in England by Thomas Goodwin, and when he died his friend John Cotton lamented him in lines which told how

> "Zion's beauty did most clearly shine
> In Hooker's rule and doctrine, both divine."

His holiness and intellectual power caused him to be held in superstitious reverence, and miracles were attributed to him by his wondering parishioners.

The sermon of John Cotton before the University of Cambridge, at St. Mary's Church, about 1612, created a consternation very similar to that produced by a like sermon of John Wesley in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, in 1744. Both were the sturdy and uncompromising application of Puritan principles to the needs of the time. Cotton was lecturer and dean of his college, and fellow of Emmanuel College. In 1612 he became rector of St. Botolph's Church, in Boston, Lincolnshire. When Laud got the reins of the English Church into his hands, it fared poorly for men of Cotton's stamp. "The Earl of Dorset sent a message to Cotton, that if he had only been guilty of drunkenness, or adultery, or any such minor ministerial offence, his pardon could have been had; but since his crime was Puritanism, he must flee for his life." After many narrow escapes he made his way to Boston across the sea, in September, 1633. His coming was hailed with public thanksgiving. He was immediately made pastor of the First Church, which he held till his death, in 1652. He was the burning and the shining light of New England.

Cotton

> "The lantern of St. Botolph's ceased to burn,
> When from the portals of that church he came,
> To be a burning and a shining light,
> Here in the wilderness."*

"I hold myself not worthy," said Nathaniel Ward, himself one of the prominent ministers, "to wipe his slippers." Hub-

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* Longfellow, New England Tragedies.

bard, an historian of that time, says that whatever John Cotton "delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an order of the court . . . or set up as a practice in the Church." Cromwell wrote to him affectionate and respectful letters. He studied twelve hours a day—"a scholar's day," as he called it. His last author for the day was Calvin. "I love to sweeten my mouth with a piece of Calvin before I go to sleep." Cotton was a man of superb powers, and he left his impress on the New England churches which time has not effaced. "John Cotton, his mark, very curiously stamped on the face of this Planet; likely to continue for some time."* His "Milk for Babes," a catechism for children, was incorporated in the New England Primer.†

Edwards

Jonathan Edwards was the greatest theologian of the Colonial Period. "I consider Jonathan Edwards," says Robert Hall, "the greatest of the sons of men. He ranks with the brightest luminaries of the Christian Church, not excluding any country or any age since the apostolic." His grandfather was a prominent layman of Hartford. His father was for sixty-three years pastor at East Windsor, Connecticut. His mother was the daughter of Solomon Stoddard, whom we have already mentioned, for fifty-six years pastor at Northampton, Massachusetts. Jonathan was born at East Windsor, October 5th, 1703. Before he was thirteen he knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. At that age he entered Yale College, graduating in 1720. He united with the Church on graduation, and from August, 1722, until April, 1723, he preached to a small Presbyterian congregation in New York City. From this period date the wonderful "resolutions" which he drew up for the regulation of his life, and which Mrs. Stowe has quoted in part in her novel, "The Minister's Wooing" (ch. xvi.). After a short period as tutor at his Alma Mater, he became pastor of the Congregational Church at Northampton, 1727. There he acquired his fame as a preacher, the effects

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* Carlyle, Cromwell's Letters and Speeches (Boston, 1885), vol. ii., p. 267.

† It is often said that Boston was given its name out of compliment to Cotton, in honor of the place of his English pastorate. But this is by no means the case. Boston was founded and named in 1630, and Cotton did not arrive until 1633. For the true motive of the name, see Ellis, art. "Boston," Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed.

of whose sermons seem almost miraculous. With thin voice, weak bodily presence, no gestures, often preaching from a full manuscript, with his eyes either on his paper or on a spot above the front gallery, he yet chained the attention of his hearers, wrought them up to an intense suspense, or subdued them into an awful solemnity, and that by the sole power of the truth and by the spiritual impression of his saintly and austere personality. Dr. James W. Alexander tells how Edwards conquered an audience who came together to hear Whitefield. "Edwards, unknown to most in person, with unfeigned reluctance, such as a vainer man might feel, rose before a disappointed assembly, and proceeded to read with feeble manner from his manuscript. In a little time his audience was hushed. But this was not all. Before they were aware they were attentive and enchained. As was then common, one after another on the outskirts would arise and stand; numbers arose and stood; they came forward; they pressed upon the centre; the whole assembly arose; and before he concluded sobs burst from the convulsed throng. It was the power of fearful argument."

We need not wonder that such preaching produced revivals. The Great Awakening of 1734–35 broke out in his church, and both that and another, of 1740–41, spread over New England. He pleaded for a spiritual church-membership, and his opposition to certain practices of his leading members and to the Half-way Covenant cost him his church. He was dismissed in 1750, but was soon called to the church at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where he also ministered to the Housatonic Indians. He died at Princeton, March 22d, 1758, after being president of the College of New Jersey for three months.

Edwards's influence on New England theology and on the religious life of his time was greater than that of any other man. His work on the "Freedom of the Will" (1754) has been the text-book of the type of doctrine it sets forth. His book on the "Religious Affections" (1746) is an infallible talisman of the true and the false in religious experience. His memory is a precious heritage to the American people, and his name invests the Middle Colonial Period with a halo of glory and renown.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PURITANS

[Authority. — Compare the brilliant address of Storrs, The Puritan Spirit (N. Y., 1891).]

It would be interesting to trace the influence of Puritanism on the civil and religious history of the United States. It must suffice here to mention two or three particulars wherein we reap the fruit of the Puritans' seed-sowing.

Intellectual Life

Earnest intellectuality has stamped the American mind from the beginning. The Puritans were students and thinkers. They were accustomed to the every-day discussion of the profoundest problems. They would listen without weariness for two or three hours to the treatment of grave theological subjects by preachers who spent twelve or fourteen hours in their studies every day. The classics and modern philosophical writings were extensively circulated in the Northern Colonies. Edwards describes the delight with which he read at fourteen "Locke on the Human Understanding." Two institutions were a part of every new village—the school and the church. This has made New England the mother of liberty and learning, the training-ground of authors and statesmen. From thence has radiated light to all parts of the country, for New England sent her colonies into New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and all parts of the West.

Conscience

Nor has the heroic moral fibre of the Puritan character been without its influence on American history. The morality of the Puritans may have seemed at times grim and severe, and they doubtless had a morbid conscientiousness on some matters, but this was only an exaggeration of what has really been the saving virtue of American life. Wherever their influence has gone there never has been widespread looseness of living, a feature of civilization which is

not unknown in modern Europe. In spite of sad demoralization which now and then marks our public affairs, there is always a sound and healthy foundation of moral sentiment with which politicians must reckon. The Puritan strain has been one of the great saving forces of our public life.

Religion

The strenuous religiousness of the Puritans is another quality which has entered into the achievements of all branches of the American Church. In no country in the world is Church life so full and strong as in America. We may believe that the influence of the Puritans in this particular has been most beneficent. They have always represented a learned ministry, emphasis on preaching, and high ethical standards in preachers and people.

Progress

Nor should we forget that, although the Puritan had a narrow theology, and guarded with intolerant jealousy his providential inheritance, the deeper elements of his theology and the bent of his nature made it inevitable that he should lead the van of progress in both theology and civil affairs. If a Puritan was intolerant, a Puritan protested against it. Personal independence, loyalty to God, and to him only, an everlasting searching of the divine oracles, a detestation of priestcraft and kingcraft—it was impossible that men with these elements in their very life-blood should not be the heralds of the Better Day. The supremacy of God, of law, of conscience, of truth, the sense of freedom and of the grandeur and glory of spiritual realities—it is these mighty facts of which the Puritans were the heralds, and which have been the guardian angels of every onward movement in our history.

CHAPTER XIX

THE EPISCOPAL MOVEMENT IN CONNECTICUT

[Authorities.—Beardsley, Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D. (Boston, 1874, 3d ed., 1889), and History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut (Boston, 1865, 2 vols.).]

Love of philosophy did not prevent the kind heart of Bishop George Berkeley from feeling an interest in the needs of

the colonies across the sea. He conceived the idea of founding a college in Bermuda, which would educate missionaries for the Indians and ministers for the colonists. He succeeded in extorting from the English government the promise of £20,000 to aid this enterprise, and in September, 1728, he sailed for America. He bought a farm in Rhode Island, and spent some years in quiet study, waiting for the government to fulfil its promise. But he waited in vain. His residence in America, however, had quickened his sympathies for the new land, and some years after his return to England he sent over to Harvard College a gift of books, including the works of many Episcopal divines. Before this a library of a thousand volumes, with a generous sprinkling of Anglican books of divinity, had been given to Yale College.

Berkeley in America

A notable conversion now took place. As a result of his studies, President Timothy Cutler, of Yale College, became convinced that he must be ordained by a bishop, just as President Dunster, of Harvard, many years before, had taken a leap to Baptist views. This defection made a sensation throughout New England. It was the tempest of the time. Prelacy recalled unpleasant memories of Laud and spiritual despotism. The authorities of Connecticut "entertained fears lest the introduction of Episcopal worship into the colony should have a tendency to undermine the foundations of civil and religious liberty." Even the Episcopalians of Virginia had this fear. The House of Burgesses of that colony publicly thanked four clergymen for opposing a proposed American Episcopate. However, Cutler and a tutor of Yale, Brown, with a Congregational pastor at West Haven, Samuel Johnson, went over to England and submitted to reordination (1723). They returned to America to reinforce the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, already laboring in many of the principal New England towns.

Conversion of Cutler and Johnson to Episcopacy

The defection of these prominent ministers of Connecticut from the Congregational order gave the Church of New England a new head-way in the northern colonies. In Connecticut especially the Episcopalians entered on a prosperous career. The English missionaries pursued their work with fresh zeal. Up to the Revolutionary War the Propagation Society kept thirty men at

New Hopes for the Episcopal Church

work in New England. As early as 1748 one of their number reported two churches in New Hampshire, five in Rhode Island, twelve in Massachusetts, and seventeen in Connecticut. Drs. Cutler and Johnson rose to prominence in their new fold, the latter becoming president of Kings (Columbia) College. Cutler did valiant service in Boston. Out of the loins of the Connecticut Church sprang men like Beach, Seabury, and Jarvis, who have been a tower of strength to American Christianity.

II.—The National Period

1783–1892

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH AT THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC

[Authorities.—See the works mentioned at the beginning of the American Church History.]

The contrast between the Church in the Old World and in the New during the one hundred and eighty-six years of the Colonial Period was marked. The controversies of Protestantism on the Continent, especially in Germany, had a demoralizing effect. The struggle between the Lutherans and the Reformed had thrown the spiritual life into the background, and had given way to the incoming of rationalism from England and France, and thus made the growth of a native German scepticism a lamentable fact. In England the Wesleyan revival was the only powerful salutary force against the alarming Deism. The religious life in America, while it was always more or less disturbed by European impulses, had grown. Now and then there was an interruption. There were abnormal tendencies, such as might be expected in a land where the conditions were new. But the general life had been progressive and salutary. The theological activity, the prevalence of revivals, the building of churches, and the evangelistic spirit had produced a strong and aggressive type of ecclesiastical life. The colonial founders of the American Church builded wisely, and made the best possible use of the materials at their command.

There was a general spiritual decline in the religious life of

the Church from about 1765 until the end of the eighteenth century. The absorbing topic was the struggle for national independence. All spiritual interests languished.

Spiritual Decline

When once the Revolution commenced, it became the passion of the people until it was concluded. The clergy, for the most part, were intensely patriotic. In their "election-day" and other sermons, they discussed the political situation with the utmost freedom, and used every means to deepen the feeling of resistance to England. They applied moral and religious principles to the needs of the time, and this educating influence was the "secret of that moral energy which sustained the republic in its material weakness against superior numbers and discipline." But this very zeal worked disastrously for the time against the churches. Many of the clergy entered the army as soldiers or as chaplains, and thus a large number of congregations were without pastoral care, and were broken up. Some of the churches were converted into hospitals, others into stables, and others were burned. Only nine of the nineteen churches in New York City were fit for worship when the war was over. Dr. Francis L. Hawks says that Virginia, where the Episcopal Church was the established religion, "came out of the war with a large number of her churches destroyed, with twenty-three of her ninety-five parishes extinct or forsaken, and of the remaining seventy-two, thirty-four were destitute of ministerial services; while of her ninety-one clergymen, twenty-eight only remained who had lived through the storm." It is impossible to describe the desolation which swept over the churches as the result of the terrible Revolutionary struggle. Many educational institutions were also suspended. Money which would have flowed into spiritual channels was turned into the scanty treasury of the colonies for Washington's army. The peaceful Quakers and Mennonites of Pennsylvania forgot their usual attitude, and eagerly enlisted in the army. When peace came, a new ecclesiastical life needed to be built up. At no time in the history of the American Church was the condition so serious. It was a question, how would Christian people act, with the boon of a nation in their hands? Until the beginning of the nineteenth century it was a doubt whether the national independence would prove a spiritual blessing or a curse.

Growth of Scepticism

The numerical strength of the Church at the beginning of the National Period was about as follows :

	Ministers.	Churches.
Episcopalians	250	300
Baptists	350	380
Congregationalists	575	700
Presbyterians	140	300
Lutherans	25	60
German Reformed	25	60
Reformed Dutch	25	60
Methodists	24	11
Associate	13	20
Moravians	12	8
Roman Catholics	26	52
Total	1465	1951

To show the weakened condition of the ecclesiastical bodies after the war, we give here the statistics of the clergy in New York City in 1793. Out of a population of 40,000 there were twenty-two ministers : Episcopal, 4; Dutch, 3; Methodist, 3; German Calvinist, 1 ; Lutheran, 1 ; Associate Congregationalist, 1 ; Independent, 1 ; Baptist, 1 ; Roman Catholic, 1 ; Jew, 1; Scotch Presbyterian, 1; Presbyterian, 3.*

There was a decided tendency in several of these bodies to divide on questions of doctrine and polity. It seems to have been a time when the spirit of national independence invaded the ecclesiastical pale. The air was filled with rumors of division. Some of the churches did suffer serious schisms at this time, which have not yet been healed.

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* Dorchester, Christianity in the United States, p. 286; Life of Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, vol. i., p. 81.

CHAPTER II

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

AUTHORITIES.—The best work here, perhaps, is Schaff, Church and State in the United States, with Official Documents (N. Y., 1888). Bryce treats this subject with his usual judiciousness and lucidity in chaps. cii., ciii. of his American Commonwealth (London and N. Y., 2d rev. ed., 1891).]

THE Church had been a part of the colonial system. The citizen had been taxed for the support of the Church. In Massachusetts Colony only the man who was a member of the Church could hold political office. In Maryland and Virginia and some other Southern colonies the Established Church of England was as fully a part of the system of civil government as in England itself. There was a great variety in the mode of connection between the Church and the colonial government. But the connection was positive and strong. Even in the more liberal colonies, like Delaware and Pennsylvania, no one could vote unless he professed faith in Christ. When the Revolution severed the civil bonds with England, a strong tendency towards the separation of the Church from all political government immediately set in. The general conscience demanded that the new republic should leave the largest liberty to the individual judgment. The people insisted on placing the support of the Church, in all its departments, upon the voluntary judgment of the adherents. This assertion of the voluntary principle in ecclesiastical support and government was one of the most original of all the great phenomena of this stage of our national life.

Change of Base In the Support of the Church

Virginia was the scene of the first great movement to carry into practical effect the voluntary principle. To the Baptists belongs the honor of being the herald. They began amid the first excitement of the Revolutionary struggle. In the First Continental Congress they laid

The Struggle in Virginia

their complaints before the Massachusetts delegates, and the large numbers of the Baptist body, and their patriotic action during the war, made their appeal such that it could not well be refused. In 1775, after a struggle of twenty-seven years against the Established Church of Virginia, they presented to the House of Assembly of Virginia a petition "that they might be allowed to worship God in their own way, without interruption; to maintain their own ministers, separate from others; and to be married, buried, etc., without paying the clergy of other denominations." At the first meeting of the Presbytery of Hanover, Virginia, after the commencement of the war, that body presented a lengthy and able petition for religious liberty. In their movement they had the co-operation of the Quakers. In 1777 and 1778 the contest between the friends and enemies of the Establishment became still fiercer, and against the proposal to enjoin a general assessment for the support of all denominations—which seemed very likely to be adopted—the Presbytery of Hanover presented a remonstrance, in which we find this strong language: "As it is contrary to our principles and interest, and, as we think, subversive of religious liberty, we do again most earnestly entreat that our Legislature would never extend any assessment for religious purposes to us, or to the congregations under our care." The proposed assessment was abandoned.

The Gradual Emancipation of the Churches

Thomas Jefferson, who in matters religious was to all intents and purposes a Frenchman, has the honor of being one of the earliest and most consistent advocates of religious freedom. This broad-minded statesman saw that Virginia differed in no way from New England in the matter of toleration. In his "Notes on Virginia," he says: "The first settlers [of Virginia] were emigrants from England of the English Church, just at the point of time when it was flushed with complete victory over the religions of all other persuasions. Possessed, as they became, of the powers of making, administering, and executing the laws, they showed equal intolerance in this country with their Presbyterian [*i. e.*, Congregationalist] brethren who had emigrated to the northern government." After speaking of the penalties inflicted upon parents who refused to have their children baptized, and of the severe punishments—including even death—to which the Quakers were exposed, he continues: "If no cap-

ital executions took place here as [there] did in New England, it was not owing to the moderation of the Church, or the spirit of the legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself; but to historical circumstances which have not been handed down to us." It was Jefferson who drew up the statute of religious liberty which was passed in the Virginia Legislature in 1785, which abolished all civil distinction of creeds. Other states proceeded with more caution. The constitutions of New York, Delaware, and Maryland excluded priests and ministers from all public offices. In New York State a test-oath against the Catholics remained in force till 1806. In Massachusetts, for many years after the beginning of the National Period, severe discriminations against dissenters were still in force. In order to be exempt from taxation, a certificate had to be presented showing that the holder was a regular attendant on some religious denomination other than the Congregational. From 1780 to 1811 it was also necessary for every religious society to be incorporated if it would be exempt from taxes. The Catholics were kept out of office till 1821, and the last vestige of the union of Church and State was not swept from the statute-book of Massachusetts till 1833. Connecticut accomplished the same work in 1818. Most of the state constitutions nobly provided for full religious liberty. A singular provision of the New Jersey state constitution was to the effect that no *Protestant* inhabitant shall be deprived of his civil and political rights. It was not till 1844 that a new constition suppressed this invidious clause. The constitution of North Carolina (1776) was quite rigid. It provided that no man who did not believe in the existence of God, and in the Protestant religion, and in the divine authority of the Old and New Testaments, could hold any office in the state. In 1835 the word Christian was substituted for Protestant. In New Hampshire the shameful statute which prohibited Catholics from the office of governor, and from having a seat in the Senate and House of Representatives remained in force until 1876. It is strange that this lonely survival of the old barbarism persisted so long in so enlightened a commonwealth. But even to this day the Constitution of New Hampshire expressly discriminates against the Jews and Catholics. The effort to make it non-sectarian failed in 1889.

CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH INFIDELITY

[Authorities.—Meade, Old Churches, Ministers, and Families in Virginia (Phila., 1857), contains much information concerning the state of things in Virginia. For New England, see Sprague, Life of Dwight, in Sparks's American Biography, new series, vol. iv. (Boston, 1845), and the Life of Dwight prefixed to his Theological Works (Middletown, Conn., 1818; many subsequent editions). See also McMaster, History of the United States, vol. i. (N. Y., 1883), and the elaborate work of Conway, Life of Thomas Paine (N. Y., 1892), a work written from a point of view sympathetic with its subject, and embodying the fruits of immense research. Dorchester, Christianity in the United States (N. Y., 1888), pp. 313–324, is valuable for a summary view.]

The New Foe

The close connection of the colonies with France during the Revolutionary War favored the importation of the infidelity then rampant in that country. Everything was in a receptive, formative condition. The churches were demoralized, and could offer no satisfactory opposition. The new infidelity came with a wonderful freshness and fascination to thousands of minds, which, released from the terrible tension of the war, no longer held under by the staid and sombre ways of the old Church, were ready for any new thing. It spread like wildfire. Edition after edition of the infidel publications of the Old World were sold in America. Dr. Dwight says that Godwin's "Political Justice" and Paine's "Age of Reason" "flowed in upon us as a deluge. An enormous edition of the 'Age of Reason' was published in France and sent over to America to be sold at a few pence per copy; and where it could not be sold, to be given away." French thought became fashionable. Men who had travelled abroad, college students, and the extreme republicans imbibed the new views with great avidity, and in many circles they became the reigning sentiment. When we consider that, some time after 1730, the importation of the first infidel book into Virginia

caused such a consternation that the governor and commissary excommunicated the authorities of England, we can understand the profound change of feeling the subsequent events produced.

Many public men were smitten by the contagion. Edmund Randolph became a Deist, though he was afterwards restored to belief through the influence of his wife. Thomas Jefferson never lost his strong faith in God and in God's providence,* but was otherwise very liberal in faith, his creed probably remaining substantially Unitarian. General Charles Lee was quite reckless in his blasphemy. In his will he asked that he might not be buried "in any church or church-yard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting-house." General Dearborn, Secretary of War under Jefferson, had no patience with religion. "So long as those temples stand," he said, on an occasion, alluding to the churches, "we cannot hope for order and good government." Aaron Burr, the most brilliant and audacious personality in our history, embraced the French views with all the zeal of a convert. Washington and Patrick Henry, and many other able men of that time, remained true to the Christian religion, but very many of their associates and others — especially at a little later time — were carried away by the Deistic current. With the common people, Paine's "Age of Reason," though an ignorant and easily refuted book, yet, by its plain and vigorous English and its plausible arguments, wrought havoc with religious traditions.

Attitude of Public Men

The young men in the colleges were peculiarly susceptible to the baleful influence of the rising star of unbelief. "I can truly say," remarks Bishop Meade, "that then, and for some years after, in every educated young man in Virginia whom I met I expected to find a sceptic, if not an avowed unbeliever." He calls the College of William

In the Colleges

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* Notice his remarkable words in his "Notes on Virginia:" "I tremble for my country when I think that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situations, is among possible events — that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attributes which can take sides with us in such a contest" [i.e., as that between slavery and emancipation].

and Mary "the hot-bed of French politics and religion." When the Rev. Timothy Dwight came to the presidency of Yale College, in 1795, he found the college honeycombed with atheistical clubs. The students had assumed the names of English and French infidels, and were more familiarly known by them than by their own. Thomas Cooper, a rank democrat and free-thinker, infected every institution in which he taught—Dickinson College, the University of Pennsylvania, and South Carolina College, in Columbia.* Far southward and westward the contagion spread. The early settlers of Kentucky are said to have named their towns after eminent Frenchmen, as, witness, Altamont, Rousseau, La Rue, Bourbon, though it must be confessed that very few such names survive. Transylvania College, a Presbyterian institution, became the headquarters of infidelity. In 1793, Kentucky dismissed her chaplain from further service in the legislature.

The man who did more than any other, perhaps, to stay this tide and bring the people back to saner thoughts was Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College from 1795 to his death, in 1817. He invited the frankest expression of their doubts and difficulties from his students, and, having heard all that they had to say, he devoted a series of sermons in the chapel of the college, on successive Sundays, to a complete refutation of the whole infidel philosophy. The effect of these masterly discourses was instantaneous. Dr. Dwight, the grandfather of the present president of the university, drove infidelity from the institution. From that day to this Yale University has been the seat of sound and rational faith. The sermons of Dwight were published and circulated far and wide, and from the day that the young president faced his students in the chapel of Yale College, infidelity has been a vanishing force in the history of the American people. This overthrow was mightily helped by the great revival which visited the country at that critical time.

The Turn of the Tide

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* See Dorchester, Christianity in the United States, p. 319.

CHAPTER IV

REVIVAL AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY

[AUTHORITIES.—The best account of this revival is in the old book, Surprising Accounts of the Revival of Religion in the United States (1802). In Sprague, Lectures on Revivals (Albany, 1832), a short history of this awakening is given. See, also, Tyler, New England Revivals (Boston, 1846), and Speer, The Great Revival of 1800. The little book by Ebenezer Porter is valuable, Letters on the Religious Revivals which Prevailed about the Beginning of the Present Century (Boston, 1858).]

THE revival of 1797–1803 had several important centres of operation. The movement began almost simultaneously in widely separated regions, and continued until the intervening spaces were covered by its effects. In Connecticut the spiritual outpouring was very remarkable, and from there it extended throughout New England. From 1796 to 1803 not less than one hundred and fifty churches in New England were powerfully quickened, and large numbers were added. In Kentucky and Tennessee there was the same great spiritual demonstration. Here was a strong population of the Scotch-Irish element. But these people were surrounded by many who made no profession of religion, by others who were outspoken sceptics, and others who were given up to gross immorality. Craighead, Gready, Hoge, Burke, and the McGees were leaders in the movement. People assembled on week-days for worship in the open air. This, in fact, was the beginning of camp-meetings, which have been such a prominent feature in the religious life of the United States. The first was held in June, 1800, by the Presbyterians and Methodists in concert. All denominations united in the work, and multitudes were awakened and converted. The same physical phenomena attended this mighty work as marked the awakening of the past century. From this revival the Western Church received an impulse which has continued down to the present time. The moral results were most salutary. From

The Revival of 1800

profligacy and religious indifference, the people became sober and devout, and a most salutary improvement was observed in the whole social condition of the people in the revival districts.

The colleges shared largely in this revival. Yale had only about a dozen students who professed religion. But there was such a powerful awakening that seventy-five students became Christians, and united with the Church. In Dartmouth and Williams colleges there were similar awakenings, and large accessions of students to the churches. Many of the young men who were converted afterwards entered the ministry. Of the seventy-five in Yale College who joined the Church about one half became ministers. The reclaiming of the colleges from infidelity to Christianity had an immense significance. Never since has religion been at so low an ebb in these centres of intellectual life; and from these college revivals have come some of the most earnest and successful Christian workers the Church has ever known.

Revivals in the Colleges

A great impulse towards evangelization was imparted by this revival. The Western population had been reached as never before, and the Kentucky and Tennessee region was made the starting-point for missionary work farther west. About this time the entire American Church saw its great opportunity on the frontier. Young men from the Eastern colleges were enthusiastic in their desire to travel into all parts of the West, found churches and schools, and distribute the Bible and religious books. There was a new faith in evangelism. The old prejudice against Whitefield and his methods had in large measure long since passed away, and there was a new and general belief in the reality and power of the work of God's Spirit in the human soul.

Results

Other advantages to the Church grew out of that wonderful work of grace. The back of infidelity was broken. The old French Deism largely disappeared. The quickening of the membership of the Church had a powerful influence for good. The remnants of the Half-way Covenant were swept away. Besides large accessions in membership and a great increase in ministerial candidates, an impulse was given to literary activity which it has never lost. Books and periodicals were circulated far and wide. Missions among the neglected at home, the Indians and negroes, were revived and organized

anew. The founding of Sunday-schools, Bible and tract organizations, and other benevolent institutions, sprang out of the warm inspiration of this great spiritual ingathering. The American Bible Society, founded in 1816, was the product of this movement, as was also the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1803), the New York Religious Tract Society (1812), and the New England Tract Society (1814), which, in 1823, changed its name to the American Tract Society, and in 1825 became practically merged in that great organization of the same name which has had such an honorable part in sowing the land with the leaves of light and healing.

CHAPTER V

EXPANSION IN THE SOUTH AND WEST

[AUTHORITIES.—See the different denominational histories, general and local. Dorchester has a most interesting chapter, Christianity in the United States, p. 380 sq.]

Roman Catholics in the West

THE Roman Catholic preoccupation in the West and South gave abundant promise of a permanent population of adherents to that communion. From the headwaters of the Mississippi down to the Gulf, and along the tributary rivers, there had been settlements of the Jesuits, which preserved the Roman Catholic spirit after the most of the missions had been broken up. The Louisiana purchase from Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1803, designed to replenish his exchequer for carrying on his war with Spain, brought into the Union the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and Missouri. The population was in a large part French, with a Spanish admixture, and the Roman Catholic faith predominated everywhere. Florida came into the Union by cession from Spain in 1819. Here, too, the preoccupation had been Roman Catholic. There was a universal dearth of Protestant population and spirit. The first Protestant society in St. Louis, for example, was organized as late as 1818. The vices of the Continent, such as Sabbath-desecration, prevailed in this new territory.

The Protestant current westward did not take the shape of a religious movement. It was simply the expansion of the solid and permanent population east of the Alleghanies. Many of the settlers went as small groups, and some of them as individual adventurers. They built huts, made a clearing, and in due time were joined by others. The population was Protestant, and partook of the national American feeling. Log churches were built, with such ministerial supply as the scanty means afforded. Many settlers went from Virginia and North Carolina into Tennessee and Kentucky. In time this emigration extended across the Mississippi into Arkansas and Missouri. There were large bodies, such as the land companies of the latter half of the last century. Among these were the Ohio Company, the Transylvania Company, and the Mississippi Company. The Western Reserve, in the northern part of Ohio, was filled by families from New England. The churches in the East, and especially the Home Missionary societies, sent out ministerial agents to travel through the new regions, and especially the valley of the Mississippi, who brought home reports of the spiritual destitution, and made successful appeals for its relief.

The Protestant Current

The denominations taking the lead in the great work of Western and Southern evangelization were the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists. The Presbyterians entered Mississippi about 1800, and Indiana about 1805. The Baptists organized work in Illinois in 1796, in Missouri about the same time, in Indiana in 1802, and in Arkansas about 1818. The Methodists entered Indiana in 1802, and Arkansas in 1815. The Baptists and Methodists began in Wisconsin in 1836. Down to 1805 there were no settlements of native Americans in New Orleans. As late as 1801 there were no Christian people in the old town of Detroit, "except a black man who appeared pious." In due time all the larger religious bodies of the East sent ministers into Michigan and other Northwestern regions. The Congregationalists were among the first to expose the spiritual destitution of the great West, and have been among the most heroic in relieving it. The Protestant Episcopal Church, being strong in Virginia and other Southern states, extended itself in the Southwest. The Methodists were early in Texas. Their itinerants, however, went over all

the new region, and organized their infant societies as a part of the general ecclesiastical system. No denomination can claim the chief honor of this wonderful evangelization in the South and West. The great religious currents moved along the parallels of latitude westward with a steadiness and persistency which belong to the rarer spiritual phenomena of modern times.

The moral significance of the Western and Southwestern occupation by the Protestants of the United States is great.

Significance of this Movement

We are too near the scene, and the time is too recent, to comprehend the vastness of the achievement. Centuries must elapse before the transformation can be seen in all its meaning. The Western and Southern parts of the field of the American Church are now sources of supply for the East. Let the harvests of the Mississippi valley fail one season, and there is not a church treasury in the land which is not seriously disturbed by it. The churches in the West which needed help thirty years ago have already pushed out their forces to the Pacific, and have helped to develop the coast from Washington down to San Diego. The national life has been saved by the West. Without the Western legions which followed the United States flag in the Civil War, with the devotion of Crusaders, the Union would to-day be only a memory. Our religious literature, the pulpit, our denominational treasuries, have all been enriched beyond calculation by the contributions which the West has made with liberal hand and sublime faith.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

[Authorities.—The story of the Episcopal Church in the National Period is told in part by White, Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, new edition, edited by De Costa (N. Y., 1880), a most important authority. Other works are: Perry, History of the American Episcopal Church (Boston, 1885); Perry, Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church (N. Y., 1862–63); McConnell, History of the American Episcopal Church (N. Y., 1891). This last is a work of great interest and of fine spirit. Newton, The Vine out of Egypt, a sketch of the History of the Episcopal Church (N. Y., 1889), may be commended to those who desire a brief account.]

The Revolution left the Episcopal Church stranded like a wrecked ship on the beach. Thousands of her clergy and laity were loyal to the British rule, and for this they were cruelly exiled from their parishes, and their churches broken up. One thousand one hundred left Boston in a single day, and ten thousand left New York at the time of the evacuation by the English troops. It was by these exiles that the Church of England in Nova Scotia and the other provinces of Canada received such large and honorable accessions. It is their descendants who are largely responsible for fostering the imperial feeling in Canada, and thus preventing that great country from achieving its noble destiny as an independent nation. The loyal clergy of the Revolution were whipped, banished, and persecuted in every possible way, and their churches torn down and burned. The grandfather of Dr. Frederic H. Hedge opposed the appeal to arms on the part of the colonists, though in other respects a sturdy patriot. "Whereupon he was hustled from Warwick to Northampton jail, and got his death by exposure and abuse."

The Loyalists

A saving remnant, however, brought the Episcopal Church out of its degradation, and started it upon its honorable career as a distinctively American Church. William White was the

first chaplain of Congress, and it was in an Episcopal church (St. Paul's, in New York) that the first religious services were held after the inauguration of Washington, April 30th, 1789, as completing the consecration, and these were attended by the President and the Houses of Congress in their official capacity. The first meeting for the organization of the Church was held in New Brunswick, N. J., in May, 1784. What might be called the first General Convention was held in Philadelphia in 1785, when a Prayer-Book was drawn up which was the result of a most thorough-going Arminianizing, or rather Pelagianizing, of the Book of Common Prayer. The innovations were so startling that it was not till the Nicene Creed was restored that the English bishops would consent to extend fellowship to the American Church. In 1786 the necessary Act of Parliament was passed, and on February 4th, 1787, William White and Samuel Provost, two American ministers elected for the purpose, were consecrated bishops in Lambeth Chapel. Previously, on November 14th, 1784, Samuel Seabury, representing the High-Church sentiments of the Episcopal reaction in Connecticut, had been made bishop by the nonjuring bishops of Scotland. At the General Convention of 1789 the Prayer-Book of 1785 was thrown overboard, and a more conservative version attempted. Even now the liberal element was strong. The Athanasian Creed was rejected by an almost unanimous opinion, the use of the words in the Apostles' Creed, "he descended into hell," was made optional, as was also the sign of the cross in baptism, and the old form of absolution in the office of the Visitation of the Sick was left out. In this critical period, great praise is due to William White, one of the most illustrious names in American Church history, "to whose rare wisdom, prudence, and conciliatory spirit the American Church owes more than to any other formative agency."

Resuscitation of the Church

The development of this Church has given it an honorable part in the growth and sanctification of American life. Its missionary spirit has carried it to all parts of the country, and, in always standing for dignity and beauty in public worship and for an educated clergy, it has exercised great influence on the religious tone of the country. No American Church has shown a deeper sympathy with the poor and the neglected classes, or used better methods in reaching and relieving them,

than has the Protestant Episcopal Church within the last two decades. A great structure in New York—the Cathedral of St. John the Divine—is its latest noble undertaking.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

[Authorities.—Punchard, Congregationalism in America from 1629 to 1879 (Boston, 1880); Dexter, The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years Seen in its Literature (N. Y., 1880); Clark, Hist. Sketch of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts (Boston, 1858). Punchard is the Abel Stevens of the Congregational Church. The work of Dexter is of great value. It is a mine of incomparable richness. The bibliographical appendix at the end is, perhaps, the completest thing of the kind in literature. The death (November 13th, 1890) of this lamented scholar was a great loss to historical writing in America.]

Before the opening of the nineteenth century, Congregationalism was hardly known outside of New England. But its influence on the nation was by no means commensurate with its geographical position. New England was the backbone of the Revolutionary struggle, and her democratic Church polity had not a little to do in training the nation for freedom. It was Thomas Hooker who unconsciously prophesied the Constitution of the United States when he said, "A general council, chosen by all, to transact business which concerns all, I conceive most suitable to rule, and most safe for relief of the whole." It was Samuel Adams, that bright flower of the sturdy Puritan line, who drew up the first protest against taxing the colonies, and whose genius lay back of the Great Declaration.

Concessions to the Presbyterians

In 1801 a plan of union was entered into with the Presbyterians which swept the whole Puritan immigration outside of New England into the Presbyterian Church. This wholesale sacrifice was at length brought to an end in 1852, and since that time Congregationalism has made a splendid record in religious evangelization and educational work in the West. Some of the best schools in the West have been founded by her sons, and the Puritan influ-

ence on Western civilization is one of the most remarkable phenomena in history. In 1852 the Congregationalists of the East and West came together in Albany, and since then the National Councils have tended to cement the denomination and unify its work.

Theological Movements

The intellectual earnestness of the Congregational clergy has given rise to various theological controversies. Jonathan Edwards himself gave a peculiar turn to the Calvinism of New England, and this individualizing of the general thought was carried on by his son. Further discussion was caused by the position of Samuel Hopkins, the holy and devout minister of Newport, Rhode Island, 1770–1803. The influence of this great thinker has been felt in all the later history of New England theology. His friend, Nathaniel Emmons, pastor at Franklin, Massachusetts, 1773–1827, and who died in 1840, in the ninety-sixth year of his age, pushed this rationalizing of Calvinism still further. In 1807 the two schools of thought united in the founding of the first theological seminary in the country, that at Andover, Massachusetts, where the first foreign missionaries were trained, and where the great institutions, the American Education Society, the American Tract Society, and the American Temperance Society, had their origin, and where the oldest religious newspaper in America was planned. Perhaps the most exciting stir in New England on matters of religious controversy within orthodox lines was caused by the opinions of Nathaniel W. Taylor, professor of theology at Yale College, 1822–58. The stricter Calvinists, led by Bennet Tyler, waged a relentless warfare against Taylor and the theological school he represented, and so deep was the animosity of that time that many of the Connecticut Congregationalists withdrew their support from the Yale Divinity School, and founded a new theological seminary at East Windsor, 1834, which was removed to Hartford in 1865. The most recent controversy is that caused by the alleged departure of Andover Theological Seminary from the Puritan landmarks; but to this reference will be made later.

Benevolent Zeal

The Congregationalists have had an honorable pre-eminence in all fields of Christian activity. They were the first to enter the foreign missionary work, 1810; and their American Home Missionary Society (founded in 1826), their American Missionary Association for work among

the colored people (founded in 1846), their Education Society (founded in 1816), and their other benevolent societies have been among the most influential agencies for the extension of Christianity in all its varied aspects.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REFORMED CHURCHES

[Authorities.—Demarest, History of the Reformed Dutch Church (2d ed., N. Y., 1889); Corwin, Manual of the Reformed Dutch Church (3d ed., N. Y., 1879). The historical work of Corwin can be earnestly endorsed. Sprague, Annals of American Pulpit, vol. ix. (N. Y., 1869), is full of the most valuable material. See, also, Centennial Discourses (2d ed., N. Y., 1877); Centennial of the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J. (N. Y., 1885). For Reformed German Church, see Fathers of the Reformed Church (Lancaster, Pa., 1857); Gerhart, German Reformed Church (Lancaster, Pa., 1863); Dubbs, Historic Manual (Lancaster, Pa., 1885). These two biographies are of permanent value: Harbaugh, Life of Schlatter (Phila., 1857); Appel, Life of John Williamson Nevin (Phila., 1890).]

Organization

While Whitefield was arousing the churches of America with his impetuous eloquence, Frelinghuysen was doing the same work for the Dutch churches, especially in New Jersey. Many churches were organized, but there were very few ministers. During the first part of the eighteenth century Presbyterian ministers were often secured for the churches. Vexatious delays were experienced in effecting an organization. The tie to the home-land was a source of weakness, as it prevented a sturdy self-development. Finally, in 1747, a coetus, or assembly, was formed by the Rev. Michael Schlatter, who headed a commission from the Amsterdam Classis. But the power of this coetus was so limited that it hardly improved the condition of affairs. In 1753 it transformed itself into a classis on its own responsibility; but this so offended the more conservative members that they seceded, and established a conferentie, which made much of the relationship with Holland. For years the controversy between these two bodies was carried on with extreme bitterness, wasting the Church with strife. In 1770 the parties came together, and in the following year effected an independent organization, the claims

of the American party being generally conceded. The national independence confirmed this result, and blew away the last breath of suspicion. The name of the Church as then adopted was the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of North America, which was changed, in 1867, to that of the Reformed Church in America.

Theology

The doctrines of the Dutch Church are of an extreme Calvinistic type, and more creeds are confessed than is the case with any other Church in the world, perhaps with the exception of the Roman Catholic. The Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, the Athanasian,* the Belgic Confession (1561), the Canons of Dort (1618–19), and the Heidelberg Catechism (1563) are held aloft as the standards of the faith. Parents presenting their children for baptism must avow adherence to the doctrines of the Church, and pledge the bringing-up of their offspring in the same stern belief. The rigidity of her theology, however, does not prevent the Reformed Dutch Church from exemplifying a large charity in her relations with other Christian Churches, and she has not been unaffected by the liberal currents of modern times.

In 1770 the charter for Queen's College, New Jersey, was obtained, an institution which has had an honorable history under the name of Rutgers College. The theological seminary at New Brunswick, New Jersey, dates its first professorship in 1784, and thus claims a much older life than Andover. The Church has had a noble activity in missionary and other enterprises. She has trained a learned and industrious ministry, and her membership has been characterized by rare intelligence and purity of life.

The German Reformed Church

The German Reformed Church is made up largely of the descendants of the Palatinate immigration. One of their first ministers was the Rev. George Michael Weiss, who reported their needs to the old country. Their first settled minister was Philip Boehm, who came to America in 1720, and whose church was in Whitpain township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. The real father of the Church was Michael Schlatter, 1746, who organized and consolidated the scattered churches. It is remarka-

* No other Protestant Church in America formally receives this famous symbol.

ble that his appeal for funds in Europe in 1751 secured twenty thousand pounds from George II. and the nobility of England. In 1793 the Church became independent. The first coetus, or synod, was formed September 27th, 1747. In 1869 the name of the Church was changed to that of the Reformed Church of the United States. The Heidelberg Catechism is the only legal standard of doctrine.

This Church has contributed greatly to the development of theology in America. Dr. F. A. Rauch gave an original tone to American philosophy, and the theological labors of Dr. John W. Nevin made a profound and widespread impression. He created a voluminous discussion. In this work he was assisted by Dr. Philip Schaff, who came over from Germany in 1844, and entered upon his work at Mercersburg with the zeal of an athlete, and his inaugural address on the Principles of Protestantism, published in 1845, struck a new key-note in our history. It was a plea for a broader and more catholic conception of the Church, and one more in harmony with the idea of historical development. The German Reformed Church is not a large one, but its influence on American thought and religious life has been most beneficial.

CHAPTER IX

THE BAPTIST CHURCH

[Authorities.—The best history of the Baptists is Armitage, History of the Baptists (N. Y., 1887), a work of great labor and research, but with a good deal of irrelevant matter, and lacking in critical calmness and impartiality. The older work of Benedict, General History of the Baptist Denomination in America (new ed., N. Y., 1848), contains valuable materials. The same author's Fifty Years Among the Baptists (N. Y., 1860) should be consulted for light on the later history. Backus, History of the Baptists of New England (new ed., Newton, Mass., 1871), is indispensable for the Early Period. Baptists and the National Centenary (Phila., 1876) is a collection of valuable historical essays. Cathcart, Baptist Encyclopædia (Phila., 1880), is a useful book, but, like most of these popular illustrated denominational cyclopædias, of little scientific worth. An admirable, concise view—the best to be found anywhere—is given by Vedder, in the article "Baptists," in Jackson, Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge (N. Y., 1891).]

In 1770 the Baptists had seventy-seven churches with about five thousand members. What a marvellous growth since then has marked this aggressive body of Christians! Roger Williams was the real founder of the Baptist Church in America; but from the time that Hanserd Knollys became the Puritan minister of Dover, New Hampshire (about 1638), whom Cotton Mather nicknamed Mr. Absurd Knowless, and Henry Dunster was compelled to resign the presidency of Harvard College (in 1654), there were always people of Baptist sentiments in the country. Williams became convinced that his baptism in infancy was invalid, and was immersed by Ezekiel Holliman, a layman of his old church at Salem, who in turn, with ten others, was immersed by Williams. In March, 1639, a church was organized at Providence. Soon after, 1644, John Clarke became pastor in Newport. Obadiah Holmes was the next pastor of this Newport church. In September, 1651, Holmes was publicly whipped in Boston for denying infant baptism; and this inhospitable reception of Baptist tenets in-

Beginnings

duced him to seek Roger Williams's more congenial colony. But Massachusetts herself could not long refuse toleration to so earnest a people. In 1663 a church was planted in Swansea, and two years later another was organized in the very heart of the Puritan commonwealth. A company of Baptists, driven out of Maine, set up worship in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1683, and the organization thus begun has had a continuous existence to the present time. Persecution broke up the Baptist Church in New York in 1669, but in 1702 they were permitted to establish their faith again, and the Church thus newly founded is on the eve of the second century of its life.

Persecution

The early history of the Baptists in America, as elsewhere, is a sad one. Themselves the pioneers of freedom, their founder illustrating in his noble commonwealth the principles of toleration, they were insulted, imprisoned, exiled. "Massachusetts banished and whipped them," says Mr. Henry C. Vedder; "New York fined, imprisoned, and banished them; Virginia cast them into prison for preaching the gospel, and even for hearing it; the first church established in Maine was so harried by violence, fines, and imprisonment that it was broken up. Milder treatment was experienced in some of the colonies, notably in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina, and in the latter state Baptists increased rapidly." The noble conduct of the Baptists during the Revolution, and the exigencies of that struggle and of the reconstruction that followed it, brought in the brighter era. They gave the Revolutionary arms the most hearty support. No Baptist name is found among the loyalists. As has been well said, though they thought that the state should not meddle with religion, they believed there were times when religion should help the state. They memorialized the Virginia Convention and Colonial Congress, setting forth the demands of the great emergency. They went so far as to fix a day (July 15th, 1776) when independence should be declared. Their spirit in the war is well illustrated by one of their ministers, Rev. John Gano, chaplain of a New York regiment, who, in the heat of battle, "somehow got to the front of his regiment, but durst not quit his place for fear of dampening the spirits of the soldiers, or bringing upon himself the imputation of cowardice." In the settlement of the Constitution no body of

Christians stood so firmly for full religious freedom. They never receded from the position they took in their memorial to the Virginia Convention in 1775: "That toleration by the civil government is not sufficient; that no State religious establishment ought to exist; that all religious denominations ought to stand on the same footing; and that to all alike the protection of the government should be extended, securing to them the peaceable enjoyment of their own religious principles and modes of worship." That every plank in this platform was afterwards incorporated into the law of the nation, is in large measure due to those prophets of the Better Time—men who were far in advance of their age. The national period has witnessed an almost unparalleled development of this once feeble but now mighty Church.

No part of this later history has reflected greater glory on the Baptists than their magnificent work for missions. There is no more heroic and saintly figure in the history of modern missions than Adoniram Judson. In 1812 he and Luther Rice sailed for India. On their voyage their study of the Scriptures led them simultaneously, yet independently of each other, to adopt Baptist views; and when they reached Calcutta they were baptized by immersion by an English Baptist missionary. This led to the formation of the Baptist General Convention, May, 1814, for furthering the work of missions. The work of Judson is a most thrilling chapter in the romance of missions. Burma was largely Christianized, and the missions to the Karens, to the Telugus, and to Assam were, after many a dark day, very successful. In 1878 the Telugu mission gathered in ten thousand converts, "a result of Christian labor which probably surpasses in magnitude any other ever known in Christian history." As if to reward the unconquerable patience and fortitude of America's pioneer foreign missionary, Judson, God has given such fruits to the Baptist toilers that their foreign missionary society, the American Baptist Missionary Union, has a larger number of communicants than any other society in the foreign field. Including their first decade (1814–24), which gave them only one church of eighteen members, "they have organized one church for every three weeks, or about seventeen a year, and baptized one convert for every three hours, day and night, or about three thousand a year—over two hundred and twenty-five

Missionary Pioneers

thousand in all."* Not less active have the Baptists been in Home Missionary zeal.

Controversies

A people so conscientious and tenacious of individual opinion as the Baptists could not be without the stirring of the waters of controversy. On the refusal by the American Bible Society, in 1835, to publish any longer the Bible versions of the Baptist missionaries, in which they rendered the Greek words *bapto* and *baptizo* by the native equivalent of "immerse," a violent war ensued. In 1837, the Baptists withdrew from the society and organized the American and Foreign Bible Society. Many desired the new society to undertake a translation into English to supersede, among the Baptists, the Authorized version. The majority resisted this, until finally the contention became so hot that in 1850 the minority withdrew and organized a second Baptist Bible society, the American Bible Union. In 1865, the most competent scholars in the Baptist Church, under the auspices of the Bible Union, issued a version of the New Testament, which, though it had very little circulation among Christians generally, and only a very limited sale among the Baptists, helped to prepare the way for the more catholic undertaking of the Anglo-American Revision Committee. In time, however, a peaceable settlement of matters in dispute was arrived at, and in 1883 the foreign translation work was transferred to the Missionary Union, and the home work to the Publication Society.

Another famous controversy was that over the teaching of Alexander Campbell. Under the leadership of this great debater and theologian, the Mahoning Baptist Association of Ohio became thoroughly impregnated with his views. This caused the Beaver Association of the same state to publish an appeal to the churches, in which Campbell and the Mahoning Association were arraigned as untrue to the doctrines of the Bible. Men of eminent ability ranged themselves on one side or the other, and the entire Baptist Church of the West and South—that magnificent result of apostolic labors of fearless and devoted evangelists—was cleft in twain. It is possible that a spirit of concession and mutual respect would

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* Pierson, "The Divine Enterprise of Missions" (N. Y., 1891), p. 251.

have saved the Church the demoralization of this disastrous schism.

The Baptist Church has made a noble record in the history of American Christianity. Her educational work has been most creditable. James Manning became president of her first college, at Warren, Rhode Island, in 1765. In 1770 the college was removed to Providence, and in 1804 its name was changed to Brown University. This institution has had a marked influence on the life and thought of the Baptist churches. Recently (1892), through the benefactions of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, the Chicago University has been reorganized under the presidency of Dr. William R. Harper. It will make generous provision for special research and advanced work. Baptist scholars like Ripley, Hackett, and Conant—not to speak of living men—have made Biblical learning illustrious in America. The future of this great Church, which combines in so admirable a way liberty of thought and loyalty to the Word of God, is radiant with abundant promise.

CHAPTER X

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

[Authorities.—The best work for all the early period of the Presbyterian Church in the United States is Briggs, American Presbyterianism (N. Y., 1885), which throws a flood of new light on many points of interest. It is a worthy contribution to American historical scholarship. Bowen, The Days of Makemie (Phila., 1885), though in the form of a story, is a thorough study of the beginnings in Maryland. He handles a good deal of fresh material. Gillett, History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (revised edition, Phila., 1873), is a painstaking and comprehensive work, written from the New-School point of view. It has the advantage of covering a later as well as the earlier annals. Webster, History of the Presbyterian Church in America to the Year 1760 (Phila., 1857), was the first volume published under the auspices of the Presbyterian Historical Society. It is specially rich in biographical material, and is still a useful book. Presbyterian Reunion: a Memorial Volume, 1837–71 (N. Y., 1870), is a work of great interest, and valuable for its documents and speeches. Centennial Historical Discourses (Phila., 1876) is commended to those who wish a popular view. Hodge (Charles), Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Phila., 1840), is an excellent authority, from the Old-School point of view.]

Beginnings

No Church has had a deeper influence on the life and thought of the United States than the Presbyterian. The Presbyterians claim as their first Church the one organized in New Amsterdam (New York) in 1628, by the Rev. Jonas Michaëlius, which, though a Reformed Dutch Church, was Presbyterian in polity and doctrine. In fact, it was the first Protestant Church organized in the New World, the Church at Plymouth having been simply transplanted as an organization from Holland. There were many Presbyterians, indeed, in the Puritan immigration. Owing to the persecutions by the Episcopal governor of Virginia, Sir William Berkeley, the Presbyterians in that colony removed to Maryland, and settled on the site of the city of Annapolis. There Francis Doughty (1658) and Matthew Hill (1667) preached to them.

New England only narrowly escaped having a strong Presbyterian infusion. "Divers gentlemen in Scotland," says Cotton Mather, wrote to the New-Englanders at an early date to ask "whether they might be suffered freely to exercise their Presbyterian Church government" in the colony. An affirmative answer was returned. A storm at sea and adverse winds, which drove back the Scotch emigrants, prevented what might have been a most influential development in the history of New England. However, many of the early New England ministers were semi-Presbyterian—the golden mean, a "sweet sort of temperance between rigid Presbyterianism and levelling Brownism." Mather thought that the "Heads of Agreement" between the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, drawn up in London in 1690, give a true description of "our ecclesiastical constitution." Writing to Robert Wodrow, a Scotch minister and historian, August 8th, 1718, he says: "We are comforted with great numbers of our oppressed brethren coming over from the North of Ireland unto us," referring to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians driven out by prelatical fury. "They find so very little difference in the management of our churches from theirs and yours as to count it next unto none at all. Not a few ministers of the Scotch nation, coming over hither, have heretofore been invited unto settlements with our churches." So strong did this Presbyterian contingent become that as early as 1745 a presbytery was formed at Londonderry, New Hampshire.

Makemie

Francis Makemie, an Irish minister from Donegal, who came to America in 1681, in answer to a call for workers, was the real founder of the Presbyterian Church in America. Indefatigable, fearless of persecution, he went about Maryland and Virginia, establishing churches, encouraging the faint-hearted, bringing over ministers from the old country, and at length seeing the formation of the first Presbytery, in 1705, at Philadelphia. In 1716 the first synod was formed.

Settlement of the Creed

The American Church was composed largely of Scotch-Irish and of Scotch people, who held firmly to the Westminster standards. To thwart any heretical tendencies, they determined to bind the Church to their home creed. In 1729 the synod passed the "Adopting Act," by which the Westminster Confession was made the symbol of the Church's faith, but in significant words, whose

meaning would be certainly pressed by the liberal wing of the Church. That confession was declared "as being, in all the essential and necessary articles, good forms of sound words and system of Christian doctrine;" and it was also laid down that no one should be required to assent to articles "not essential and necessary to doctrine, worship, and government." Any strict construction of the terms of subscription became, therefore, impossible in American Presbyterianism.

The First Schism

The Presbyterian Church, as Dr. Leonard Bacon remarked, is of easy cleavage. The first break took place in 1745. Its cause was the question of ministerial education and of revivals. The American section of the Church, as a rule, was in favor of earnest evangelical preaching, of aggressive methods, and of employing men who were well qualified in zeal and general gifts, even if their educational advantages had been meagre. The Scotch section, on the other hand, held stubbornly to the slow and conservative ways of their fathers, and contended for a well-educated ministry. In 1726, William Tennent, a man of genuine apostolic mould, built in his parish at Neshaming, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, a log-house, the celebrated "Log College," in which his sons and many other young men were educated by him for the ministry. The Synod of Philadelphia objected to his system of education as too superficial, and to the general spirit of Evangelism which he fostered. At this time also occurred the great revival under Whitefield, in which he was mightily seconded by Gilbert Tennent, son of the pastor at Neshaming, and this Great Awakening brought to a point of rupture the strained feeling between the "New Side" and the "Old Side," as the parties were called. In 1741 the Presbytery of New Brunswick seceded from the Synod of Philadelphia, and in 1745 the Presbytery of New York joined the progressive party and organized an independent synod. In 1758 both parties buried their differences and came together.

The Great Breach

It is unnecessary to say that during the War of the Revolution the Presbyterian people and clergy stood as one man for independence. They rivalled the Baptists and Congregationalists in their patriotic zeal. After that began a period of magnificent development. With an educated and earnest ministry, the Church spread westward and southward, incorporating a large part of the intelligent

and well-to-do classes. By the Plan of Union of 1801 the New England emigration to the West was swept into the bosom of the Presbyterian Church, and the Congregationalists, the other party in the Plan, were virtually inhibited from the Eastern and Western States. But like the Wooden Horse within the gates of Troy, this arrangement, ostensibly so happy for the Presbyterians, portended danger. Multitudes of pastors, trained in the freer air of New England and in the theology of Andover and New Haven, were settled over Presbyterian churches. The Church was gradually growing away from the extreme Calvinism of the elder days. The Old-School party, as the stricter element was called, became alarmed. They protested at the loosening of theological bonds. Their protests fell on heedless ears. Then they tried ecclesiastical discipline. They selected representative New-School men. The trial of Lyman Beecher at Cincinnati (1835), and of Albert Barnes at Philadelphia (1830), for heresy, although fruitless in the results aimed at, precipitated the rupture of the Church. In May, 1837, the Old-School party, being in a majority, cut off three of the synods of Western New York, and one in Ohio. Impassioned agitation followed, and division resulted.

The slave question was another wedge. In 1857 the Southern Assemblies (New School) withdrew, and formed the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church, and in 1861 the Old-School Assemblies in the South left their relations in the North. The two seceding bodies united in 1863 in the great Church now known as the Presbyterian Church in the United States. After 1862 fraternal intercommunion began between the two Northern churches, and at length, November 12th, 1869, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the Plan of Union was adopted. The first union meeting was held in Philadelphia, in May, 1870, amid enthusiastic rejoicings and the congratulations of all bodies of Christians. May the union between the Northern and Southern churches be not long delayed! Plans for co-operation in the home field were adopted by the General Assemblies of these two bodies in 1889, and the prospect and the reasons for their complete organic reunion are constantly growing stronger. Even the intense excitement and heated discussions attending the recent trials for heresy will be found of service in defining the pathway of the Presbyterian Church to an enlarged field of usefulness.

The Presbyterian Church has made an unrivalled record in educational work. The College of New Jersey, commonly called Princeton College, founded in 1746, is the mother of numerous schools of like character. No Church in the country has done so much for theological scholarship. Her theological seminaries at Princeton, New Jersey (founded 1812); Auburn, New York (1819); New York City (1835); Allegheny City, Pennsylvania (1827); Cincinnati (1829); Chicago (1830); and others, are not surpassed by any in the world. Men famous equally for learning and piety have shed lustre on this representative American Church. Archibald Alexander, and his two sons, James Waddel and Joseph Addison, were an illustrious trio of scholars and saints, whose influence has been perpetuated at Princeton by the Hodges, father and son. Edward Robinson, after Moses Stuart, has been thus far, perhaps, the greatest man in Biblical scholarship in America. The Presbyterian Church has had a most salutary influence on the religious life and thought of the United States; no Church has received higher honor, and that honor has been richly deserved for her work in education, theological literature, and public morality.

The most recent movements are the Pan-Presbyterian councils—congresses of all the Reformed churches throughout the world—which met in Edinburgh in 1877, in Philadelphia in 1880, in Belfast in 1884, in London in 1888, and in Toronto, September, 1892; and, most far-reaching of all, the Westminster Confession revision movement, which has been heartily taken up by the Mother Church. A very conservative revision within the limits of Calvinism has already been submitted to the presbyteries for their endorsement or rejection. The more progressive men, dissatisfied with such a timid dealing with the venerable symbol, will be likely to content themselves with their own freedom of thought within the limits allowed by the liberal terms of subscription.

CHAPTER XI

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

[Authorities.—The only book which gives the history of American Lutheranism up to date is Wolf, The Lutherans in America: a Story of Struggle, Progress, Influence, and Marvellous Growth (N. Y., 1890). The older book of Hazelius is still of service: History of the American Lutheran Church from 1685 to 1842 (Zanesville, O., 1846). Morris, Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry (Baltimore, 1878), is invaluable for the later period. It has a useful list of works on Lutheran Church history in America, pp. 316–319. For the older history the *Hallesche Nachrichten*, the reports sent home by Muhlenberg, first published in Halle, in 1787, are indispensable. They have been admirably edited, with explanations and additions, by Mann and Schmucker (Allentown, Pa., and Halle-on-Saale, 1881), and translated by Schaeffer (Reading, Pa., 1882). They embody an immense amount of useful historical material. Mann, Life and Times of Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg (Phila., 1887), is a most important work. Schaeffer, Early History of the Lutheran Church in America (Phila., 1857), and Mann, American Lutheranism (Phila., 1857), may also be consulted. There are several local histories. Wolf's article in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia is the most complete of the brief studies. The article by Richard in *Magazine of Christian Literature*, April, 1892, on the "Grounds of Lutheran Dissension in this Country," and the article by Jacobs in the same periodical for June, 1892, on "The Problem of Lutheran Union," shed welcome light on the controversies which have divided this great Church.]

Weak Beginnings

The German Lutherans formed a part of the very earliest Dutch immigration. But they were not allowed to have any religious privileges in New Amsterdam until the British gained the upperhand in 1664. Before that, however, they had established themselves in Delaware in the possession of their full ecclesiastical rights. In 1638 the Swedish Lutherans sailed up the Delaware, and founded Fort Christina, near the present site of Wilmington. A minister, Torkillus, was one of the colonists. A house of worship was immediately erected, and public services were inaugurated. His successor, John Campanius, is noted for being the first Prot-

estant missionary to the American Indians. He translated Luther's "Shorter Catechism" into the language of the aborigines, and copies of this literary relic—the first book of the kind after Eliot's Indian Bible—printed in Upsala, are still preserved. Many of these Swedes, not having pastoral oversight, were gathered into the Episcopal Church. An interesting event was the ordination, by several Swedish ministers, of Justus Falkner in 1701—the first Lutheran ordination in America—because it proved that the Swedes repudiated the Episcopal constitution of the Church. The oppressions and wars of Louis XIV. in the Palatinate compelled thousands of Lutherans to flee. In 1710 tides of immigration set in, helped by the good hand of Queen Anne. The settlers sought the beautiful lands of the Hudson, where they received liberal grants; but their people and their lands were subsequently taken from them by another Church. The Salzburgers came over in 1734, with their ministers, and drifted southward to Georgia and the Carolinas. This early period of American Lutherans was one of disorganization. There were few ministers, and the people were scattered abroad as sheep without a shepherd. But they brought over with them their Bibles, hymn-books, their Arndt's "True Christianity," and on those they fed their religious life until a better day dawned.

The Asbury of Lutheranism

That day dawned with the coming of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, 1742, the founder of Lutheranism in America, one of the noblest figures in American Church history. He was only thirty-one years old, fresh from the evangelical atmosphere of Halle. He was a man of great and abounding gifts, of earnest moral force, and he entered upon his work with burning enthusiasm. He preached everywhere, gathering hearers wherever he could find them, organizing them into churches, catechising the children, and doing the pioneer work of an apostle with indefatigable zeal. He early encountered Count Zinzendorf, who had come over the year before, and who, though a Moravian, took the Lutherans under his supervision. Halle supported Muhlenberg by sending him new workers, and by their help the Church was founded on a firm basis, and the first Lutheran synod was organized in 1748. It is to the ability, liberal views, foresight, industry, and unconquerable faith of Muhlenberg that the American Lutheran Church owes its firm and exalted position.

When he died at his home at New Providence (Trappe), Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, October 7th, 1787, his own synod of Pennsylvania numbered twenty-four clerical members.*

No stain rests upon the loyalty of the Lutherans to the rights of the colonies during the Revolutionary struggle. They supported the cause of liberty with an unflinching patriotism. One of the sons of Muhlenberg left his pulpit for the camp, and rose to the rank of major-general. Another was driven from his church in New York City by the British, and afterwards became a member of Congress. The Hessian soldiers whom the British took to fight their American kinsmen remained in America after the close of the war, and were soon incorporated into the Lutheran Church. Twelve hundred soldiers from Brunswick, with seven officers and their chaplain, entered at one time into the American Church. Seven thousand Hessians found homes on this side of the Atlantic, and were received into the Church of their fatherland.

During the Revolution

With the opening of the century the progress of the Lutheran Church was hindered through many causes. Chief of these was the indisposition to use English in the Church services. The young people drifted into the other churches, while the conservatives were clamoring for the exclusive use of the German language. It was not until 1809 that a Lutheran church was built, in which the services were conducted exclusively in English. But with a disposition to meet the needs of the age prosperity again returned. Several synods were formed—that of New York in 1785, that of North Carolina in 1803, the synod of Ohio and adjacent states in 1803, and the synod of Maryland and Virginia in 1819. All these synods, except that of Ohio, united in the General Synod of 1820, the formation of which was a most important epoch in the history of the Church. This synod stood on the platform of the Augsburg Confession for all fundamental doctrines, "with acknowledged deviation in minor or non-fundamental points." This platform did not at all satisfy the more

Later History

* Dr. William Augustus Muhlenberg, the founder of St. Johnland, Long Island, and the author of the hymn "I would not live alway," was the great-grandson of the patriarch of Lutheranism.

uncompromising Lutherans, and several synods kept aloof from the General Synod. These at length came together in the General Council, 1866, which held to the Augsburg Confession in the most stringent interpretation of that instrument, and to all the other declarations of the Book of Concord. The rule set forth by the General Council is: "Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only [in this respect a copy of the Episcopal rule]; Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only." It is understood, however, that although the German ministers adhere pretty strictly to the rule, the English members are not held by it. But in spite of this independent union—it cannot be called defection—of the High-Church Lutherans, many European congregations formed here, which were absolutely untouched by the spirit of compromise or fraternity, kept coldly aloof. In 1872 there was organized at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the Synodical Conference of North America, which holds to all the Lutheran symbols in the most rigid manner, and refuses the slightest recognition of the Christian standing of the other denominations. This conference is often called "The Missourians," as it is composed largely of the Missouri churches. The American Lutheran Church presents the peculiar spectacle, therefore, of a Church one and undivided, with the same polity and creed, without sect or schism, yet grouped into independent and mutually exclusive bodies, whose only note of difference is the degree of strictness with which they hold to all the Lutheran symbols of the sixteenth century.

The Break during the Civil War

The Lutheran Church also felt the dividing hand of the Rebellion. In 1863 the Southern Lutherans withdrew from the fellowship of their brethren at the North, and organized the General Synod of the Confederate States. The name was afterwards changed to the General Synod of North America. In 1886 the General Synod of the South was organized at Roanoke, Virginia. It occupies the precise ground of the General Council.

Education

In 1765 a private theological seminary was started, under the care of Drs. Helmuth and Schmidt, and in 1787 the Pennsylvania Legislature chartered Franklin College, "for the special benefit of the Germans of the Commonwealth, as an acknowledgment of services by them rendered to the state, and in consideration of their industry, economy, and

public virtues." In 1791 the same Legislature made another grateful recognition of the patriotic services of the Lutherans in the gift of five thousand acres of land "to the free schools of the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia." The Gettysburg Theological Seminary was organized in 1825, the Concordia Theological Seminary of St. Louis in 1839, and the Theological Seminary at Philadelphia in 1864. The educational work of the Lutherans has been most creditable, and the general influence of this American representative of the Mother of Protestantism on the life of the country has been most salutary. The Lutheran Church in America preaches the gospel in eight or ten different tongues—the polyglot Church, which, in her pure and thorough patriotism, never forgets the supreme religious needs of her children.

CHAPTER XII

AMERICAN METHODISM

[Authorities.—The most comprehensive work is Stevens, History of the Methodist Episcopal Church (N. Y., 1865–67), abridged in History of American Methodism (N. Y., 1867). The same author's Methodism in the Eastern States (N. Y., 1848, 1851, 2 vols.) is his first historical writing. Stevens is the Macaulay of Methodism. Bangs is also of value—History of the Methodist Episcopal Church from 1766 to 1840 (N. Y., 1839–41). Bishop McTyeire, History of Methodism (Nashville, 1884), is a remarkable work in small compass. The Journals of Francis Asbury (N. Y., 1854) is indispensable for the early period, as are also—and for the whole period—the Journals and Minutes of the General and Annual Conferences. See also Wakeley, Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early History of Methodism (new ed., N. Y., 1889); Hyde, The Story of Methodism (Springfield, Mass., 1887); Daniels, Illustrated History of Methodism (N. Y., 1879). For the middle period, Clark, Life and Times of Elijah Hedding (N. Y., 1855); Stevens, Life and Times of Nathan Bangs (N. Y., 1863); Prentice, Wilbur Fisk (Boston, 1890); and Larrabee, Life and Letters of Bishop Hamline (N. Y., 1866), are valuable. For the South, the following are admirable: McFerrin, History of Methodism in Tennessee (Nashville, 1869); Redford, History of Methodism in Kentucky (Nashville, 1868); Bennett, Memorials of Methodism in Virginia (Richmond, 1871); Shipp, History of Methodism in South Carolina (Nashville, 1883); Thrall, Methodism in Texas (Nashville, 1889); Lewis, History of Methodism in Missouri from 1860 to 1870 (Nashville, 1890). For the planting of the West, Strickland, Autobiography of Peter Cartwright (N. Y., 1856); Finley, Sketches of Western Methodism (N. Y., 1857), and his Autobiography (Cincinnati and N. Y., 1854); and Crooks, Life of Matthew Simpson (N. Y., 1890). For the Great Division of the Church in 1844, the best books are Elliott, History of the Great Secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church (Cincinnati, 1855), and Redford, History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (Nashville, 1871). Atkinson, Centennial History of American Methodism (N. Y., 1884); Cummings, The Early Schools of Methodism (N. Y., 1889); and Simpson, Cyclopædia of Methodism (Phila., 1881), are important contributions.]

The history of Methodism in America is almost contemporary with our national life. During the Revolutionary Period its few preachers, so small was their number and so suspiciously were they scanned, seemed to be engaged in a hope-

less struggle in their effort to contribute anything towards the religious development of the people. But with national independence the real history of the aggressive life of Methodism began. The youngest of all the historic churches of Protestantism, it has grown to be the largest. While it has profited alike by the wisdom and the errors of the older religious bodies, it has sent the overflowing of its prosperity into all the churches, imparting life and vigor to every communion it has touched. Yet its own growth has been the marvel of history. Having but recently celebrated the centennial of its organization, combining the hopefulness of youth and the vigor of manhood, it looks into the veiled face of the twentieth century with an abounding faith and an undaunted courage.

Beginnings

The first Methodists who touched foot on the American continent, of whom we have any knowledge, were the German refugees from the Palatinate, who had made a temporary home in Ireland, where they were converted by the Methodist evangelists, and gathered into classes. In August, 1760, a band of these people landed in New York. Among them were Philip Embury, a local preacher, and Barbara Heck, wife of Paul Heck. The latter was a woman of fervent piety and intellectual force, and it was owing to her influence that Embury began preaching in 1766, first in his own house, then in a hired room, and in the next year in a rigging-loft—celebrated as the birthplace of Methodism in the New World. Just as Embury had consolidated a congregation, a man of fiery zeal and popular gifts came upon the scene. This was Captain Thomas Webb. Converted under Wesley's preaching in Bristol two years before, he longed for association with the Methodists. As soon as he heard that they had established public worship in New York, he left his barracks in Albany, and, in the spring of 1767, appeared as the unexpected champion of the infant cause. He was the providential man. "The little society needed a leader—Webb was born to command. They needed another preacher of more experience, learning, and power—Webb was one of the best preachers then on the continent of America. They needed money wherewith to house their young society—Webb was rich and generous. . . . It would have been a hard matter for them to have suited themselves by a choice out of all the Methodist preachers better than God had suited

them."* The congregation soon overflowed the narrow quarters, and in 1768 a church was built on John Street—on the same site on which the present John Street Church stands. Webb was soon in Philadelphia, where he gathered a class in 1767 or 1768, and bought the first Methodist church in that city (St. George's) in 1770.

New Recruits

Everywhere the Church was spreading. Webb went like a flame of fire through Long Island, New Jersey, and southeastern Pennsylvania. At the same time that Embury was preaching in New York, Robert Strawbridge was forming societies in Maryland, and Robert Williams, who, like all the rest of these early preachers, was a layman, in Virginia and North Carolina. The cry for more helpers went over to England. This was answered by the Leeds Conference, August 3d, 1769, in sending the volunteers Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor. Boardman was assigned to New York, Pilmoor to Philadelphia. In two years more they were joined by Francis Asbury, whose name stands for so much in Methodist history, and Richard Wright. The most prominent man of that early time, however, was Thomas Rankin, a Scotchman, whose heart had been touched by Whitefield's eloquence, and who became one of Wesley's most tried and trusted friends. In 1773 the latter sent Rankin as the general superintendent of the American work. Shadford accompanied him. Without delay, Rankin called the preachers together. The first conference was held in St. George's Church, Philadelphia, July 14th–16th, 1773, Rankin in the chair, when ten preachers came together, who reported a class membership of eleven hundred and sixty.

The Revolution had a disastrous effect on the Methodist movement. The preachers were Englishmen, fresh from the mother country, to which they were loyally attached; and as

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* Daniels, "History of Methodism" (N. Y., 1879), p. 388 As a preacher Webb had something of the fire and power of Whitefield. In 1774, John Adams, an impartial witness, describes him thus: "Mr. Webb is one of the most fluent, eloquent men I ever heard. He reaches the imagination and touches the passions very well, and expresses himself with great propriety." In McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, vol. x., p. 897, the Rev. John Alfred Faulkner gives a sketch of the life of this remarkable man.

soon as the war broke out their work was disturbed, they themselves regarded with suspicion and often persecuted, and before the war was over, in 1781, every one of them, except Asbury, was in Canada or England. Some remained as long as possible prosecuting their work under immense difficulties. The conference of the second year of the Revolution, 1776, reported a membership of four thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, with twenty-five preachers; and in the third year, 1777, six thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight members and thirty-eight preachers. When the British preachers were driven back, they left the work in the hands of native helpers. And when the British troops were in possession of Philadelphia and New York, they allowed the work to go on unimpeded. During the British possession of the latter city, the John Street Church was the only church open, and it was packed with hearers, many of them wealthy and aristocratic people, who listened to the gospel proclaimed by the most able and earnest preachers of the day. Asbury, who took supervision of the entire work in 1778, on Rankin's departure for England, with large foresight saw the drift of history, wisely adapted himself to the great crisis, and cared, as best he could, for his little flock. Thus, between the American preachers who were loyal to the colonies, and the British preachers who, as in New York, were sometimes shielded by the English sword, the infant Church did not fare as badly as might be supposed. In 1783, a year after the close of the war, Asbury could write in this enthusiastic strain:

The Effect of the Revolution

"We have about fourteen thousand members, between seventy and eighty travelling preachers, between thirty and forty circuits. . . . I admire the simplicity of our preachers. I do not think there has appeared another such a company of young devoted men. The gospel has taken a universal spread. . . . O America, America! It will certainly be the glory of the world for religion."*

The war being over, the colonies an independent nation, the Church of England in America utterly disorganized, with most of her clergy in exile, there remained no longer a reluctance on the part of Wesley, in the face of the

Organization

* Compare this prophecy with the later one of Edward Irving: "America shall be great neither for Christ nor Antichrist."

crying needs of the work, to place the Methodist movement in America on a substantial basis. The cry was for ordained men and the administration of the sacraments. The English bishops had long since refused to officially sanction the Wesleyan revival. It only remained, therefore, for Wesley to set about this work after the fashion of the early Church, and in the use of the powers with which he believed God had intrusted him for his extraordinary mission. Accordingly, in September, 1784, at Bristol, he ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey elders or presbyters, and Thomas Coke bishop or superintendent. These three men arrived in New York, November 3d, 1784, and at once began the full exercise of their ministerial functions. At the ensuing conference—the Christmas conference—held in the Lovely Lane Chapel, Baltimore, December 24th, 1784, to January 4th, 1785, at which Dr. Coke presided, the recommendations of Wesley were read and accepted, Coke and Asbury were elected superintendents, Asbury was ordained deacon and elder, and afterwards consecrated superintendent. With the same unanimity the name of the Church was fixed upon—the Methodist Episcopal Church—Wesley's abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles was adopted as the doctrinal basis, and a liturgy was ordered.*

Some have blamed Wesley for giving an episcopal organization and an independent existence as a Church to his societies in America. His letter to Coke, Asbury, and "our brethren in North America," however, shows that he proceeded with the utmost deliberation, and after a full survey of the case. Among other things, he says:

"It has, indeed, been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America; but to this I object: (1) I desired the Bishop of London to ordain only one, but could not prevail. (2) If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceeding; but the matter admits of no delay. (3) If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them; and how grievously would this entangle us! (4) As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the state and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the

* Wesley's Sunday Service, an adaptation of the Book of Common Prayer.

other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the Primitive Church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free."

It cannot be denied that history has abundantly justified Wesley's practical Christian statesmanship in this momentous crisis of his work.

Asbury

The history of Methodism for the next thirty years is the history of Francis Asbury. He was the dauntless pioneer who proved wise the choice of his brethren by labors apostolic. With unsurpassed organizing talent, a preacher of no mean gifts, with a heroism that knew no fear, and a devotion that knew no rest, he saw the Methodist Episcopal Church grow from a feeble plant to a tree that covered the nation. He travelled six thousand miles a year. "Within the compass of every year the borderers of Canada and the planters of Mississippi looked for the coming of this primitive bishop, and were not disappointed." He led his preachers across the Alleghenies, keeping step with the westward current. He ordained the first man ever set apart to the ministry in the valley of the Mississippi. When he began his work there were four preachers and three hundred and sixteen members; when he died, in 1816, there were seven hundred ministers, two thousand local preachers, and over two hundred and fourteen thousand members. His salary was sixty-four dollars a year. It is to the indomitable labors of this heroic man, who combined in so remarkable a degree religious zeal with profound sagacity, that American Methodism owed the immense vantage-ground it secured in the early years of our national life.

Later History

It is impossible in this brief sketch to do justice to the later history. The sailing has not always been on smooth waters. The power of the bishops and the supremacy of the clergy were an early bone of contention. The unfortunate refusal of lay representation in the Church councils and certain objections to episcopal authority caused many a bitter struggle in the earlier part of the present century. This issued at last in the formation of the Methodist Protestant Church in Baltimore, November 2d, 1830. The question of slavery caused two divisions. The protest against slavery placed in the first Disciplines had been gradually withdrawn, or toned down, or explained away, until members and local preachers

held slaves without rebuke.* But when regular ministers began to hold slaves, the voice of the North was heard in violent opposition. The Rev. Francis A. Harding was suspended from the ministry for refusing to manumit his slaves, 1844, and at the same time Bishop James O. Andrew was ordered to desist from the exercise of his office so long as he owned slaves. It is a significant note of the times that this request was not based on any moral consideration whatever, or on any violation of the Discipline, but purely on prudential reasons. The profound agitation which followed issued in the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, May, 1845. This was the first break in any American Church on the question of slavery. At least this is true of a geographical division on the questions at issue between the North and the South. But the year before that memorable General Conference of 1844 a Church had been formed in the North, of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, based on the latter's tolerance of slavery. It was called the Wesleyan Church of America.

All the offshoots from the parent stock of American Methodism have had a vigorous life, and have kept up the traditions of the older Church for aggressive work and earnest preaching.

Union

In 1883 all the Methodist bodies of Canada became one Church. The division of 1858 in the Methodist Protestant Church, on the inevitable slavery issue, was healed in 1877. Three of the African Churches are now engaged in settling a basis of union, and their consolidation may be confidently expected. There is a strong feeling that makes for the union of the two great Methodist Episcopal Churches. The Œcumenical Methodist Conferences of London, September, 1881, and of Washington, October, 1891, have lent an irresistible impulse to that tendency towards Christian union which is the glory of the present age.

Education

John Dickins, one of the most large-minded of the founders of the Methodist Church in the United States, proposed to Asbury the plan of an academy or college as early as 1780. Asbury entered enthusiastically into the

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* See an admirable brief history of this retreat, with quotations from the original documents, in Dr. T. O. Summers's article on the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, vol vi., pp. 182–183.

plan, which was endorsed by the Christmas Conference of 1784, and in June, 1787, it was dedicated at Abingdon, Maryland, with the name of Cokesbury College. In 1795 it was burned down. Another was built in Baltimore, but it, too, was destroyed by fire. This put a damper on the educational zeal of the early Methodists. But the work was not abandoned. The year after Asbury's death the oldest of the existing schools, Wilbraham Academy, was established at Newmarket, New Hampshire, 1817. The first theological seminary was opened at Concord, New Hampshire, in 1847. This has since developed into the School of Theology of that marvel of rapid and healthy growth, The Boston University. All kinds of educational institutions have rapidly multiplied. An important movement is at present on foot for the establishment of The American University at Washington, a school for post-graduate and professional study, in the midst of the large and rich scientific and literary collections of the national capital. The friends of the movement indulge the hope that this institution, designed for the most advanced learning, will be the fitting climax to those sacred gifts which for a century the Methodist churches of America, with an increasing liberality, have been laying on the altar of education.

Epworth League

The Epworth League, so named in honor of the home of the Wesleys in a town of Lincolnshire, is an organization of the young people of the two chief branches of Methodism, and of Canadian Methodism. This League has been in existence in the Methodist Episcopal Church only about six years, and yet its membership in that one body is about nine hundred thousand. Its general interests are in the hands of a Board of Control, and its organ is the *Epworth Herald*, issued in Chicago and edited by Joseph F. Berry, D.D. This vast organization has for its purpose the promotion of religious life, humane work, and mental discipline.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

[AUTHORITIES.—The best handy history is De Courcy and Shea, History of the Catholic Church in the United States (N. Y., 1879). Strangely enough, this excellent history has no index. The best history of the Indian Missions is Shea, History of Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States (N. Y., 1854). For the French settlements, colonization, and religious conquests the best works are these: Parkman, The Pioneers of France in the New World (Boston, 1865); The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century (Boston, 1867); The Old Régime in Canada (Boston, 1874); Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV. (Boston, 1877); A Half Century of Conflict (Boston, 1892). This whole series is an unrivalled example of attractive style, accuracy, firm command of the sources, sympathetic treatment, and thorough impartiality. Along with these noble histories should be read Shea's translation of Charlevoix, History and General Description of New France (N. Y., 6 vols., 8vo, 1866–72). There are numerous local histories. For later history see Clarke, Lives of Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church of the United States (N. Y., 1872), an authority for the whole National Period; Hassard, Life of Archbishop Hughes (N. Y., 1866); the forthcoming Life of Hughes in the series American Religious Leaders; Spalding, Life of Archbishop Spalding (N. Y., 1872). The best brief view is given in the excellent article by Professor Schem on the Roman Catholic Church in the United States in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia (N. Y., 1880), vol. ix., pp. 79–85.]

AT the opening of the National Period the Roman Catholics were a feeble folk. The fears, suspicions, and intense memories of suffering in Europe on the part of the Northern colonies had prevented any large Catholic immigration. They had even their own doors closed upon them in Maryland by the Puritans and Anglicans, whom a liberal constitution had invited. The great colony of New York had driven out almost every Catholic within its borders, and at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the Church was hardly known in New York City. Even Rhode Island was not more hospitable, as her laws discriminated at first against the Catholics. What Pennsylvania gave by the tolerance of law she withdrew by the intolerance

of sentiments. It is unnecessary to say that New England and the whole South rigidly excluded the Catholics. And this was at a time when the whole number of the sect in the country did not exceed twenty-five thousand.

The Revolution changed all that. In 1774 the Continental Congress at Philadelphia pronounced for the broadest toleration. Two years after, owing to the efforts of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, emancipation was secured in Maryland. The Federal Constitution of 1787, to which two Catholics contributed—Daniel Carroll, of Maryland, and Thomas Fitzsimmons, of Pennsylvania—completed the enfranchisement of Catholics, so far as full religious liberty and equality for all the offices of the United States were concerned. Some of the states, however, had not yet reached this high ground. The Catholics entered patriotically into the Revolutionary War. The Catholics of Maryland did their full share of fighting, and Washington gladly recognized the value of their services.

The Effect of the Revolution

He who consolidated the infant cause was John Carroll, an indefatigable and public-spirited priest. He accompanied Franklin in 1776 on a tour to Montreal, to secure the neutrality, if not the alliance, of the Canadians. When the papal nuncio at Paris consulted Franklin as to the proper person to be put in charge of the American work, the great American at once urged his friend Carroll. In 1784 he was made prefect apostolic, and in 1790 he was consecrated Bishop of Baltimore. The new bishop at once began four great enterprises: education, church-building, formation of a national clergy, foundation of female communities of mercy. These four lines of work proceeded with remarkable vigor. Georgetown College had been begun as early as 1788. St. Mary's Seminary, in Baltimore, was founded in 1791. The St. Joseph's Academy, at Emmittsburg, Maryland, founded in 1809, was the first school for the higher education of women. The French Revolution drove many of the most pious and cultured priests to America. These reinforced Carroll's native helpers, and the work became so extensive that he had to ask for the appointment of an assistant. In 1800 Father Leonard Neale, a member of an old and distinguished Maryland family, was consecrated assistant bishop in Baltimore. Several of

Bishop Carroll

these French priests, such as Flaget, Cheverus, Dubois, and Maréchal, adapted themselves to their new conditions with remarkable success, and were made bishops, especially in Louisiana and in the Southwest. The Catholic Church grew rapidly under the earnest and patriotic Bishop Carroll; and when he died, December 3d, 1815, it was estimated that there were two hundred thousand Catholics in the country. Baltimore had been made a metropolitan see, 1808, and four new bishoprics had been erected.

The most interesting personality, perhaps, of the first half of the National Period was Prince Demetrius Gallitzin. He was the son of the Russian ambassador at The Hague. In 1792 he was aide-de-camp to the Austrian general, Van Lilien, who commanded an army in Brabant. Being dismissed from that service, he came to America, and, having previously embraced the Roman Catholic faith, he entered the Sulpitian Theological Seminary in Baltimore, November 5th, 1792. He was the first priest who received all the orders in this country. He was ordained March 18th, 1795. With the enthusiasm of an apostle he plunged into the pathless wilds of northern Maryland and western Pennsylvania. His wealth, his time, his culture, everything he had, he gave to this work. He was a colonizer, a missionary, and the founder of a native Catholic literature. He bought up vast tracts of land, which he sold in farms at a low rate. He was the first to attract immigration to the Alleghenies. Lodging in a humble cabin, dressed in coarse clothes, he travelled incessantly through the region of the Alleghenies, dispensing the consolations of religion. He made his headquarters at Loretto, Cambria County, Pennsylvania. He was the first to make a respectable literary appeal to the American people in defence of the Catholic faith, and his books have been extensively circulated on both sides of the ocean. Prince Gallitzin is the most picturesque figure in the history of American Catholicism, and the life of this high-minded and devoted nobleman is one of the most fascinating in the history of American Christianity. He died at Loretto, May 6th, 1841.

The Russian Prince-priest

The growth of Catholicism in America aroused intense opposition from many Protestants. Occasionally there were popular demonstrations. For example, a book by a Canadian adventuress of no moral character whatever, who had never seen

the inside of a convent, entitled "The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk," which appeared about 1836, fanned the flame of popular fury. This book had an immense circulation; and though it was proved by an investigation of Protestants that the work was a fabrication from beginning to end, the refutation did but little to stem the tide of indignation. In 1834 a mob burned the Ursuline Convent in Boston. In 1844 the Gordon Riots of 1780 were re-enacted in Philadelphia. A mob fired the Kensington suburb of the city; many houses occupied by Irish families were destroyed; women and children escaped half-naked to the country; many were shot down as they fled from their homes; and a reign of terror ensued throughout the city. St. Michael's Church was burned; then St. Augustine's, whose pastor had made his church a hospital during the cholera scourge; afterwards the House of the Sisters of Mercy; and, finally, this mob turned its firebrands against the Library of the Augustinian Hermits. But the better sense of the people finally asserted itself, and these outbreaks have never been repeated.

Protestant Outbreaks

If one ask, Why the Protestant antagonism to Roman Catholicism during the Colonial Period, and, indeed, down to the present time? the answer is to be found in the fact that the Protestantism of America is due to the long and intense Catholic oppression in Europe. The Protestant hostility in America is the harvest which Rome still reaps from its centuries of persecution beyond the seas.

The Roman Catholic Church has rapidly expanded, according to the measure of its American opportunity. In 1846 Oregon City was made the seat of an archbishop, and in 1850 the same honor was conferred upon New Orleans, New York, and Cincinnati. In 1850 the Church had 6 archbishops, 27 bishops, 1800 priests, 1073 churches, 17 colleges, and 91 female academies. Now it has 13 archbishops, 75 bishops, 8000 priests, 2000 theological students, 7000 churches, with 3000 chapels, and 75 colleges, with 4134 schools (1883), in which are enrolled 625,964 pupils. Then there were not, perhaps, half a dozen Catholic papers in the country; now there are hardly less than 150. This marvellous growth is almost entirely due to immigration and natural increase. There have been periods when many converts were made, but these have been relatively few. The Oxford Movement helped in this direc-

Rapid Growth

tion, and the converts have been mostly from the Protestant Episcopal Church. Levi Silliman Ives, the Episcopal bishop of North Carolina, seceded to Rome in 1852. Ten years earlier James Roosevelt Bayley, archbishop of Baltimore (1872–77), nephew of Mother Seton, founder of the Sisters of Charity in America, herself a convert, went out from the same Church. The Roman Catholic bishop of Columbus, Ohio, Dr. Rosecrans (died 1878), was also trained in the Protestant Episcopal Church. To offset these accessions there have been thousands who have been lost to this Church. The breaking-up of old ties through immigration, the lack of the ordinances of religion in a new country, intermarriage, and the silent but most powerful influences of modern ideas of freedom, and the general spirit of our civilization, have set multitudes adrift from their ancestral faith. This is frankly conceded by Catholics.

Archbishop Hughes

The firm position of the Roman Catholic Church is due in no small measure to John Hughes, who emigrated when a young man (1817) from Ireland, and rose from one position to another until he was made Bishop of New York in 1838, first as an assistant, then as full bishop in 1842, on the death of Bishop Dubois. He was a man of great strength of character and intellect, and he labored with immense energy to plant the Roman Catholic Church on immovable foundations. He was the first to begin a determined warfare against the public-school system, and by securing the titles of Church property in the hands of the bishops he put a stop to many unseemly disputes. The hand of this great ecclesiastic guided the Roman Catholic Church of America for over twenty years. He died January 3d, 1864.

Later Developments

The work of the Roman Catholic Church in educational extension has been marvellous. Its schools dot the land everywhere. Its latest venture is the establishment of the Catholic University of America in Washington, a school intended for the broadest and most thorough culture. It represents the liberal wing of the Roman Catholic Church. Among the men who stand as exponents of this section of the Church are Bishop Keane, Cardinal Gibbons, and Archbishop Ireland. The condemnation of the Knights of Labor, through the representations of Archbishop Taschereau, was withdrawn through the efforts of Cardinal

Gibbons. The step towards the Americanizing of the parochial school, though it has been severely criticised by both Catholics and Protestants, is a significant surrender of the extreme Catholic position as to education. And this step, taken in 1891 by Archbishop Ireland at Faribault and Stillwater, Minnesota, has received the endorsement of the pope (1892) and of the Public School Board of the locality. Recently Professor Bouquillon, of the Catholic University at Washington, has published a pamphlet (Baltimore, 1891), in which he stoutly contends for the right of the state to educate her children.

The chief leaders of American Roman Catholicism are now aiming to impress upon the public mind the loyalty of their coreligionists to American institutions and their full appreciation of modern science. The task is very difficult, and cannot be accomplished, unless much of history is forgotten. When the Roman Pope ceases to write encyclicals for his American children, and to give frequent advice as to their duty, and when the Roman Propaganda is no longer called upon to furnish the chief instructors for Roman Catholic institutions in the United States, and when it is once for all acknowledged that the first duty of the American Roman Catholic is not to the man of the Vatican, but to the country whose liberties he enjoys, it will be time to acknowledge that American Roman Catholicism is in harmony with true American citizenship and the latest science.

CHAPTER XIV

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH

[Authorities.—The eighth volume of Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit (N. Y., 1865), contains invaluable materials. Ellis, The Half Century of the Unitarian Controversy (Boston, 1857), is an excellent history, written from a Unitarian standpoint. The first part of the same author's Memoir of Jared Sparks (Boston, 1869) is worth noting. The Life of Channing, by his nephew, the Rev. William Henry Channing (Boston, 10th ed., 1874, 3 vols.), is a work of great value. It has been published in an abridged form (Boston, 1880). The Channing Centenary Volume, edited by Rev. Russell Nevins Bellows (enlarged edition, Boston, 1883), is a noble tribute to the wide-spread influence of that great teacher. For the rise of Unitarianism, Mrs. Lee, Memoirs of the Buckminsters, Father and Son (Boston, 1851), is a useful book. The rich biography of Ezra Stiles Gannett, by his son, W. C. Gannett (Boston, 1875), covers the history of Boston Unitarianism from 1824–71. Another biography of the same character is equally valuable: Frothingham, Boston Unitarianism, 1820–50: a Study of the Life and Work of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham (N. Y., 1890). This is the best delineation of the progress between Channing and Parker. The most important and elaborate work on Parker is Weiss, Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker (2 vols., N. Y., 1864); the best short life is Frothingham (Boston, 1874); and what will probably be the most interesting and original is Fiske's Parker, already announced in the series of American Religious Leaders. Ware, Unitarian Biography (2 vols., Boston, 1850–51), should be consulted. By far the best view of the historical progress of American Unitarianism in short compass is given in Lectures V.–XI. of The Channing Hall Lectures on Unitarianism, its Origin and History (Boston, 1890). Allen, Our Liberal Movement in Theology (Boston, 1882), is an excellent review of the theological progress of New England, and the most instructive of recent volumes is Hale, James Freeman Clarke, (Boston, 1890).]

Origin

The development of Unitarianism in New England does not seem to have been due to any influences from without, but to a natural reaction from the rigidity of the old Calvinism. Priestley, indeed, came to America in 1794, and organized a Church in Philadelphia, which has had a continuous existence to the present time—Dr. Furness, pastor from

1825–75, being now pastor *emeritus*. But Priestley exerted no special influence on New England. James Freeman, though not the first Unitarian preacher in New England, was the first minister of a Unitarian Church organized as such ; and in the expurgated liturgy which he drew up for the use of his congregation he acknowledges his indebtedness to Theophilus Lindsey, one of the best of the English Unitarians. But his views, like those of his brother ministers of the liberal faith, were formed independently. American Unitarianism, unlike American Methodism, grew out of American soil. It was the intellectual revolt of men trained in the severe and independent methods of thinking common among the Puritans.

The First Unitarians

The first Unitarian minister in America was Ebenezer Gay, of the First Church in Hingham, Massachusetts, who died in 1787, in the ninety-second year of his age and in the sixty-ninth of his sole pastorate. His was the longest pastorate of a single church of which we have any knowledge. President Adams referred to him, with several other ministers of that time, as a well-known Unitarian. He suffered nothing in ecclesiastical standing on this account. He was the life-long friend of Dr. Appleton, of Cambridge, a moderate Calvinist. A man of more commanding influence was Charles Chauncy, minister of the First Church in Boston for sixty years (died 1787). He was an ardent patriot, and his influence was felt over the whole commonwealth. He not only held most liberal views as to the divine nature, but he boldly proclaimed the ultimate salvation of all men. He, too, was in the most cordial relations with all his brother ministers. Another noted Unitarian of that time was Jonathan Mayhew, minister of the West Church of Boston from 1747 until his death in 1766. He was a man of extraordinary force of character, a born fighter, who wielded a tremendous influence in the period just before the Revolution. It was probably his belligerent ways that alienated some of his brethren from him, so that not one of his Boston fellow-pastors would attend his ordaining council. But they afterwards became more friendly. Mayhew himself was at one time scribe of the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers. He was one of the most striking personalities in a period of great men. Dr. Jeremy Belknap (died 1798), of the Federal Street (now Arlington Street) Church, Boston, was another early

Unitarian. He compiled the first Unitarian hymn-book, and was one of the first American historians, his "History of New Hampshire" (3 vols., 1784–92) being still considered a work of great value. James Freeman, already mentioned, the grandfather, by marriage, of the late James Freeman Clarke, was invited to become the minister of King's Chapel, Boston, an Episcopal Church, in 1783. On renouncing the Trinity, his congregation still clung to him, and voted to alter their liturgy and creed. "Thus the first Episcopal Church in New England became the first Unitarian Church in America." From 1785 to the present, King's Chapel has retained its Unitarian status. Freeman was a man of beautiful character—a rare union of intellectual, social, and spiritual gifts; and for many years after his death (in 1835) his name was cherished as a most fragrant and precious memory.

Many other names must be passed over. It seems strange to us that the most uncompromising Unitarianism could grow up in the oldest Puritan churches in New England, so that what were at first the most orthodox churches —the First Church of Plymouth, the First of Boston, and twenty-six others of the oldest churches of New England, and thirty-eight which were older than the year 1700—became gradually transformed into churches of an opposite faith, their ministers retaining their places without opposition, and even in the full possession of their fraternal rights. But we must remember that many of the oldest churches had no creed statements, simply covenants, and that with some churches which did confess a creed this confession did not imply that either minister or people were rigidly bound to it. In conformity with the Congregational principle, freedom was allowed. But this peaceable development at last came to an end. The Trinitarians became aroused. The appointment of Dr. Ware as professor of divinity in Harvard University, in 1805, was the occasion of the break of the former peaceful relations of the liberal and conservative wing, though that break was not consummated till some years after. About 1810 Jeremiah Evarts, father of the Hon. William M. Evarts, struck the first blow from the orthodox side in the *Panoplist*. Channing, then the minister of the Federal Street Church, replied. Ware and Professor Woods, of Andover Theological Seminary, continued the controversy, 1820–23. From 1815 to 1825 the

The Break

lines became more and more definitely drawn; fellowship was broken, friends were separated, and churches went their several ways. The courts decided that the parish, not necessarily the members of the Church, is the legal representative of the Church, and this momentous decision, received with dismay by the orthodox party, confirmed the Unitarians in the possession of what were once Trinitarian churches.

Channing

The most illustrious name in American Unitarianism is William Ellery Channing, a man who combined fine literary gifts with a noble Christian character and intense humanitarian zeal. In 1803 he was ordained pastor of Federal Street Church, Boston, and his church at once became filled, owing to the power and freshness of his preaching. His great sermon at the ordination of Jared Sparks as pastor of the Unitarian Church in Baltimore, in 1819, was almost an epoch-making performance. It is largely through the influence of Channing, who had such an intense dislike of everything sectarian, that Unitarianism became the name of an influence and tendency rather than of a denomination. In a letter written two years before his death he uses these memorable words: "As I grow older . . . I distrust sectarian influence more and more. I am detached from a denomination, and strive to feel more my connection with the Universal Church, with all good and holy men. I am little of a Unitarian, have little sympathy with the system of Priestley and Belsham, and stand aloof from all but those who strive and pray for clearer light and more effectual manifestations of Christian truth."* Channing was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christ; and, though he could not rise to the full conception of his divinity, he adored his Master with a profound reverence and a passionate love. On all questions of Christ's sinlessness and miracles, on the fulness of his manifestation of God, he occupied entirely orthodox ground, and nothing could be more uncongenial to him than the present shallow rationalism or semi-paganism which shields itself under the Unitarian name. No man, perhaps, in the history of American Christianity, better deserves the name given to him by a French Catholic writer—the "American Fénelon."

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* W. H. Channing, Memoir, vol. ii., p. 380. See the fine article on Channing by Dr. Schaff in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, *s. v.*

But already a new era was dawning. Channing died October 2d, 1842. On May 17th, 1841, Theodore Parker, then pastor at West Roxbury, Massachusetts, preached an ordination sermon in South Boston on "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity." He cut aloof from the Bible, denying its inspiration and divine authority, points which had been firmly held by the older Unitarians. He held, that all that is supernatural in the gospel narrative is a myth or fable. He was the first Unitarian to apply the knife of the most rationalistic criticism to the Bible, and to empty Christianity of its divinity and exclusive sanctions. This sermon created the utmost consternation, and many Unitarians refused fellowship with him. But Parker stood firmly by his views, which he elaborated in books and lectures. He was urged to come to Boston, where he would have a larger field, and in 1846 he became pastor of the "Twenty-eighth Congregational Society" of Boston. His ministry was a phenomenal success. He was to Unitarianism what Beecher was to orthodoxy. The frankness and benevolence of his nature, his boldness and eloquence, his advocacy of reforms, often unpopular, drew to him an immense crowd, and his new views of Christianity were listened to with marvellous interest. His health at length broke down under his terrible strain of work. In a vain quest he went abroad, and died in Florence, May 10th, 1860. In 1892 a new memorial was erected to him in the cemetery of that beautiful city.

Theodore Parker

But the radicalism of Parker is now the orthodoxy of Unitarianism. The boldest Deist as well as the most spiritual Christian is now enrolled under the Unitarian banner. Nevertheless, the Christian note is not discarded. The National Conference, organized in 1864, professes as one of its objects to "increase our sense of the obligations of all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives to the service of God and the building-up of the kingdom of his Son."

Recently the Unitarians have entered into mission work. They support one or two missionaries in India, and in 1890 they sent one to Japan. By the circulation of books and tracts, and by the employment of special workers, the Unitarians seek to leaven the home field with liberal sentiments. The West is now the favorite field of Unitarian extension.

The Unitarian Church, though small in numbers, has achieved a magnificent success in philanthropic and educational work. The culture of its ministers and members, their enthusiasm for humanity, their achievements in literature and science, their devotion to ethical ideals and to the work of charity and reform, have made for them a noble record in the history of the Church, and have given them an influence that is in no relation to their small numerical strength.

CHAPTER XV

THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH

[Authorities.—The best history is Eddy, Universalism in America (Boston, 1882–84). Adams, Fifty Notable Years: Views of the Ministry of Christian Universalism (Boston, 1882), is an important book. The Life of Ballou has been written by Whittemore and M. M. Ballou (Boston, 1854), and by Safford (Boston, 1889). The Autobiography of Murray (1813, continued by his wife, 1816, 9th ed., with notes, 1870) is a most interesting book. Murray is very frank. Stone, Life of Winchester (Boston, 1836), ought not to be overlooked. Ellis, Life of Chapin (Boston, 1882), is the best of the recent biographies. It tells the story of a noble and inspiring life. See Thomas, A Century of Universalism (Boston, 1870). The best short sketch is Eddy, art. "Universalists," in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, vol. x., pp. 657–665. This last writer, however, makes the strange mistake (p. 660) of classing Frederick W. Robertson and Archdeacon Farrar as Universalists. The latter distinctly repudiates Universalism (Eternal Hope, London ed., Pref., p. xxiv.; Mercy and Judgment, American ed., pp. 40–41), and the former repeatedly preached the possibility of an eternal destruction (Sermons, American ed., pp. 68, 98, 100–101, 154, 164–165, 411, 414, 592).]

James Relly

The real father of American Universalism is a man who never saw America, and whose name ought to be rescued from oblivion. This was James Relly, a preacher of the Whitefield, or Calvinistic, Methodists, but who finally carried his Calvinism to the conclusion that if Christ paid the debt of the sins of all men, then all men must ultimately be saved. He proclaimed his new views with great ardor, and drew together a congregation in London about the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1759 he published a book which

prepared the ground in America for the coming of Murray. This was entitled "Union, or the Consanguinity of Christ and His Church." The reasoning was rigidly Calvinistic throughout, and this was the first form of modern Universalism. Relly died in 1778, and his congregation soon dispersed. There is now no organized congregation of Universalists in Europe, except in Scotland, where a small mission is sustained.

Relly is connected with America by John Murray, a member of his London congregation and an enthusiastic disciple. He was also trained in rigid Calvinistic principles, and by a family discipline of the harshest kind. It is hardly a wonder that he revolted from this system. Murray came under the influence of Wesley, and was much drawn to the more joyful ways of the Methodists. He afterwards went to London, where he completely lost his faith, and fell into dissipation. Then he heard Whitefield, and became his zealous convert. He was at first very deeply prejudiced against Relly, but he read his book and heard him preach, and the result was that Murray embraced the Universalist creed. In a spirit of thorough dejection over his financial and other losses he sailed for America in 1770. This is the date of the first Universalist preaching in America. Murray at first kept his peculiar faith in the background, but it at length cropped out, and he received an invitation to preach at Gloucester, Massachusetts, where Relly's book had made some silent conversions, and where the first Universalist Church was organized in 1779. Murray became the pastor of this church, remaining there till 1793, though still itinerating through New England and the Middle States preaching Universalism. He had his share of persecution, but he was never daunted for that. A mob surrounded a church in Boston where he was preaching. A large stone was thrown at his head. Murray picked it up with the remark, "This argument is weighty and solid, but it is neither rational nor convincing." Then the people shouted, "Pray, sir, leave the pulpit; your life is in danger." "With your good leave," was Murray's brave reply, "I will pursue my subject, and while I have a 'Thus saith the Lord' for every point of doctrine I advance, not all the stones in Boston, unless they stop my breath, shall stop my mouth or arrest my testimony." Murray preached in Boston from 1793 to 1809. He died September 3d, 1815, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

John Murray

Though Murray was the founder of Universalism in America, he was by no means the first to preach the doctrine.

Pioneers

Joseph Gatschell, of Marblehead, Massachusetts, in 1684, was brought before Suffolk County Court for teaching "that all men shall be saved," and was sentenced "to the pillory, and to have his tongue drawn forth and pierced with a hot iron." George de Benneville preached the same doctrine in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. This De Benneville came to America in 1741, after a romantic career in the Old World. He preached among the Dunkers. The Rev. Richard Clarke, rector of St. Philip's Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1754 to 1759, with other ministers of his Church, as well as Drs. Mayhew and Chauncy, two of the ablest Puritan ministers of Boston, were pronounced advocates of the final salvation of all. Contemporary with Murray, but independent of him, other men proclaimed the same gospel. Adam Streeter, in Rhode Island, was one of these. He preached in 1777. The most brilliant man of that time was Elhanan Winchester. He far surpassed Murray for solid qualities of mind, and the saintliness of his character and the eloquence of his preaching achieved a great deal for early Universalism. His field was Philadelphia, 1780–87. His theology was of a much more evangelical type than either the hard Calvinism of Murray or the liberalism of Ballou.

We now come to the most illustrious name in the history of American Universalism—Hosea Ballou. Like Winchester and Caleb Rich, he began as a Baptist. He became a convert to the new faith in 1792, and after several brief pastorates he settled as the minister of the Second Universalist Society of Boston in 1817. There he died, June 7th, 1852, in his eighty-first year. Ballou established a Universalist periodical literature, and by pen no less than by voice labored with all his might for his hopeful creed. He emptied Universalism of its deeper elements, making it semi-Unitarian, and, departing from the rational theory of Winchester, he proclaimed the crass notion of the immediate happiness of all after death. His idea of Christ was equally shallow. Ballou is a mighty name in the Universalist theology, and while the denomination has grown out of his doctrine of the instantaneous heaven of men who die in their sins, his

Hosea Ballou

latitudinarian teachings on the general Christian system have had a wide-spread and profound influence on the later Universalists.

It is an interesting fact that as early as 1786 the right of the Gloucester Society of Universalists to be exempted from the parish taxes was confirmed, after various appeals and delays, by the highest court of the colony. Several congregations in Massachusetts and Rhode Island united with that in Gloucester in holding an association at Oxford, Massachusetts, in 1785. The churches in and around Philadelphia formed a convention in 1790, and in 1792 the churches of the Eastern States formed a similar conference. The Philadelphia Convention went out of existence in 1809, but the Eastern Convention still meets annually under the name of the Universalist General Convention. The government of these churches is strictly Congregational.

Organization

The Universalist denomination has made an honorable record in literary and educational work. Though numerically a small body, it has four colleges and three theological schools, and in New England and New York five academies. It has a number of earnest and high-minded adherents, and many who are in hearty sympathy with the evangelical faith. There is at present a strong leaven of rationalism working in the Universalist Church, and the battle is now waging between the orthodox and the Unitarian wing. In its origin, Universalism stood firmly on the Calvinistic platform, and in cordial agreement with the essential elements of the creed of the Church catholic. If the present Unitarian movement in the Universalist Church succeeds, the descent will mark one of the most instructive developments in the history of the Church.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MORAVIAN CHURCH

[AUTHORITIES.—For the history of the Moravian Brethren in America, see Reichel, The Early History of the Church of the United Brethren in North America (Nazareth, Pa., 1888); De Schweinitz, The History of the Church Known as the Unitas Fratrum (Bethlehem, Pa., 1885). On their missionary work, see Holmes, Missions of the United Brethren (London, 1827); Heckewelder, History of the Indian Mission (Phila., 1817); De Schweinitz, Life and Times of David Zeisberger (Phila., 1870); Thompson, Moravian Missions (New York, 1882); Schultze, Die Missionsfelder der Erneuerten Brüderkirche (Bethlehem, Pa., 1890). See an excellent article by Hark, *The Andover Review*, vol. iv., pp. 587–593 (December, 1885).]

THE Moravians made their first settlement on this continent in Georgia, in 1735. It was the profound faith and peaceful spirit of these new-comers which so deeply impressed John Wesley on his voyage to America in the fall of that year. It is, in fact, to this casual meeting on shipboard that we owe the Methodist movement. The Georgian colony was soon broken up, and the Brethren moved northward to Pennsylvania, that Mecca of the distressed. In 1736* they founded Bethlehem, and soon after Nazareth and Lititz. They instituted here their peculiar method of organization, which was similar to the communism of the first Jerusalem Church. "The lands were the property of the Church, and the farms and various departments of mechanical industry were stocked by it and worked for its benefit. In return the Church provided the inhabitants with all the necessaries of life." But there was no common treasury; each man kept his own private means; and it is an error to say that there was a community of goods. This system existed for twenty years (1742–62). Each member of the "Economy,"

The Early Immigration

* Some give the date as 1740.

as the system was called, was pledged "to devote his time and powers in whatever direction they could be most advantageously applied for the spread of the gospel."

Zinzendorf

It was about this time that the celebrated Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, the regenerator of the Moravian Church, came to America, 1741–42. His work was originally of a mediating character, in which he sought to unite the Germans, irrespective of creed, into a Christian Alliance, called the "Congregation of God in the Spirit." This project failed completely. He fell into an unfortunate misunderstanding with the Lutherans, and his work was much maligned. "The ideal which inspired him," says De Schweinitz, "was too lofty for that time of sectarian bigotry and disputes. He was more than a century in advance of his age." Zinzendorf went out on wide missionary journeys among the Indians, and it is even asserted that he was the first white man to pitch his tent in the far-famed Wyoming Valley, in northeastern Pennsylvania. This was in 1742. It was he who gave the name of Bethlehem to the new colony. He returned to Europe in January, 1743.

Missionary Zeal

The Moravians are the master missionaries of the world. With undaunted zeal and heroism they have carried the cross to heathen tribes, selecting, as a rule, the darkest and most degraded lands. The pledge, quoted above, secured a never-failing band of workers, who, inflamed only with the love of Christ, penetrated into the farthest Indian settlements. In 1740 the Moravian Henry Rauch began a mission in New York State, not far from Kingston. He afterwards removed to Pennsylvania, and before the close of 1742 there were thirty-one baptized Indian converts, many of them marvellous illustrations of the power of divine grace to transform the most profligate savages into strong Christian men.*

Zeisberger

The apostle of the Indian missions, however, was David Zeisberger, the John Eliot of the Moravians—a man whose missionary enthusiasm and work place him in the front rank of Christian heroes. He came to America about 1740, or earlier, and was a member of the Bethlehem

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* See the full and interesting article, by Romig, on "Moravian Missions" in Bliss's Encyclopædia of Missions (New York, 1891), vol. ii., pp. 129–147.

colony. In 1745 he began his work among the Indians, and he carried it forward with an unflagging devotion for sixty-two years. He labored in four states and in Canada, and among eight Indian tribes. He established thirteen Christian Indian towns. Many of his converts were from the most unpromising ranks of abandoned savages, but they proved the genuineness of their conversion by their consistent lives. He wielded a marvellous influence over the Indians. His daring journeys into unknown solitudes remind us of the unparalleled sacrifices of the Jesuit missionaries. For many years he prevented the Grand Council of the Delawares in Ohio from joining other tribes in fighting against the colonies in the Revolutionary War. One of his last works was to lead the remnant that survived the massacre of his Gnadenhütten colony in Ohio (1782) to Fairfield, Canada. In 1798 land was granted to these Moravian exiles on the Tuscarawas, Ohio, near their former settlements. Zeisberger led what was left of his martyr band to this station, which he called Goshen. There he died, November 17th, 1808. "The weeping Indians stood around his death-bed, exclaiming, 'Father, we will cleave to the Saviour, and live to him alone!'" Christian Frederick Post and Heckewelder were also Moravian pioneers in the West. They helped Zeisberger in Christianizing the Indians west of the Alleghenies. The massacre of the Gnadenhütten colonists is one of the darkest blots on the escutcheon of the American arms.

Progress

The progress of the Moravian Church in this country was much impeded by its town system. The Moravian plan was to form villages, or colonies, consisting exclusively of Christian people, banded together as a Christian community after a lofty ethical ideal. When this system was broken up, as it was in 1884 and the following years, the Moravians expanded their organization, and planted churches with rapidity. They extended their work in the usual manner, and within the last thirty years they have doubled in number.

This Church has formed a distinctive and picturesque feature in our American religious life. In the purity and vigor of its piety, in the simplicity and firmness of its faith, in its missionary activity, and in its devotion to the customs of early Christianity, it has been exceeded by no Church in the world. The lot was formerly used to decide cases of impor-

tance, but its use with regard to marriages was abolished in 1818, and in other matters it is greatly restricted, if not altogether done away. The Moravians have an episcopal form of government, and they claim that their episcopacy is entirely valid, even from the High-Church point of view. This claim was accepted by Archbishop Wake and Bishop Wilson, of the Church of England, but it is now repudiated by the stricter Anglicans. As in the case of the Roman Catholic Church, America forms one province of the ecclesiastical territory, the supreme authority being in Europe. The highest court is the General Synod, which meets at Herrnhut every ten years. There is a theological seminary at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, founded in 1807. The service of the Church is liturgical, with free prayer as allowable. The Church observes many beautiful customs. Foot-washing, formerly practised to a very limited extent, died out entirely about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XVII

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL AND THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

[Authorities.—Richardson, Life of Alexander Campbell (2d ed., Cincinnati, 1872); Memoirs of Thomas Campbell (Cincinnati, 1861); Hatfield, Alexander Campbell and the Disciples, in *Presbyterian Review*, vol. iii., pp. 528–552 (July, 1882); Longan, The Origin of the Disciples of Christ. Power has a comprehensive article on the Disciples of Christ in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia.]

Few men have impressed themselves more profoundly on the religious life of their age than Alexander Campbell. His personality was of the most vigorous type, and for over a generation his name was a tower of strength over the whole United States. His father, the Rev. Thomas Campbell, a relative of the poet Campbell, was an Irish Presbyterian minister of the Secession Church. He came to America in 1807, and served under the Associate Synod several Presbyterian churches in Western Pennsylvania. Both father and son had come under the influence of the Haldanes,

Alexander Campbell

and this fact must be taken into the account in their theological development. Alexander was born near Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, September 12th, 1788. He was educated at the University of Glasgow, and in 1809 came to this country. He joined his father at Washington, Pennsylvania, and very soon both began to enunciate views which excited widespread attention. Especially with respect to human creeds he took advanced ground. His platform for Christian union, which he laid down at the very beginning of his ministry, anticipated the irenical proposals of the Protestant Episcopal House of Bishops in 1886. But Campbell, with that fearlessness and loyalty to his principles which were characteristic of him, took a much more radical position. He would dissolve the whole later superstructure of the Church, and go back to the simplicity of apostolic times. "Christian union," ran his notable words, "can result from nothing short of the destruction of creeds and confessions of faith, inasmuch as human creeds and confessions have destroyed Christian union." In consistency with this, he further said: "Nothing ought to be received into the faith and worship of the Church, or be made a term of communion among Christians, that is not as old as the New Testament; nor ought anything to be admitted as of divine obligation in the Church constitution or management, save what is enjoined by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles upon the New Testament Church, either in express terms or by approved precedent." The laying-down of this radical Puritan platform by this young man of twenty-two was an epoch-making event in the history of the American Church.

A Break with his Former Associates

A rupture was imminent. A Church of so firm a foundation in creed as the Presbyterian could hardly be expected to bear with so revolutionary a character. Campbell and his father withdrew, and formed a new congregation at Brush Run, Pennsylvania, 1810. On the birth of his first child, in 1812, he was led into a thorough study of the baptismal question. This convinced him of the Scripturalness of immersion, and he and his whole congregation were immersed. Thus the ties which bound him to the Scotch creed were severed one by one. He used these memorable words to Loos, the Baptist minister, who baptized him: "I have set out to follow the apostles of Christ, and their

Master, and I will be baptized only into the primitive Christian faith."

Alexander Campbell and his father were received into Redstone Baptist Association, and they immediately began forming congregations, which were also received into the same association. They preached their views with ardor and eloquence, and they soon began to make a stir through the whole Ohio region. Campbell had taken up his residence at what is now Bethany, West Virginia, where, for a time, he conducted a high-school for boys. It was really in intention a theological seminary. Soon the Baptists became dissatisfied with his views, and furious controversies ensued. The battle was waged bitterly. Associations were disrupted, churches destroyed, and the end was the permanent loss of Campbell and his followers to the Baptist Church. They formed, about 1827, an independent Church, called the Disciples of Christ—the act of exclusion being taken by the Baptists.

Leaves the Baptists also

The subsequent life of this earnest and gifted man was most active and aggressive. He established a periodical press, 1823, the printing being done at first in his own house at Bethany. He travelled through the West, organizing churches, preaching to vast crowds, lecturing, debating. He leavened the whole country with his views. Few men have exerted a wider influence. He was a fearless controversialist, and loved to meet in the free forum of discussion the ablest men of the time. In 1828 he held his great debate with Robert Owen at Cincinnati, on the truth of Christianity. His powerful arguments on that occasion converted several prominent citizens, and made a lasting impression on the city and surrounding country. The year before, he met the Rev. William McCalla at Washington, Kentucky, to discuss baptism. One of his most famous encounters was with Archbishop Purcell in Cincinnati, in 1836, on the Roman Catholic Church. Campbell had a noble presence, a powerful voice, and a mind of exceeding strength and agility, and it is safe to say no cause ever suffered in his hands on a public debate. At the same time, he was a man of the purest character and the highest Christian consecration. He died at Bethany, West Virginia, March 4th, 1866. As the founder of one of the largest churches of American origin,

Later Life

the life of Alexander Campbell has a significance second to few in American Church history.

The Church founded thus has spread with astonishing rapidity. The Disciples number now nearly eight hundred thousand. Their chief strength is in the Middle-West and the Southwest. Their first college (Bethany College, Bethany, West Virginia) was founded by Campbell in his own town in 1841. They support two universities and thirty colleges and academies. Their college at Hiram, Ohio, had for its president James A. Garfield, who likewise taught there for some years. Garfield was also a Disciple preacher until he began his political career in 1856. He remained until his death an active worker in the denomination, and a trustee of Hiram and Bethany colleges. This Church sustains missions in several foreign fields, and is an energetic and evangelical body. It is thoroughly in harmony with the Church catholic on all essential points. On account of the Disciples repudiating common theological terms like "trinity," "consubstantial," as divisive, they have been sometimes represented as Unitarians. But this does them very great injustice. They hold to the divinity of Jesus Christ as the foundation of their faith.

The Disciples of Christ

The Christians, or Christian Connection, have often been confounded with the Disciples of Christ. The two bodies should be kept entirely distinct. The former came into existence about 1804, when a part of the O'Kelly secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church, a portion of the Baptist Church in Hartland, Vermont, and a Presbyterian schism in Kentucky and Tennessee in 1801, united to form one Church, called the Christian Church. The bond of union in each case was the desire to get rid of creeds, and to confess the simple primitive gospel. They are very similar to the Disciples in doctrine and organization. As to the sacraments, they are Baptists. They hold that Christ is divine, but care nothing for the ancient definitions.

The Christians, so called

CHAPTER XVIII

THE QUAKERS

[Authorities.—Bowden, History of Friends in America (London, 1850–54); Kite, Biographical Sketches of Friends (Phila., 1871); Evans, Friends in the Seventeenth Century (Phila., 1875); Budge, Annals of the Early Friends (London, 1877); Journal of Life and Labors of Elias Hicks (N. Y., 5th ed., 1832); Janney, History of the Quakers (Phila., 1859–64, 4 vols.); Maule, Transactions and Changes in the Society of Friends (Phila., 1884); Turner, The Quakers: a Study, a History, and a Criticism (London, 1889). Alexander Gordon gives an excellent description of the doctrinal change in Quakerism in his article "Modern Quakerism," in *The Modern Review* (London, October, 1884, pp. 701–718). From this point of view the two works of Hodgson are indispensable: Historical Memoirs of the Society of Friends, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Phila., 1867); The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century (Phila., 1876). Compare Edgerton, Modern Quakerism Examined, and Contrasted with that of the Ancient Type (Indianapolis, 1876). Joseph Smith's Catalogues of Friends' Books (1867), and of Books against the Friends (1884), with biographical notices, are a complete survey of the whole literature. New light is thrown on the treatment of the Quakers in New England by Hallowell, The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts (Boston, 1883), who writes, however, in a spirit of antagonism to the Puritans.]

The first Quakers in America were Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, who arrived in Boston in 1656. Many followed them, driven from England by hard treatment, until their numbers became alarming. In 1671, George Fox himself, the founder of the Society of Friends, visited this country. He was a man of simple faith and apostolic zeal. He travelled through the country, looking up Friends who had settled here and there, and preaching his peculiar doctrines. In his journals he speaks of himself as struggling through "the great bogs" of the Dismal Swamp, and "lying abroad nights by a fire." In 1672 he attended the Yearly Meeting at Newport, Rhode Island, which lasted for six days. At the end of this meeting he says: "It was

George Fox in America

sometimes hard for Friends to part; for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and his blessed truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the Friends of the island." In 1673 he returned to England.

We have already referred to the persecutions of the Quakers. In all the colonies, except Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, their lot was a hard one. The first immigrants were sent back by the Massachusetts Colony. But, refusing to take the hint, others followed. They were scourged, imprisoned, exiled, slain. William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson were hanged in New England in 1659, Mary Dyer in 1660, and William Leddra in 1661. Mary Dyer, the solitary female victim among the New England martyrs, is claimed by Quaker writers as a woman of remarkable refinement and piety. It is hard for us at this age to understand these persecuting measures against so inoffensive and kind-hearted religionists. It must be remembered, however, that the early Quakers were looked upon as social revolutionists, and the Puritans guarded their insecure charter with desperate jealousy. They were always fearful of bad reports sent back to the mother country. Cotton Mather justifies the measures against the Quakers by this reasoning:

Persecutions

"It was also thought that the very Quakers themselves would say that if they had got into a Corner of the World, and with an immense Toyl and Charge made a Wilderness habitable, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the Exercises of their Worship, they would never bear to have New-Englanders come among them and interrupt their Publick Worship, endeavor to seduce their Children from it, yea, and repeat such Endeavors after mild Entreaties first, and then just Banishments, to oblige their departure."

It should also be remembered, as affording palliation for these persecutions, that some of the first Quakers were misled by fanatical frenzy into indecent exhibitions. These were gone through with as a sign, as a symbolic act. Mr. Whittier thinks that these "naked performances came from persons who were maddened by seeing the partial exposure of Quakers whipped through the streets." Higginson remarks concerning this interpretation: "This view, though plausible,

seems to me to overlook the highly wrought condition of mind among these enthusiasts, and the fact that they regarded everything as a symbol. When one of the ablest of the Quakers, Robert Barclay, walked the streets of Aberdeen in sackcloth and ashes, he deemed it right to sacrifice all propriety for the sake of a symbolic act; and in just the same spirit we find the Quaker writers of that period defending these personal exposures, not by Mr. Whittier's reasons, but by symbolic ones."* These exhibitions, however, were exceptional. The Quakers, by their meek, brave endurance of wrong, by their blameless lives and peaceful dispositions, at length won universal respect. The persecutions in New England ceased in 1660, owing to a royal mandamus.

In spite of adverse circumstances, the Quaker development proceeded rapidly. A Monthly Meeting was established in New England before 1660, and in 1661 a Yearly Meeting was held in Rhode Island, which has been kept up ever since. The settlement of Pennsylvania by the great Quaker, William Penn, and his brethren of the same faith, in 1682, was a red-letter day in their history. It was thus that the Quaker element became a distinct and influential force in the progress of American civilization. In 1690 there were ten thousand Friends in America. During the three wars in our national history they continued steadfast in their peace principles, though at the cost of a great deal of abuse and suffering.

Increase

In 1827, Elias Hicks, of Jericho, Long Island, a man of acute intellect and great energy of character, led many of the Quakers away from their ancient landmarks by introducing what he considered more rational views. These views met with bitter opposition, and the result was a widespread schism. Hicks has been represented as a Unitarian in his general theological position, but this is a great mistake. He is substantially orthodox in all essential doctrines, and it was only by bringing into prominent light many of these doctrines that he created an intense commotion within the quiet borders of the Friends. Six out of the ten Yearly Meetings adhered to him. Both parties claim to represent original Quak-

The Hicks Secession

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* Larger History of the United States (N. Y., 1885), p. 204.

erism. The old, so-called orthodox, party is the one acknowledged by the London Yearly Meeting. Mr. Allinson, of the *Friends' Review*, is no doubt right in conceding that in the division doctrinal and personal considerations were mingled, and that many failed to comprehend the true issue. He says —and he speaks from the "orthodox" standpoint—that many who were one in faith were unfortunately dissevered for life in their Church fellowship.

Violent controversies have taken place within the last few years as to the amount of departure from the original Quaker testimony, and various small schisms have been the result. There can be no doubt that the Friends have ceased to emphasize some of their peculiarities, and have come more into sympathy in their preaching and working with the other evangelical bodies. It is to this they owe their remarkable revival in the West. The evangelical strain of modern Quakerism is due largely to Joseph John Gurney (died 1847), one of the noblest characters of modern times. It is claimed that the great principle of the Inner Light, the immediate inspiration of the soul by the Holy Ghost, which was the glory of the early Quaker theology, has been retired. Others deny this, and say that these modern improvements are by no means intended to take the place of any doctrine of true Quakerism. It may be, after all, a question of emphasis.

Recent Discussions

No body of Christians has been more enthusiastic in moral reform than the Quakers. Every effort towards the amelioration of suffering, the suppression of slavery, the abolition of war, the regeneration of prison discipline, and every other humanitarian cause, has found in them firm and unwearying supporters. Their heroic toil for the realization of the Christian ideal was typified in the life of Lucretia Mott (1793–1880), the anti-slavery apostle. As early as 1727 the English Friends began the agitation against slavery, and they never ceased in their peaceful efforts until the institution was abolished. Clarkson was very closely identified with the Friends, though he never joined them. The devotion of the Quakers to the morals of Jesus has leavened the whole Christian world. Our great poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, is their chief representative in the world of letters.

Moral Enthusiasm

CHAPTER XIX

OTHER DENOMINATIONS

[Authorities.—MacDonald, History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church (Nashville, 1888); Cossett, Life and Times of Finis Ewing (Nashville, 1853); Beard, Biographical Sketches of Some of the Early Ministers of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church (Nashville, 1867); Crisman, Origin and Doctrines of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church (Nashville, 1875); Glasgow, History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America (Baltimore, 1888); Stewart, History of the Free-Will Baptists (Dover, N. H., 1862). A most admirable account of the Tunkers is contributed by ex-President Cattell in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia. On these, see also the fourth part of the valuable but now scarce book, Edwards, Materials towards a History of American Baptists (Phila., 1770); Rupp, History of Lancaster County, Pa., part ii., chap. vi.; Miller, Record of the Faithful (Lewisburg, Pa., 1882); and the Annual Minutes from 1788, Wellcome, History of the Second-Advent Message (Yarmouth, Me., 1874); A Collection of Pamphlets with Reference to the Formation of the Reformed Episcopal Church (Phila., 1876); Journals of the General Councils from 1878 to present, Life of George David Cummins, by his wife (N. Y., 1878); J. Howard Smith, article on "Reformed Episcopal Church" in McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, viii., 1008–1013; Ayerigg, Memoirs of the Reformed Episcopal Church (new ed., N. Y., 1882); Drury, Life of Otterbein (Dayton, O., 1884); Lawrence, History of the United Brethren; Spayth, History of Church of United Brethren in Christ (Circleville, O., 1851); Yeakel, "Jacob Albright," in Lives of the Leaders in our Church Universal, edited by MacCracken (N. Y., etc., 1879), pp. 657–661.]

It is impossible to do justice to the many bodies of Christians which have been formed in the stimulating religious atmosphere of America. The spirit of division has had free course, and the many sects in this country afford a phenomenon unparalleled in the history of Christianity. Sometimes the cause of the divisions seems trivial enough to the sober judgment of later times. Many of them might, no doubt, have been avoided by the exercise of the spirit of moderation on the part of the dissentients, and of the spirit of charity and comprehension on the part of the majority. At other times — especially when

the Church rigidly exercises its self-appointed office as the guardian of some old-time dogma, instead of confining itself to the mission to which the Lord Christ sent it forth, that of preaching the gospel to the world—it would appear that no resource was left to the minority but that of separation. A few of the more important of the smaller denominations will here be mentioned.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church was the outcome of the great revival in Kentucky in 1797. One of the principal leaders was the Rev. James McGready, of the Presbyterian Church. The demands of the work were so great—compare the similar condition under Wesley—that educated and ordained ministers could not be obtained in sufficient numbers. The Cumberland Presbytery thereupon, on the plea of necessity, ordained several men to reap the ripened harvest. These men could not meet the usual theological requirements. This action so enraged the Synod of Kentucky, to which the Cumberland Presbytery was amenable, that it went to the extreme of dissolving the Presbytery. All the offending members were prohibited from any ministerial acts. This was in 1806. The exiled members and those who sympathized with them, forming the majority of the Presbytery, abstained from all presbyterial proceedings, and awaited a redress of their grievances. To save their congregations from disintegration, however, and to carry on the work of the revival, they formed a voluntary association called a Council. But in vain they waited for any conciliatory overtures from the Synod. Finally, on the 4th of February, 1810, three ministers—Finis Ewing, Samuel King, and Samuel McAdow—reorganized the Cumberland Presbytery; and as the Synod and General Assembly refused to recognize this action, the Church which thus had its origin took the name of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. This Church has had a remarkable development. It extends from Pennsylvania to the Pacific, and from the Great Lakes to Louisiana and Texas. It has had a noble missionary and educational activity, and has had a most honorable career in the evangelization of the South and West.

There can be no doubt that in the exigencies of the Great Revival of the beginning of this century there had been a reaction from the stern Calvinism then prevalent, and that the

Synod of Kentucky was correct in its impression that the Cumberland Presbytery were not sufficiently sound in the faith. This impression was confirmed by the result. The new Church put forth its doctrinal protest in these notable words: 1. There are no eternal reprobates; 2. Christ died, not for a part only, but for all mankind, and for all in the same sense; 3. Infants dying in infancy are saved through Christ and the sanctification of the Spirit; 4. The Spirit of God operates on the world as coextensively as Christ has made the atonement, and in such a manner as to leave all men inexcusable. With these exceptions, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church rests on a solid Calvinistic basis. It is interesting to note that, after a long and animated debate, this vigorous Arminian body was admitted to the Pan-Presbyterian Council in Belfast in 1884.

The Reformed Presbyterian Church

The peculiar relation of the Reformed Presbyterian Church to the Constitution of the United States calls for special mention. This Church is the lineal descendant of that earnest and uncompromising body of Presbyterians who set forth so enthusiastically the renewed and enlarged National Covenant of Scotland in 1638. It is this devotion that has given them the name of Covenanters. Their principles require the complete autonomy of the Church as the representative of Christ, a radical reformation of every prelatic abuse, and the recognition of the Lordship of the Redeemer in all the acts of the State. They therefore refused to assent to the Revolution Settlement under William and Mary, by which a sort of royal supremacy over the Church in Scotland was maintained by the establishment of Presbyterianism. This most extreme of the Presbyterian churches was planted in America in 1752 by Cuthbertson, from Scotland, assisted later by Lind and Dobbin from Ireland. Through the labors of these ministers a Presbytery was formed in 1774. In 1782 this Presbytery united with the Presbytery of the Associate Church. This union proved unsatisfactory, and in 1798 commissioners from the home Church in Scotland, McKinney and Gibson, meeting in Philadelphia, reconstituted the Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States. All went well until 1833, when the severe prohibitions of all civil conformity provoked a protest, and caused a number of the ministers to withdraw from the Synod, who, however, retained the

old name. This new Synod relaxed somewhat the old conditions, and it has grown much more rapidly than its more faithful sister. It has a college, appropriately called Geneva College, at Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, and a theological seminary at Allegheny, in the same State. This Church supports missionaries in Syria and India. It allows its members to vote for officers who are not required to take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution. Both of the Reformed Presbyterian churches denounce that instrument as godless because it does not formally recognize the Headship of Christ in the affairs of nations. These churches keep fairly loyal to the old traditions which forbade the use of any hymns except the Psalms of David, and the employment of any musical aid to the voice in singing the praises of God. The Reformed Presbyterians have been recently agitated by the ecclesiastical trial of some ministers who voted at an election.

The Free Baptists

Benjamin Randall, a convert of Whitefield, and a member of the Congregationalist Church, became a convert to Baptist views. But he could not agree with the Calvinism of his brethren, and he was expelled from the Baptist Church. In 1780 he organized the Free-will Baptist Church at Durham, New Hampshire. A similar movement took place in North Carolina in 1751, under Shubael Stearns. Another protest—especially to the close-communion feature of the Baptist Church—was heard in Rhode Island and Connecticut in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Here, again, we meet with the influence of Whitefield. Those who gathered around this standard formed the Groton Union Conference in 1785. Many of them were absorbed into the Free Baptist Church. The latter Church has had a creditable growth. The Free Baptists are Arminian in theology, and hold to open communion with regard to the Lord's Supper. One of their declarations is: "God has ordained man with power of free choice, and governs him by moral laws and motives; and this power of free choice is the exact measure of his responsibility. All events are present with God from everlasting to everlasting; but his knowledge of them does not in any sense cause them, nor does he decree all events which he knows will occur." The denomination is strong in Maine, and has a respectable standing in other states. It has a large constituency in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It supports an excellent college at Lew-

iston, Maine, and another at Hillsdale, Michigan. This is a vigorous body of Christians, and it has made an honorable record in the religious history of the country.

The Tunkers

An interesting sect is the Tunkers, or German Baptists, sometimes called Dunkards, or Dunkers. Their official name is The Brethren, though they themselves frequently use the name German Baptists. Their origin is unique. In 1708 a few of the inhabitants of Schwartzenau, in Germany, led by Alexander Mack, met together to study the Bible, pledging each other to receive whatsoever it should teach them. In ignorance of Church history and of the practices of denominations in other countries, they reached the following conclusions: 1. The Bible as the only rule of faith—all catechisms and confessions to be discarded; 2. The Congregational form of Church government; 3. Baptism of believers only; 4. Immersion. They also agreed to the following methods and customs: An unpaid ministry; plainness of dress; abstinence from oaths, war, and recourse to the civil courts; refusal of interest; the holy kiss; anointing the sick with oil; the love-feast; feet-washing; and trine immersion in baptism. The little band thus started on so primitive a way won many adherents. They were at length driven out by persecution, and took refuge in Holland and other countries. But they all soon came to America, the first contingent arriving in 1719, and settling in Germantown, Pennsylvania. They built a church, and chose Peter Becker as their minister. They have spread into the West and South, and though they publish no statistics ("inasmuch as the apostles never gave the exact number of believers"), it is estimated that they have twenty-five hundred preachers and ninety-five thousand members.

This brave company of Christians was unfortunately divided about 1880 on the question of what was essential or non-essential in the matters of practice. The progressive party contended that the Annual Meeting was taken up with imposing petty rules and restrictions, in which their liberty in the gospel was outrageously trampled upon. The first Convention of the Progressives was held at Ashland, Ohio, June 28th, 1882. The Brethren have always taken advanced ground on moral reforms. They issued a testimony against intoxicating drinks as early as 1781.

The first organized form of the New Church, or the New Jerusalem Church, in America, was the society which the Rev. James Wilmer and Col. Robert Carter, of Virginia, gathered together in Baltimore in 1792. It is believed, however, that James Glen, an Englishman, who lectured in Philadelphia in 1784, was the apostle of Swedenborgianism in America. In 1798 another society was formed in Baltimore, and at this time the first ordinations took place. Ralph Mather and John Hargrove were ordained by the laying-on of hands of ten laymen. In 1817 the General Convention was organized. The Swedenborgians have carried on an extensive work in circulating the books of their great seer, and, after the fashion of the Unitarians, they seek thus to silently leaven the whole Church. Some men eminent in science and literature have been members of the New Church.

The Swedenborgians

There are several sects bearing the name of Adventists. They all agree in holding to the near approach of the personal return of Christ. They take their rise in the mighty agitation which swept over the country, due to the labors of William Miller, of Low Hampton, New York. Miller was a farmer. In 1833, after long studies of the prophecies, he came to the conclusion that the world was coming to an end in 1843. He began to publish his views and win disciples. He found willing listeners in all parts of the country, and as the day approached many sold their property, donned white robes, and went up to the hills to await their Lord's Coming. In the revulsion of feeling due to the disappointment of their hopes, many renounced the doctrines of Miller. Others, however, still clung to the belief that Christ was soon to return, and various dates have been fixed. The Adventists, as a rule, do not now specify the exact date, but content themselves with simply affirming that the Second Coming is very near, within ten or fifteen years at the farthest. The original body, the Evangelical Adventists, with headquarters in Boston, set forth their first Declaration of Principles in Albany in 1845. In 1840, however, they had begun the publication in Boston of the *Signs of the Times*, which is still continued under the name of *Messiah's Herald*. The Christian Adventists is a larger body. This Church was organized in 1861. It has publishing houses in Boston and in Yarmouth, Maine. The Seventh-Day Adventists, with principal headquarters at

The Second Adventists

Battle Creek, Michigan, arose, like the Evangelical Adventists, in 1845. They are a numerous society, and have representatives in many foreign countries. These and other Second Adventist bodies are active in propagating their views, and have numerous sympathizers in all the evangelical churches. They all unite in a materialistic conception of Christianity and in a literal interpretation of the Bible.

The Reformed Episcopal Church is really the offspring of the High-Church movement in the Protestant Episcopal Church. This movement became the ruling force. The old-time traditions which allowed ministers of other Churches to officiate in Episcopal pulpits became of no effect. Between 1860 and 1870 canons were enacted forbidding any but Episcopally ordained men to minister in the Church service. Even indirect sanction of the validity of the ministerial rights of other denominations was frowned upon. These measures were obnoxious to many evangelical men in the Episcopal Church. They grew restive under them. All appeals to have these divisive and invidious laws rescinded, and all petitions for the revision of the Prayer Book, were rejected. Trouble was inevitable. In 1871 the Rev. Dr. Cheney was suspended from preaching by Bishop Whitehouse, for omitting the word "regenerate" in the service for infant baptism. Assistant Bishop Cummins, of Kentucky, was prohibited from preaching in the Illinois diocese by the same bishop on account of his opposition to the High-Church laws.

The Reformed Episcopal Church

Matters reached a crisis at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York, in October, 1873. On Sunday, October 12th, Bishop Cummins assisted the illustrious Dr. Dorner, of Germany, and other divines in the celebration of Holy Communion, in the Presbyterian church of which Dr. John Hall was pastor. Dean R. Payne Smith, of Canterbury, and Canon Fremantle, of London, offended in the same way. This illustration of fraternal love between different bodies of Christians caused the utmost sensation in the Protestant Episcopal Church. A storm of adverse criticism fell on the heads of the unfortunate parties. Bishop Cummins seemed to feel there was no longer any place left for evangelical men in the Protestant Episcopal Church who desired to be true in any sense to the immemorial traditions of their own Church, now super-

seded by High-Church canons, which cut off from the body of Christ all the historic Churches of Christendom, except the Greek and the Roman Catholic. This impression led to the withdrawal of Bishop Cummins and several clergymen and laymen from the Episcopal Church. On the second day of December, 1873, in Association Hall, New York City, the Reformed Episcopal Church was organized with eight clergymen and twenty laymen, all of whom had been members of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In two years the number of clergy increased to fifty.

With the elimination of the High-Church features, the Reformed Episcopal Church still retains a substantial agreement with the mother Church. It holds to the Book of Common Prayer "as it was revised, prepared, and recommended for use by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, A.D. 1785." Extemporaneous prayer is allowed. Some doctrinal changes have been introduced into the Thirty-nine Articles, making them more definite and rigid. This Church has recently become impregnated with Second Adventism.

The United Brethren Church

Philip William Otterbein stands with Muhlenberg and Asbury among the most illustrious religious founders of the United States. He was born, June 4th, 1726, at Dillenburg, Germany. In 1752 he emigrated to America, and became pastor of the Reformed German Church in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. During his ministry here he received an experience very like Wesley's at the Aldersgate Street meeting, London. His preaching was with a spiritual power and illumination which was a surprise to his congregation. In 1760 he became pastor at Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania. He introduced evening services, special evangelistic agencies, and carried on a work similar to the later work of the Methodist pioneers. He travelled far and wide, attending camp-meetings, kindling religious enthusiasm, and introducing multitudes into a new experience. During a great meeting held in a barn in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, he met the Rev. Martin Boehm, a thoroughly congenial spirit, who had been conducting a similar movement among the Mennonites. These two men now joined hands, and, helped by other German ministers, they penetrated the wilds of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, preaching with a fervor and spiritual power unknown to the German settlers. Otterbein

fell in with Asbury, by whom he was held in the highest esteem, and at whose ordination as bishop he assisted, December 27th, 1784. The work under Otterbein and Boehm became so extensive that annual conferences of the ministers were necessary in order to its guidance and consolidation. The first was held in Baltimore in 1789. For several years these earnest Germans were content with their existing Church organizations, and took no measures to form a new denomination. But in 1800, at their conference near Frederick, Maryland, the societies united in one body, which they called the "United Brethren in Christ." Otterbein and Boehm were elected bishops. In 1815 the doctrinal position of the Church was defined in a brief and admirable statement, at once evangelical and catholic. The government of this aggressive Church is similar to that of the Methodist Episcopal, though more democratic. The United Brethren sustain missions in Germany and West Africa, and have an extensive publishing house in Dayton, Ohio. They have taken radical positions with regard to secret societies and all other moral reforms. A fact of wide and encouraging meaning is that, whereas at the time of the organization of the Church, German was spoken almost exclusively, it is now used by less than four per cent. of the congregations.

Otterbein, in the midst of his other labors, always had charge of a parish. He was stationed at York, Pennsylvania, 1765–74, and at Baltimore, 1774 until his death, November 17th, 1813. Harbaugh contends that Otterbein never left the Church of his birth, but simply desired a reorganization of methods within that Church.

Similar in origin to the United Brethren is that other large section of Methodism, the Evangelical Association. In 1790 Jacob Albright, then a successful brick and tile manufacturer in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was led into a thorough religious life through the death of his children. He had been trained in the Lutheran Church, to which he now turned for counsel. But he was repelled, and it was not until he met with Adam Ridgel, a Methodist lay-preacher, that he found needful sympathy and help. This led him to study the Methodist polity and doctrine, and he was received into the Methodist Episcopal Church. Owing to a severe illness, he was led to undertake the evangelization

Albright and the Evangelical Association

of the German people. He began this work in October, 1796. Though meeting with much opposition and persecution, he carried on his work with marvellous enthusiasm and success. At this time the Methodist Episcopal Church did not propose entering the German-American field, so that this energetic lay evangelist was compelled to organize his societies on an independent footing. In 1803 his congregations formed a Church similar in polity and doctrine to the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1807, a conference was held at which Albright was ordained bishop. Albright had the zeal and enterprise of Otterbein, though without his learning, and his extensive travels throughout the German settlements introduced a new era into the history of these colonists. His saintly and beautiful life is a legacy of unspeakable value. He died at Mühlbach, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, May 8th, 1808.

The Evangelical Association has extended largely in the Western States, and has a branch in Germany. This Church has a college and theological department at Naperville, Illinois, and a publishing house at Cleveland, Ohio. It has recently been divided by one of the bitterest ecclesiastical feuds of modern times. The causes of this unfortunate division are largely personal, and all efforts towards healing this disastrous breach have thus far proven unsuccessful. A calamity such as this, to one of the purest and most earnest Christian Churches in the land, is a matter of profound regret.

CHAPTER XX

THE TRANSCENDENTALISTS

[AUTHORITIES.—Frothingham, Transcendentalism in New England: a History (N. Y., 1876). This is the only authoritative account of all phases of this remarkable movement. The author fully appreciates the unworldly idealism of that noble group of men. The same author's George Ripley (Boston, 1882), in American Men of Letters Series, and his article on "Transcendentalism" in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, should also be read. Oliver Wendell Holmes's Ralph Waldo Emerson (Boston, 1891), in the same series, is fresh, but spoiled by a Unitarian tendency. Holmes is at his best in imagination, and at his worst in theology. The best life of Emerson is by Cabot (Boston, 1887). The Brook Farm enterprise is fully described in the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1878, in *Old and New* for February, April, September, 1871, and May, 1872, and in chaps. iii. and iv. of Frothingham's Ripley.]

THE Transcendental movement had its origin in a band of Unitarian scholars and thinkers, mostly young men, earnest, aggressive, and completely dissatisfied with the old order of things. In September, 1836, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frederick H. Hedge, George Ripley, and George Putnam met together in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to discuss measures for the bringing-in of the better day. Each man, as Emerson intimated, "carried a revolution in his waistcoat pocket." But the truth of history must be told—the revolutions never came out of their hiding-places. Other meetings were held. These were fitful, and without any special prearrangement. The meeting at Emerson's house in Concord in that same month of September was called by the public the meeting of the "Transcendental Club." There was really no organized movement. It was simply an undefined fellowship of thoughtful and original men in great good humor with themselves, but thoroughly out of humor with the ruling doctrines of the Church, and bent on realizing, they knew not how, an ideal quite independent of Christianity.

Origin

George Ripley, one of the best of the original band, thus states the creed of the Transcendentalists: "There is a class

of persons who desire a reform in the prevailing philosophy of the day. These are called Transcendentalists, because they believe in an order of truths which transcends the sphere of the external senses. Their leading idea is the supremacy of mind over matter. Hence they maintain that the truth of religion does not depend on tradition, nor historical facts, but has an unerring witness in the soul. There is a light, they believe, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; there is a faculty in all—the most degraded, the most ignorant, the most obscure—to perceive spiritual truth when distinctly presented; and the ultimate appeal on all moral questions is not to a jury of scholars, a hierarchy of divines, or the prescriptions of a creed, but to the common-sense of the human race."

Creed

Individuals differing very widely in their convictions were brought together. They were united by the common belief in the supremacy of the individual reason, of the intuitions of the soul, and of the immediate apprehension of spiritual truth by the native power of man. To them human nature itself was divine.

Chief among the Transcendentalists was Ralph Waldo Emerson, both a lover and a critic of the movement. He was a man of delightful spirit, and wrote with inimitable subtlety and grace. His name reflects immortal honor upon American letters. He came from a family famed for its religious distinction, in which were eight generations of preachers. Not in theology, however, or in the theological spirit, but in letters and philosophical glimpses, it may be said Emerson was the rare flower of the New England stock. He graduated from Harvard University in 1821, and in 1829 became pastor of the Second Unitarian Church of Boston. In 1832 he resigned his pastorate on account of his growing lack of sympathy with everything distinctive of Christianity. Later, he became unwilling to offer public prayer, and at length retired from all association with ecclesiastical affairs. He then devoted himself entirely to writing and lecturing. He made no pretension whatever to any consistency or constructiveness of thought, but there is always something marvellously vital, suggestive, and stimulating in his writings. He was an intuitionalist pure and simple. He left no philosophical system, no school, and in religion he steadily drifted farther away from theism to a

Emerson

sort of pale pantheism. His life was remarkably pure and beautiful, and his constant plea for the things of the spirit was not without its influence against the rising materialism.

The Transcendentalists, at the outset, were men of sane and moderate intentions. They broached no visionary reforms. They were not iconoclasts. But between 1830 and 1850 the air was full of radical proposals for a reconstructed world, and the wildest social and religious theories were set forth. These the Transcendentalists rather encouraged than frowned upon, so that the opprobrium of these movements fell upon those who had little or nothing in common with them. Frothingham quotes from Emerson a description of the Conventions of the Friends of Universal Progress, held in 1840 in Chardon Street, Boston:

Affiliated Reformers

"The singularity and latitude of the summons drew together from all parts of New England, and also from the Middle States, men of every shade of opinion, from the straitest orthodoxy to the wildest heresy, and many persons whose church was a church of one member only. A great variety of dialect and of costume was noticed. A great deal of confusion, eccentricity, and freak appeared, as well as of zeal and enthusiasm. . . . Madmen, madwomen, men with beards, Dunkers, Muggletonians, Come outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh-Day Baptists, Quakers, Abolitionists, Calvinists, Unitarians, and philosophers, all came successively to the top, and seized their moment, if not their *hour*, wherein to chide, or pray, or preach, or protest. . . . If there was not parliamentary order, there was life, and the assurance of that constitutional love for religion and religious liberty which in all periods characterizes the inhabitants of this part of America. . . . These men and women were in reach of something better and more satisfying than a vote or a definition."

The Transcendentalists themselves inaugurated an experiment at West Roxbury, Massachusetts, for the realization of human brotherhood, personal equality, and the combination of intellectual pursuits with manual labor. It was a small agricultural colony, organized, not on a communistic, but on a socialistic and co-operative basis. The articles of association were drawn up in September, 1841. The prime leaders were George Ripley, Charles A. Dana, Minot Pratt, and William B. Allen. Nathaniel Hawthorne also bought

Brook Farm

stock, and Theodore Parker, the great Channing, and other men of eminence gave it their sympathy. Personal property and individual rights and tastes were respected. The colony numbered about one hundred and fifty. Some joined to see how such an industrial experiment would work, and others were impelled by the desire to realize the democratic ideal of Christ. In the *Dial*, which was the great Transcendental organ, Miss Elizabeth Peabody describes the institute as an attempt to establish upon earth the City of God. "We have hitherto heard of Christ by the hearing of the ear," she says; "now let us see him, let us be him, and see what will come of that. Let us communicate with each other and live." The male members of the institute worked at farming, gardening, and other pursuits, according to their liking, and many of them in teaching, which was the most remunerative part of their work. Some of the members, like Mr. and Mrs. Ripley, Dana, John S. Dwight, and George P. Bradford, were competent scholars, and they had no lack of pupils. In 1845 the Brook Farm Association was turned into a Fourierist "phalanx." On the evening of March 3d, 1846, the phalanstery was burned, and the interesting experiment of Brook Farm was abandoned, 1847, amid crushing financial losses.

Brook Farm is a romantic episode in American history. Of the sincerity of purpose and noble enthusiasm of its promoters there can be no doubt. Frothingham thinks that the introduction of Fourierism was one of the chief causes of its downfall. It smothered its joyous and free spirit by too much mechanism and rule. "The idealists lingered last, loath to leave a spot endeared by so many associations, hallowed by so many hopes. One of the last to go, one of the saddest of heart, one of the most self-sacrificing through it all, was John S. Dwight. It may truly be said that Brook Farm died in music."* But the men who planted it never lost faith in the principles it embodied. Hawthorne used to speak of "his old and affectionately remembered home at Brook Farm." In the same spirit Dana wrote long after of the "great pleasure to look back upon the days when we were together, and to believe that the ends for which we then labored are sure at last, in good time, to be realized for mankind."

* Frothingham, "George Ripley," p. 192.

CHAPTER XXI

COMMUNISTIC CHURCHES

[AUTHORITIES.—The best authority is Nordhoff, Communistic Societies in the United States (N. Y., 1875). Noyes, History of American Socialisms (London, 1870), is a valuable work. Dixon, New America (London, 1867), and Spiritual Wives (London, 1868), contain a mine of information by a competent critic and versatile writer. Noyes, Handbook of the Oneida Community (Wallingford, Conn., 1867), gives full details concerning the most radical communistic experiment. Williams, The Harmony Society at Economy, Pa. (New Haven, 1867); Avery, Sketches of Shakers and Shakerism (Albany, 1883).]

SEVERAL attempts at a realization of the unity and community of goods of the Early Church have been made on American soil. These organizations, for the most part, have been established on ostensibly Christian and Biblical principles, and therefore deserve a brief treatment in a history of the American Church.

The German Seventh-Day Baptists

The first of these in point of time is the German Seventh-Day Baptists. They were founded by Conrad Beissel, who came to this country in 1720. He very soon became dissatisfied with the views of the Tunkers, of which body he was a member, and began to advocate celibacy and the Saturday Sabbath. He withdrew from all intercourse with his former associates, and established himself as a hermit on the banks of the Cocalico River. He was soon joined by others. In 1728 Beissel formed a monastic order, and built cells at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Celibacy was required on the part of the monks, but not for other members of the society. The inmates of the cloisters changed their names on assuming the vows of the order, and wore a peculiar garb. In 1740 there were thirty-six monks and thirty-five nuns, besides nearly two hundred and fifty affiliated members. Various mills were operated. The monks gave special attention to printing. Some of the largest pub-

lishing undertakings of the entire Colonial period were carried on in the German language in the retired settlement of Ephrata. For example, the celebrated Martyr Book ("Der Blutige Schau-Platz") was translated by them from the Dutch into German, and printed here in 1748. It is an immense folio, of over fifteen hundred pages, and probably the largest work from the colonial press. Pennypacker refers to the Sabbath-school established by Ludwig Häcker, of Ephrata, as existing forty years before Raikes's school was founded. Beissel died in 1768. Peter Miller, a convert from the Presbyterians, succeeded him. But the society has steadily gone down, and there are now but few members. The old cloister still stands at Ephrata, and another at Snow Hill, Pennsylvania. The Ephrata community kept up a good reputation for morality and piety, and one cannot but look with regret upon the steady dwindling-away of this picturesque band of Baptist monks.

Shakers

The Shakers trace their origin back to the Camisards of France. They say that some of the Camisards went to England in 1706, and formed a society in 1747, which was led by James and Jane Wardley. Ann Lee, of Manchester, England, joined this society in 1758. She received revelations from God, and went forth to found a new Church. Her leadership was accepted by many, and she was regarded as the second appearing of Christ. Acting under a supposed divine revelation, she and nine of her followers set sail for New York, May 19th, 1774. A tract of ground was bought, seven miles northwest of Albany, and in 1776 Ann Lee's pilgrim Church "gathered in this forest home." A revival of religion at New Lebanon, Columbia County, New York, in 1779, largely increased Lee's company. "The Shakers' first house of worship was built at New Lebanon in 1785. The first gathering into a community was in 1787. Their first written covenant of a full consecration to God of life, services, and treasure was signed by the members in 1795."

Their proper name is "Believers in Christ's Second Appearing," but they themselves ordinarily use the name by which they are known to the world. It is derived from one of their chief prophecies (Haggai ii., 6, 7), where Christ is promised to appear. They have several points of agreement with the Quakers, especially in simplicity of dress and severe morality of life. Their societies consist of both sexes and all ages. The

sexes commingle freely together in social converse, and in business and labor. They also worship and eat together, but in separate groups. The most absolute law of celibacy is rigidly enforced upon all. They reject the divinity of Christ. He became the Messiah in baptism. Resurrection is of the soul. The new life comes from the death of sin. The day of judgment is when any one receives or refuses the Christ-life. There is no arbitrary election into eternal life. Probation extends into the next life, and the end of the world comes to every soul when born of the Christ-spirit. The Shakers believe in spiritualistic communications. They are opposed to war, and are loyal to civil government and to the laws of the land, but refuse all general governmental offices.

The Rappists

An interesting body of Christians was founded by the weaver George Rapp, who was born at Iptingen, Würtemberg, 1770, and died at Economy, Pennsylvania, August 7th, 1847. When a young man he became impressed with the lifeless character of the Church, and began to preach in the neighboring villages a return to the apostolic simplicity and earnestness of faith. Persecution was his reward. In 1803 he emigrated to America, and made arrangements for the coming of his followers. They responded immediately, and very soon six hundred persons had arrived. They purchased land in Butler County, Pennsylvania, along the Conequenessing Creek. On February 15th, 1805, the Rappists formally organized themselves into a "Harmony Society." Everything was to be thrown into a common stock, a uniform dress to be adopted, and each was to labor for the good of the whole. Rapp was their "preacher, teacher, guide, and keeper." He was a man of earnest Christian character, of fine executive ability, and sound common-sense. Houses, a church, a school-house, mills, a tannery, and a distillery were built. In 1807, under an impulse of still stricter conformity to the example of Christ, the Rappists avowed celibacy. In 1815 they purchased a tract of twenty-four thousand acres upon the Wabash, Indiana, where they established the New Harmony settlement. This they sold to Robert Owen in 1824, and the Rappists took up their last abode at Economy, Pennsylvania, seventeen miles northwest of Pittsburg. In 1831 a German adventurer, Bernhard Müller, introduced dissensions into the colony; and since then the Rappists have lost heart, sought no

more accessions, and have declined. At present they number only about thirty members. They have a saner theology than the Shakers, though with some suggestions of an extravagant mysticism. They abhor spiritualism, and look constantly for the personal Second Coming of Christ. Rapp believed that he would live to see this day. With pathetic faith, the venerable reformer, in extreme feebleness, awaiting the approach of death, said: "If I did not know that the dear Lord meant I should present you all to him, I should think my last moments come."

The Zoarites

Very similar in origin to the Rappists is the "Separatist Society of Zoar." These Zoarites also arose in Würtemberg, and brought upon themselves the wrath of the Established Church by their refusal to send their children to the clerical schools. The government also treated them harshly on account of their disinclination to bear arms. Some English Quakers assisted them to emigrate. They arrived in Philadelphia in August, 1817, and at once bought a tract of five thousand six hundred acres in Ohio. Their headquarters are at Zoar, Tuscarawas County, Ohio. They chose Joseph Baumeler as leader. They established a community of goods. In 1832 they sought for incorporation, taking the name of the Separatist Society of Zoar. They have prospered greatly in worldly affairs. In principle they are much like the Quakers. They believe in the Trinity, and in the usual orthodox doctrines. They refuse all titles of honor, address every one as thou (*du*), reject the sacraments and all ceremonies, have no advanced ministry, and give equal rights to the women. Unlike the Rappists, the Zoarites hold that marriage is honorable. They are a pious and industrious folk, but have made little effort towards intellectual culture.

Oneida Community

John H. Noyes, the founder of the Oneida Community, applied the doctrines of communism to persons as well as to property. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1830, studied theology at Andover and New Haven, and was licensed to preach in 1833. He embraced, however, some strange doctrines. He held that the Second Coming of Christ took place soon after his Ascension; that we are therefore living in a new dispensation in which personal communication with Christ secures salvation from all evil and sin, even disease and death itself. He sought to carry out his theories in two settlements organized on the most unregulated

application of the theory of "having all things in common." These communities were at Oneida, Madison County, New York, and at Wallingford, Connecticut. For thirty years Noyes's experiment went on with much success (1848–79). For some years before 1878, Professor Mears, of Hamilton College, led a crusade against the immoral practices of the society in respect to the community of wives, and in 1879 this social feature was abandoned. Other changes followed. In 1880, communism in goods was superseded by a joint-stock arrangement, and the community was reorganized and incorporated as the Oneida Community, Limited. The community carries on several manufactories, and has attained to considerable wealth. The Wallingford Community was abandoned in 1880.

CHAPTER XXII

THE MORMONS

[Authorities.—There is an abundant Mormon literature. A complete bibliography can be found in Bancroft, History of Utah (San Francisco, 1890), pp. xx.–xlvii. A very full list is given by a princely Americanist, Woodward, Bibliotheca Scalawagiana (N. Y., 1880). Whitsitt appends an excellent selection to his article in Jackson, Dictionary of Religious Knowledge (N. Y., 1891), p. 622. A few of the more important historical works are here given. Of the earlier histories, Howe, Mormonism Unveiled (Painesville, O., 1834–1841); Mackay, The Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints (London, 1851); and Kidder, Mormonism and the Mormons (N. Y., 1842), are still of value. Of later histories, Stenhouse, Rocky Mountain Saints (N. Y., 1873); Gregg, The Prophet of Palmyra (N. Y., 1890); Spaulding, The Spaulding Memorial (Boston, 1872); Montgomery, The Mormon Delusion (Boston, 1890); Thomas, Mormon Saints (London, 1890); Whitsitt, Life of Sidney Rigdon (1891); Dickinson, New Light on Mormonism (new ed., N. Y., 1890), may be consulted. Mrs. Dickinson has shed new light on the Spaulding affair, and Whitsitt has thoroughly reinvestigated the origin of the delusion. Kennedy, Early Days of Mormonism (N. Y., 1888), is indispensable for the experience at Palmyra, Kirtland, and Nauvoo. For the history of the Utah Settlement, see Bancroft, as above. McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia has an elaborate treatment by Worman; Bishop Tuttle, of Utah, writes an admirable article for the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, and Whitsitt furnishes much fresh information in a thorough survey in Jackson, as above.]

It is impossible to unravel the intricate details of the early history of the most remarkable delusion in the history of re-

ligious fanaticism. To give to each man who had a part in the promotion of Mormonism his just dues, to find out in whose mind it had its inception, to tell the exact part each played in that strange rôle—this is indeed a difficult task. Whitsitt has taken up this work with great thoroughness, and it seems probable that his results are not far from the truth.

Three men laid the foundations of Mormonism. The first was Solomon Spaulding. He may be called its unconscious prophet. He was an erratic Presbyterian preacher of Western Pennsylvania, who was taken up with theories of millennialism, return of the Jews, and the Indians as the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel. He set forth these and other theories in a series of weak romances, one of which, the "Book of Mormon," written about 1812, was deposited in the printing-office of Patterson & Lambdin, Pittsburg. Spaulding died in 1816. He did not give to the subsequent Mormonism its Bible, and his part is exaggerated by some, but it is indisputable that one, if not more, of his wild romances was at the foundation of the sacred book of the Latter-Day Saints.

Spaulding

Sidney Rigdon had the largest part in this literary history. Without intending it, he really founded the absurd Mormon system. He was born in St. Clair township, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, February 19th, 1793. He became a Baptist minister in 1819, but was converted into a firm belief in the views of the Disciples of Christ in 1821. The Disciples were literalists in their interpretation of Scripture; and when Rigdon came into the possession of Spaulding's manuscripts at the bankrupt sale of the Pittsburg printers, he at once began to revise these writings, make large additions to them, and impregnate them through and through with the Disciple theology. Rigdon's thought seems to have been to make these supposed revelations the medium of the founding of a Church which would completely embody his ideals. Rigdon was, in his way, a brilliant and audacious man, and he succeeded in his work beyond his expectations.

Rigdon

A helper appeared at the right moment. This was Joseph Smith, a young man of Manchester, Ontario County, New York. He was born in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, December 23d, 1805. "His family led a sort of gypsy existence from 1804 to 1815, changing their places of residence seven times in that period." Their last

Joseph Smith

abode was in Palmyra, Wayne County, New York. Joseph Smith was fond of divination, fortune-telling, discovering hidden treasures; and with his divining-rod and seer stare he travelled over New York State, attracting considerable attention. He had formerly been connected with the Methodists. He claims to have been the subject of visions and strange dreams. He united a visionary and emotional temperament with considerable shrewdness and sagacity. Rigdon fell in with him September 21st, 1823. Smith was captivated with the Pittsburg minister's ideas and plans. The "Book of Mormon," as edited by Rigdon, was published in March, 1830. The first Church was enrolled at Manchester, New York, April 6th, 1830.

The singular book, thus destined to figure so largely in the religious history of the country, professed to give the fortunes of the aborigines of America from the time of their leaving the Bible lands until the time when a part of them were annihilated in the great battle of Cumorah Hill, Ontario County, New York, A.D. 384. Of those who escaped in that battle were Mormon and his son Moroni. Mormon collected the sacred books of the kings and priests, containing God's revelations, which were supplemented by Moroni, who buried them in the hill of Cumorah with the divine assurance that God's true prophet would some day discover them and publish them to the world. This volume, consisting of thin gold plates, Smith professed to have discovered. The reality of all this, with several angelic interferences besides, was attested by the oath of Smith's amanuenses, Cowdery, Whitmer, and Martin Harris, all of whom, however, subsequently withdrew their oath and denounced the whole story as an imposture.

The "Book of Mormon"

The first gathering-place of the Mormons was at Kirtland, Ohio, 1831. Many joined them. It is here that we first hear of Brigham Young, also a Vermonter, whose father had settled at Sherburne, Chenango County, New York. Brigham joined the Mormons in 1831, and his strong and determined character at once made an impression on the Kirtland colony. Missionaries were sent to England and the continent of Europe, and Young himself undertook the conversion of the New-Englanders. But the new religionists made themselves obnoxious to the people of the town; per-

Varied Fortunes

secution arose, and they were driven out. A like fate overtook a section that went into Jackson County, Missouri. These latter were driven from county to county, until, in 1839, they were expelled from the state altogether. The Kirtland band, with many new converts, moved in 1838 to Nauvoo, on the Mississippi River, Illinois. Here they built a large town, constructed a temple, and were enjoying a prosperous existence, when persecution once more arose. Their claims as the only true people of God, their "revelations," the new doctrine of polygamy which it was reported Smith had received by special communication from God, and the implicit obedience required by their prophet—these things, acting on the inflamed religious prejudices of the "Gentiles," caused an unfortunate outbreak. Smith was arrested and imprisoned. On June 27th, 1844, a mob broke into the jail at Carthage, near Nauvoo, and shot Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum. This cruel and causeless murder threw the halo of martyrdom around the head of the first prophet of Mormonism, and bound his followers together as though around a sacred cause.

Utah

The tireless energy and diplomacy of Brigham Young had supplanted Rigdon, and virtually retired him. Young was elected president. He cared nothing for revelations, but devoted himself with rare ambition and statesmanship to consolidate the Mormons, and lead them into territories beyond the hand of the disturber. With a select band of pioneers he threaded a wild of eleven hundred miles, and on July 24th, 1847 (the Great Day of the Mormons), he arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. This was to be the Mormon centre. Here the toilsome pilgrimage was to end. The next year four thousand Mormons were marched with military precision across the great plains and mountains, and as if by magic Salt Lake City arose. Here Brigham Young reigned a virtual king until his death, August 29th, 1877. The Mormons received constant recruits by the missionary labors of their wily representatives in England, Sweden, and Norway. Their heavy emigration fund, and the glowing descriptions of the El Dorado of the West, with the religious zeal of the missionaries and their constant appeal to the Bible, made an impression upon the poorer classes in the old countries, and won many converts. The Germans and Swiss were less susceptible, and no hearing could be obtained in Roman Catholic countries.

In addition to Utah, large colonies were settled in Wyoming, Idaho, and the surrounding states and territories.

Brigham Young directed the political fortunes of the Mormon theocracy of the West. He ruled with a rod of iron. He reduced the whole territory of Utah under his sway. The Federal authorities were treated with profound contempt. Trains of non-Mormon immigrants were massacred. It was a Mormon empire, in which a military autocracy was sustained by the august sanctions of religious inspiration. At length, after the close of the Civil War, the United States were in a position to regain control of this portion of their domain. A Federal governor was appointed. In 1871, polygamy was outlawed and Young arrested. But this advantage was not followed up. Frelinghuysen introduced a bill in 1873 severely censuring polygamy. A more radical measure was reported in 1874. These and later laws were of little effect, however, on account of the difficulty of enforcing them. At length, in 1882, Senator Edmunds, of Young's and Smith's native state, secured the passage of a bill which struck the death-blow of polygamy. Many convictions followed this act. "Gentile" immigration largely increased. Public sentiment as well as public law began to work. The leaders saw that the immoral feature of their sect could be no longer maintained. In October, 1890, President Woodruff proclaimed to a vast audience in the temple at Salt Lake City that, by divine authority, polygamy was abolished in the Church of the Latter-Day Saints.

Political Complications

When Joseph Smith was reported to have published his revelation of polygamy in 1843, Rigdon strenuously held out against it. In fact, it is claimed that this was merely a ruse of Young, who was a determined advocate of the new theory. Rigdon and Joseph Smith, Jr., the son of the slain prophet, repudiated Young's authority, and, with many thousands of the best Mormons, refused to join the Utah exodus. They went back to Kirtland, Ohio, and peaceably settled in other parts of the Middle West. After recovering from the shock of Smith's assassination, they launched their bark again under the title of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. They claim to be the true Mormons, and denounce Young and the larger Church as schismatics and impostors. They quote from the "Book of

A Rival Claimant

Mormon" passages strictly forbidding polygamy and concubinage. The courts of Ohio have endorsed their claim to be the legal successors of the original Mormons by giving to them the old temple at Kirtland. They have a publishing house at Lamoni, Decatur County, Iowa, and churches in all the large cities of the Union and many in England. Joseph Smith, Jr., is the president of this body.

The Mormons profess to prove all their tenets from the Bible, which is a divine revelation, and, along with the "Book of Mormon" and the "Book of Doctrine and Covenants," the standard of faith and practice. They interpret the Bible in a crude and literal fashion. Their own sacred books do not supersede, but rather supplement, the Bible. Prophecy, miracles, and all the apostolic gifts continue in the Church to all time. The "Epitome of Faith," issued by the Reorganized Church, is a carefully guarded statement of several Scriptural doctrines, with some Mormon additions.

Doctrines

The Mormon leaders have developed a theocracy fatal to virtue and liberty. It has wound its coils like an octopus around both the family and the state, and would have crushed both if it had had the power. The band that remained east of the Rocky Mountains under the younger Smith is the only Mormon body that has retained any degree of simple and Scriptural faith. It is guiltless of the crimes that stain the reign of Brigham Young.

Missionary work is now being carried on in Utah by the various evangelical denominations. The non-Mormon element has become so strong that the government of Salt Lake City has at length been wrested out of the hands of the hierarchy. Of all the frontier fields in the United States, no parts are so difficult for the minister of the gospel as those of Utah and the surrounding regions where Mormonism has held sway and breathed its mildew.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ANTISLAVERY REFORM

[Authorities.—Williams, History of the Negro Race (N. Y., 1883); Wilson, Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America (Boston, 1871–76). The above are learned and elaborate works of permanent authority. An excellent brief review is given by Brace, Gesta Christi (N. Y., 4th ed., revised, 1888), pp. 369–386. The best—in fact, the only—conspectus of the views of the American churches is found in three works republished by a veteran antislavery reformer, Mr. Parker Pillsbury, of Concord, N. H. These works are: Pillsbury, The Church as It Is; or, The Forlorn Hope of Slavery (1845, 2d ed., revised, 1888); Birney, The American Churches the Bulwark of American Slavery (1st ed., London, 1840; last ed., Concord, 1885); Foster, The Brotherhood of Thieves; or, A True Picture of the American Church and Clergy (1843, new ed. 1886). These pamphlets give voluminous extracts from the official declarations of the Churches and from representative clergymen. The history of the conflict in the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Church in which the antislavery agitation had its fullest effect, is told by Elliott, History of the Great Secession (Cincinnati, 1852), and American Slavery (1850). For the honorable work of the Quakers, see Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of the Friends in Regard to Slavery (Phila., 1843). See also Pillsbury, Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles (Concord, 1883); Johnson, Garrison and the Anti-Slavery Movement (revised ed., Boston, 1881); and Clarke, Anti-Slavery Days (N. Y., 1883).]

Origin

The history of slavery in America is contemporary with the history of the country. In 1619, a Dutch frigate stopped at Jamestown, Virginia, and sold fourteen negroes to the colonists. English merchants carried on the trade assiduously. The Royal African Company, chartered by Elizabeth, agreed to furnish in thirty-three years 144,000 negroes, many of them to the American colonies. The colonists, as a rule, had few, if any, scruples on the subject. The Virginian settlers of North Carolina carried their slaves with them. "South Carolina was settled by planters from Barbadoes, whence slaves were brought by one of its earliest governors, Sir John Yea-

mans." The only colony in which slavery was outlawed was Georgia, and this, according to Bancroft, was not due to the humane sentiments of Oglethorpe, but to public interest and safety. In 1743, the antislavery laws were repealed. The cultivation of cotton, rice, and sugar in the South naturally attracted slave labor to that region; and although, on account of climate and other considerations of convenience, the Northern States employed less and less of slave labor, the merchants of Boston, Salem, Newport, New York, and other Northern cities carried on the slave-traffic with great enterprise and zeal. In many cases the out-borne cargo was rum, which was exchanged in Africa for negroes, who were brought to the Southern States, and became a part of the inheritance which only a great war destroyed. Three hundred thousand slaves were imported into the colonies previous to 1776.

Early Protests

Early voices were not wanting against slavery. Its inconsistency with the Declaration of Independence was the occasion of taunts without number. As might be expected, the New England States developed the earliest antislavery sentiment. As early as 1703 a verdict of damages in favor of a slave for the recovery of wages and freedom for the years after the age of twenty-one was rendered by a Connecticut court. In 1766, a similar verdict was given by the Superior Court of Salem, Massachusetts. In 1780, the Bill of Rights, declaring that "all men are born equally free and independent," was adopted by Massachusetts. It accompanied the Constitution of 1780, and was drawn up by John Adams. On the strength of this Bill, the Supreme Judicial Court declared that slavery was abolished in Massachusetts. A similar decision did the same thing for New Hampshire, and so strong was the sentiment in Vermont that the first article of its Bill of Rights in 1777, before it became a state, branded slavery as an institution unworthy of the support of mankind. The Colonial Congress in 1774 made a similar declaration: "We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported, nor will we hold intercourse with those provinces that do not agree with the same." This healthful feeling pervaded the whole Revolutionary period. "The spirit of the master," says Jefferson, in his "Notes on Virginia," "is abating, that of the slave is rising from the dust; the way, I hope, preparing for total emancipation." The Revolutionary

Fathers were sound on this question, and far in advance of their times. Washington, in his will, provided for the emancipation of his slaves. He said to Jefferson that it was "among his first wishes to see some plan adopted in which slavery in this country might be abolished by law." Franklin became the president of an abolition society in Philadelphia in 1787. John Adams echoed the words of Washington: "Every measure of prudence," he said, "ought to be assumed for the eventual total extirpation of slavery from the United States." In 1787, when the Constitution of the United States was framed, slavery would have been abolished by that instrument had it not been for the opposition of South Carolina and Georgia, the inhabitants of which states believed slave-labor a financial advantage. They firmly refused to go into the Union at all unless slavery was left untouched.

Early Action of Churchmen and Ecclesiastical Bodies

The Friends seem to have been the earliest body to take action against slavery. In 1688, the Germantown (Philadelphia) Quakers petitioned the Yearly Meeting to do something for the overthrow of the institution. "From 1696 to 1776 the Society nearly every year declared the importing, purchase, or sale of slaves by its members to be a 'disownable offence.'" John Woolman and Anthony Benezet are illustrious names in the history of this reform (1746–67). Benjamin Lay, also a Quaker, reprinted the tract of Judge Samuel Sewall, of Massachusetts, "The Selling of Joseph," which was first published in 1700. In 1770, Dr. Samuel Hopkins, a Congregationalist divine, pastor of the First Church, Newport, Rhode Island, began to preach against the slave system. Owing to the energy of its shippers, Newport was the principal slave-mart for all the thirteen colonies. Hopkins entered into the controversy with intense earnestness, and his sermons, pamphlets, and newspaper articles exerted a wide influence. He also devised a plan for African colonization and evangelization. Wesley's testimony against slavery was not without effect in America. In 1784, at the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the following were the official records of the Church: "We view it as contrary to the Golden Law of God, on which hang all the law and the prophets, and the inalienable rights of mankind, as well as every principle of the Revolution, to hold in the deepest abasement, in a more abject slavery than is

perhaps to be found in any part of the world except America, so many souls that are all capable of the image of God." Explicit measures were then mentioned for the emancipation of every slave held by any members of the Church. This declaration closed thus: "What shall be done with those who buy or sell slaves, or give them away? *Answer.* They are immediately to be expelled, unless they buy them on purpose to free them." The subsequent history of Methodism, however, marked a continuous retreat from this position, until in 1836 the General Conference passed a vote of censure on two of its members for attending an antislavery meeting in Cincinnati. Nevertheless, in 1796, a protest had been made against the "crying evil of African slavery," and somewhat similar measures of manumission urged upon the Church as those outlined in 1784, but this time only in the case of official members. Slave-*selling*, however, was prohibited. In 1800, preachers were particularly designated as the objects of discipline and disgrace in case of holding property in human beings. In 1804, the descent had gone so far that the Discipline, besides paring away the resolutions of 1796, made the following notable concession: "The members of our societies in the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee shall be exempted from the operation of the above rules."

The Presbyterian Church began its testimony with the same boldness. In 1787, the synods of New York and Philadelphia earnestly recommended abolition of slavery. This judgment was reaffirmed by the General Assemblies of 1793 and 1794. In a note to the 142d question of the Larger Catechism, slavery was denounced as man-stealing. Slave-holding, however, was not made a disciplinary offence, and the note on man-stealing was erased in 1816. The Presbyterian Church contented herself with general statements of the evils of slavery, and with urging an ultimate emancipation.

A period of quiescence followed. Slavery had become thoroughly intrenched in all the Southern States. Any effort at exscinding the slave-holding element would have caused a rupture immediately. The Protestant Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches did not discriminate against the system. Even the Quakers grew cold. Slave-owners were freely admitted into the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. The disruption of Methodism, in 1844,

Period of Quiescence

was due not to a return to Wesley's high ground of slavery as a sin against God and an outrage on human rights, but to the fact, as asserted in the Resolution of the General Conference, that Bishop Andrew's involuntary connection with slavery "would embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant general superintendent." His suspension did not call a halt to the exercise of that spirit of concession which had been a marked feature in all the utterances of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This spirit had gone so far that, in 1836, the General Conference charged the ministers and members of the Church "to abstain from all abolition movements and associations, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications."

Though the official representatives of Christ were very cautious and conservative, hoping and waiting for a time when Providence would interfere to remove the evil, the gospel had nurtured many a man whose life was devoted to the overthrow of the great curse. Chief of these was William Lloyd Garrison, who at an early period said: "Emancipation must be the work of Christianity and the Church. They must achieve the elevation of the blacks, and place them on the equality of the Gospels." He was a printer and journalist, and from the time of his association with Benjamin Lundy, an eminent Quaker philanthropist, in the publication of the paper the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," in 1829, to the final overthrow of slavery, he labored with quenchless devotion to this work. Sometimes mobbed, he pursued his course with an enthusiasm that nothing could daunt. His plans were peaceable; he depended entirely on the force of truth, public sentiment, an enlightened conscience, and moral energy. In accordance with his principles, the New England Antislavery Society was formed, in January, 1832. Garrison had a host of helpers. It is impossible to do more than mention the names of some of those prophets of the better time, who led for so long what seemed a forlorn hope. Stephen S. Foster, Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, Parker Pillsbury, James G. Birney, Elizur Wright, Jr., Isaac T. Hopper, Gerrit Smith, Joshua Leavitt, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Oliver Johnson—these and many others gave the cause the advocacy of their voice, their pen, their life. The times demanded men of heroic mould. Harriet Martineau calls it the "Martyr-age in America." The mobbing of public speakers was nothing un-

Reformers

common. The eloquent George Thompson was compelled to flee to England in disguise. Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston with a rope around his body. Lovejoy was murdered in Alton, Illinois, in 1837. Birney's printing-press was destroyed in 1836. It was the martyrdom of Lovejoy that gave Wendell Phillips to the cause. The Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850 brought out Theodore Parker. The eloquence of Henry Ward Beecher was enlisted. Noble women like Lydia Maria Child, Lucretia Mott, Abby Kelly, and Mrs. Stowe gave their influence also. That most powerful novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852), was really, as Nassau W. Senior, the English economist, said, a pamphlet against the Fugitive-Slave Law. Whittier was the poet of the movement, helped by other master-singers—Bryant, Longfellow, and especially Lowell.

The End

But it was reserved by an inscrutable Providence that not by the Church, nor by philanthropists, nor by law, should American slavery receive its death-blow, but by the bloody ordeal of a four years' conflict between the North and the South. Abraham Lincoln signed the death-warrant of American, if not universal, slavery, by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1st, 1863—a warrant executed by the greatest Civil War in all history.

The South is acquiescing in this result as a providential deliverance. Her people have learned that slavery was, after all, only a most expensive system, and had they the option to-day to choose its restoration they would promptly refuse the offer. The Southern people have entered upon a new era of material development and religious prosperity. The American Church is girding itself to the solution of the questions presented by the unparalleled spectacle of a race of magnificent possibilities suddenly elevated from the condition of chattels to that of free citizenship. No church in any country has ever been burdened with so great and sudden a responsibility. The future will prove that no church has discharged its delicate and difficult task with more heroic spirit than that of the whole American Church.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE TEMPERANCE REFORM

[Authorities.—Dorchester, The Liquor Problem in All Ages (N. Y., 1884), is a complete historical survey, and has statistical tables of value. A book of great importance is Gustafson, The Foundation of Death: a Study of the Drink Question (London, Boston, and N. Y., 5th ed., 1888). It contains an excellent bibliography. It is, perhaps, the best single book on the Temperance question. Winskill, History of the Temperance Reformation (N. Y., 1866). Burns, Temperance History (London, 1890–91), is written by a veteran student of the reform. The Centennial Temperance Volume (N. Y., 1876) contains a great deal of historical matter. Stearns, Footprints of Temperance Pioneers (N. Y., 1885). Lees, Text-book of Temperance (N. Y., 1869), is a complete and scholarly work. Pitman, Alcohol and the State (N. Y., 1877), is the best book on the legal aspects of the subject. Blair, The Temperance Reform (Boston, 1890). The works of the great reformer and orator, John B. Gough, are of inestimable value; so also is the autobiography of Miss Frances E. Willard. The remarkable woman's movement in Ohio and Illinois in 1873 and 1874 has found a competent historian in Mrs. Annie Wittenmeyer, History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade (Boston, 1882).]

The colonists took strong ground concerning intemperance. Plymouth Colony, in a law of 1658, disfranchised drunkards. A man convicted of drunkenness the third time was publicly whipped. Governor Winthrop, of the Massachusetts Bay Company, was much grieved at the drinking customs of the time, and forbade all drinking of healths at his table. In 1637 a law was passed prohibiting loafing at taverns. In 1645 innkeepers were fined five shillings for allowing any one to drink excessively in their taverns. In 1646 a stringent law was passed by the Massachusetts Bay colonists regulating the sale of liquor, and forbidding any disorder in public-houses. A prohibitory law was passed in Virginia in 1676, but it had little effect. It is evident, therefore, that in the pre-Revolutionary times the drink-curse was recognized as a public calamity, and efforts were made to abate it.

Early Warnings

Many of the Revolutionary Fathers had decided views on the temperance question. Franklin was a total abstainer, and an advocate of abstinence. John Adams thundered against the public house. In his journal, June 4th, 1761, he says: "Discharged my venom to Bill Veasey against the multitude, poverty, ill-government, and ill effects of licensed houses, and the timorous temper, as well as criminal design, of the selectmen who grant them approbation." Israel Putnam took the same ground. He held that the multiplying of public-houses has a tendency, as he says, "to ruin the morals of the youth, and promote idleness and intemperance among all ranks of people." He understood the subject thoroughly. On February 27th, 1774, the Continental Congress spoke as follows:

Revolutionary Protests

"*Resolved*, that it be recommended to the several legislatures of the United States immediately to pass laws the most effectual for putting an immediate stop to the pernicious practice of distilling grain, by which the most extensive evils are likely to be derived, if not quickly prevented."

This resolution failed of its design, however. The most influential utterance of that time was the essay by Dr. Benjamin Rush entitled "The Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Body and Mind," published in Philadelphia in 1786. This essay was a very intelligent discussion, and made a profound impression wherever it was read. Besides, Rush saw to it that it was read. Copies of it were presented to the clergy, and it was sold in tract form by the thousand. Edition after edition was called for. The author visited religious bodies, made speeches before them, and tried everywhere to enlist public sympathy for a temperance reform. His pamphlet was republished in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, in 1786.* Rush had a strong belief in the efficacy of religious instruction, and but little faith in law. He says: "From the influence of the Quakers and Methodists in checking this evil, I am disposed to believe that the business must be effected finally by religion alone. Human reason has been employed in vain, and the conduct of New England in the Congress has furnished us with a melancholy proof that we have nothing to

Rush

* This celebrated tract is quoted in full in Stearns, "Footprints of Temperance Pioneers," pp. 5–22.

hope from the influence of *law* in making man wise and sober. Let these considerations lead us to address the heads and governing bodies of all the churches in America upon the subject. I have borne a testimony (by particular desire) at a Methodist Conference against the use of ardent spirits, and I hope with effect. I have likewise written to the Roman Catholic bishop of Maryland to set an association on foot against them in his society. I have repeatedly insisted upon a public testimony being published against them by the Presbyterian synod of this city [Philadelphia], and have suggested to our good Bishop White the necessity of the Episcopal Church not standing neutral in this interesting business." *

It appears, therefore, that Dr. Rush was the morning-star of the temperance reformation. He fought for the cause with splendid persistency. It appears also that, as in the case of slavery, the opinions of many of the leading minds in the Revolutionary era were far in advance of much of the sentiment of later times.

Early Ecclesiastical Action

As we have seen, from the support given to Dr. Rush, the churches were not blind to the evils of intemperance. The bold testimony of Wesley prepared the Methodists for a radical position. His rule absolutely forbidding the use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage was adopted at the organization of the American Church in 1784. This action but reaffirmed their utterances at the conferences before they had an independent existence as a Church. Thus, in 1783: "Should our friends be permitted to make spirituous liquors, sell, and drink them in drams? *Ans.* By no means; we think it wrong in its nature and consequences; and desire all our preachers to teach the people, by precept and example, to put away this evil." The same declaration was made in 1780. Dorchester quotes a noble statement put forth by Bishops Coke and Asbury, explaining what must then have been considered remarkable legislation. In 1784, the New England Yearly Meeting of Friends condemned the use of ardent spirits, and in 1788 they made abstinence binding upon all their members. The other Churches moved later. In 1812,

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* From a manuscript letter to the Rev. Dr. Belknap, of New Hampshire, in possession of the New England Historical Society, Boston, quoted by Dorchester, "The Liquor Problem," pp. 127–173.

the Presbyterian General Assembly protested "not only against actual intemperance, but against all those habits and indulgences which may have a tendency to produce it." In the same year, the General Association (Congregational) of Connecticut put forth a manifesto to the same import. In 1818, the Presbyterian Assembly went further, and said that men ought to "abstain from even the common use of ardent spirits."

The First Reformers

Joseph Talcott, a devout Quaker, was a pioneer reformer. He lived near Auburn, New York, and Professor W. J. Beecher, of Auburn Theological Seminary, has rescued his name from oblivion. Talcott preached abstinence through all that part of the country. This was in 1816. He appeared before the Presbyterian Synod of Geneva, New York, and presented the claims of his cause with such cogency and force that the synod published his paper with resolutions "fully approving it, and solemnly declaring that from that time they would abandon the use of ardent spirits, except for medicinal purposes; that they would speak against its common use from the pulpit . . . and use their influence to prevail with others to follow their example."* About 1819 Judge Hertell, of New York, published a pamphlet taking common cause with Talcott, and produced a wide impression. In 1810, Dr. Heman Humphrey, pastor of the Congregational Church in Fairfield, Connecticut, preached a series of six sermons on intemperance. Humphrey was thoroughly in earnest, and upon assuming the presidency of Amherst College, in 1823, he regenerated the spirit of the college with regard to this matter, and made it a powerful focus of temperance light. A remarkable sermon was preached by the Rev. Nathaniel S. Prime, father of the Rev. Dr. S. Irenæus Prime, before the Long Island Presbytery, November 5th, 1812. This sermon produced a profound impression. In his second parish at Cambridge, Washington County, New York, about 1813, Prime organized the farmers of his congregation into a temperance society. Lyman Beecher was the Nestor of that day. In 1825 he preached his six celebrated sermons on intemperance in Litchfield, Connecticut. They were published, and had

* Quoted by Beecher in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia, art. "Temperance."

a wide circulation in both this country and Europe. Beecher was the disciple of Rush. The reading of Rush's essay gave him to the Temperance cause. Besides that, the treatment accorded to some Indians of his parish by the liquor-sellers awoke an abhorrence to the traffic which he ever after retained. "Oh, it was horrible, horrible!" he says in his "Autobiography." "It burned and burned in my mind; and I swore a deep oath to God that it shouldn't be so."

The Era of Organization

Discussion ripened into organization. Probably the first temperance society was the Union Temperance Society of Moreau, New York, founded in 1808. The following year saw a similar society in Greenfield, also in Saratoga County, New York. In 1813, the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was organized. Other societies followed. The American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was organized in 1826. The work received great impetus by the first National Temperance Convention, held in Philadelphia, in May, 1833. Up to this time the principal aim was to abate the evils of drink, without specially committing any one to the principle of total abstinence. The platform of the first National Convention was simply: "The traffic in ardent spirits as a drink, and the use of it as such, are morally wrong, and ought to be abandoned throughout the world." That same year saw the Massachusetts Society adopt the pledge of total abstinence. In 1836 the Pennsylvania Society occupied the same ground. The second National Convention, held in Saratoga, in 1836, also flung the banners of Total Abstinence to the breeze—so rapidly did the more daring principle win adherents. The celebrated Washingtonian movement, originating in Baltimore in 1840, led one hundred and fifty thousand men to give up the use of intoxicating liquors. It was the parent of the Order of the Sons of Temperance, which was organized in New York in 1842. The Good Templars order, the most massive and powerful of all the secret fraternities which have gathered about the temperance idea, originated in New York in 1851. It is a world-wide order; both it and the Sons of Temperance have exerted an incalculable influence on public opinion, largely through their education of young people. Many other organizations have sprung from the same desperate effort to do something to stem the tide of intemperance.

The invocation of law was not long delayed. Eminent jurists gave it as their opinion that the state had the right to prohibit the liquor-traffic, or to restrict it in any way it thought best—an opinion that has been confirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. The fourth National Convention, held in 1851, recommended prohibitory laws. As early as 1833, American statesmen repudiated the license system as a means of dealing with the traffic It is surprising what radical temperance measures were passed between 1837 and 1840. There was apparently a better public feeling then than now. Agitation had aroused the public mind. It seemed at one time as though the spontaneous uprising of the people would outlaw the traffic forever. Maine passed her prohibitory law in 1846, and in 1848 made it embrace all intoxicating liquors. Many of the states voted no-license. Delaware declared for Prohibition by statute in 1847, but the law was adjudged unconstitutional. Massachusetts passed a prohibitory law in 1852,* Vermont made a similar law in the same year, New Hampshire in 1855, Rhode Island in 1852, Connecticut in 1854, New York in 1855, and many other states have had at some time a prohibitory law in one or another of its forms.

A New Phase

This splendid vantage-ground has since been greatly endangered. At the present time the only states in which Prohibition is in force are Maine, Vermont, Kansas, Iowa, and the Dakotas. Many of the states have recently rejected Prohibition by immense majorities when submitted to popular vote. The natural law of reaction; the difficulty of enforcing the laws; the swarming of European immigrants; the new force to be reckoned with in those educated under conditions foreign to our own, and who look with supreme impatience on any attempt to regulate their social habits; the conviction of many as to the inexpediency of strict laws against drink, except where sustained by an overwhelming public sentiment; the bad spirit evolved by party bickerings, and the mutual denunciations of each other by temperance people over the question of method; the coming-in of other great issues, like those

Reaction

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* This law was carefully revised in 1854. See the instructive chapter in Judge Pitman's able work, Alcohol and the State, chap. xx., "The History of Prohibition."

which led to the Civil War; the labor disturbances of more recent times; and the new political economy, which is inclined to make bad social conditions the cause of drink rather than *vice versa*—these and other reasons may have had more or less to do with the present pause in the advance of the temperance reform. Temperance people are seriously divided as to method; the liquor interest acts as a unit in all matters affecting itself. But the result of the great moral agitation of this century abides in the entire emancipation of the mass of English-speaking people of North America from the use of intoxicating drinks. Victory will come in the end. The day is sure to dawn when the saloon will be relegated to the realm of antiquities, and will be as great a curiosity as the Virgin, or any other monstrosity in the Torture Chamber of the Nuremberg Castle.

Women to the Rescue

In 1873–74, a remarkable movement began in Ohio. The women formed praying-bands, and visited the saloons, imploring their keepers to close. They joined prayer and song with moral suasion. Their reception was varied, and many thrilling incidents occurred. Hundreds of saloon-keepers gave up their business, and many were converted and became useful citizens. The general result was most favorable. This movement resulted in the formation, in 1874, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which has been of incalculable benefit to the great cause of temperance.

CHAPTER XXV

PHILANTHROPY AND CHRISTIAN UNION

[Authorities.—Brace, Gesta Christi (4th ed., enlarged, N. Y., 1888); Tiffany, Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix (Boston, 1891); Reports of the Freedmen's Bureaus, of the Slater and Peabody Funds, of the American Missionary Association, and of the various denominational societies for work among the freedmen; Helen Hunt Jackson, A Century of Dishonor (Boston, 1881); Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education; Haygood, Our Brother in Black (N. Y., 1881); Smith, Reunion among Christians (London, 1890); Briggs, Barriers to Christian Union, in *Presbyterian Review*, July, 1887; Wordsworth, Lambeth Conference and Church Reunion (Edinb., 1888); Hurst, Christian Union Necessary for Religious Progress and Defence (N. Y., 1880).]

The Philanthropic Spirit

Philanthropy is a characteristic of present-day Christianity. The effort is made to realize in the life of the Church the healing mission of Christ. That spirit more and more pervades the Church. Sometimes this appears in corporate action, and often in individual consecration. Wealth is poured out in abundance in the founding of institutions of healing and mercy. Men who make but little profession of Christianity are touched by the genius of the gospel, and vie with each other in providing for themselves a monument better far than sculptured stone or storied urn. But much yet remains to be done. This is a ripe field. Rich rewards await the reapers.

The Freedmen

No sooner had the close of the Civil War thrown upon the country the stupendous problem of fitting an enslaved race for freedom than the churches came forward to freely offer their help. Only five months after the beginning of the war, the American Missionary Association (Congregational) opened a school at Hampton, Virginia, for fugitive slaves. "The spot overlooked the waters on which the first slave-ship entered the American continent." This

school was opened on September 17th, 1861. The Association extended its work after the close of the war. It now supports some of the best institutions in the South, such as Berea College, Berea, Kentucky; Atlanta University; Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; and Straight University, New Orleans. A non-denominational Freedmen's Aid Society was organized in Boston, February 7th, 1862, another in New York a few days later, and others in Cincinnati, Chicago, and elsewhere. These societies were consolidated in 1866 under the name of the American Freedmen's Union Commission. The Baptists have pursued this work energetically, beginning as early as 1862, and supporting some of the finest schools in the South. The Free Baptists have Storer College, at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. The Friends have not been neglectful of this work, though their object is rather to help the public-school system than to establish schools of their own. The Methodist Episcopal Church established its Freedmen's Aid Society on August 6th, 1866, and has put money and men without stint into this field. The Presbyterians organized their work in 1865, as did also the Episcopalians. The method of all these and other societies is to unite religion and education. Education is interpreted liberally. It includes industrial, normal, Biblical, classical, and professional departments. The negro is found responsive to the touch of culture, and this work has revealed a beautiful heroism and self-sacrifice both on the part of the teachers in consecration to a noble work, and on the part of pupils in their earnestness in seeking the advantages thus offered. Two special benefactions to this field deserve mention. One is the gift of three million dollars by George Peabody in 1866, and the other that of one million dollars by John F. Slater, of Norwich, Connecticut, in 1882.

The treatment of the Indians by the United States is one of the darkest chapters in our national history. Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, who labored nobly in this cause, describes that whole history in one word—a century of dishonor. They were first robbed of their territories, then crowded into reservations, afterwards robbed of these, and all the time cheated, oppressed, and deceived. "The only good Indian is a dead Indian," is the unholy dictum which has governed a great deal of our action. A humaner policy has, however, not

The Indians

been wanting. The first instruction delivered to Virginia was: "To provide that the true word and service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colony, but also as much as might be among the savages bordering upon it, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England." The point made by Roger Williams, that the Indian was the real owner of the soil, was acknowledged by many of the early colonists. The seal of Massachusetts colony had as its device the figure of an Indian, with the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us." But our coming has often been with no benevolent intentions. Recently a better spirit has been shown. The government is trying the work of civilization instead of extirpation, and with notable success. It supports many schools itself, besides aiding schools partially supported by missionary boards. The latter are called Contract Schools. For this class of work alone, the government distributed, in 1890, $506,994, of which the Catholics received $356,491, the Presbyterians $47,650, the Congregational society $16,408, and the remaining $86,455 was given to other Church societies doing work among the Indians. The Indian Training School at Hampton, Virginia, has realized splendid results. Of the 250,000 Indians now in the United States, 96,000 are, wholly or in part, in citizen's dress, 22,000 can read, 29,000 can speak the English language, and 17,000 live in houses.* In 1889, 300,000 acres of land were cultivated by the Indians. It seems evident, therefore, that the humaner policy has not been a failure. It is often asserted that the Indians are a doomed race, that they must eventually disappear from the earth. Whatever may be true of some tribes, it is a fact that there is an actual increase where tests have been applied. The Rev. Dr. J. P. Williamson, after a life-long experience with the Dakotas, intimates that they have increased sixty per cent. in forty years. The Rev. Dr. Stephen R. Riggs, after forty years of service among the Sioux, in answer to the question, "Is the Indian dying out?" said, "No, sir; I do not think that the facts which are before us at all justify the belief that the Indians are necessarily a vanishing race."

Contract Schools and Training School

* Article "Indians, American," in Bliss, Encyclopædia of Missions (N. Y. 1891), vol. i., p. 453.

All the larger denominations support numerous hospitals, retreats, asylums, homes for the aged and infirm, and other institutions of mercy. The Roman Catholic Church has been prominent in this department of Christian activity, its numerous sisterhoods furnishing to its hand a body of workers adapted to the pursuits of charity. All the Protestant denominations have made notable advances within recent years, and have shown that they are not silent to the voice of distress. The work of Dorothea Lynde Dix in improving the care of the insane is one of the most magnificent achievements of the century. What Howard did for prisons, Miss Dix has done for insane asylums. Her whole life was devoted to this cause, and through her efforts changes were introduced which tended to the permanent alleviation, if not cure, of the victims of insanity. Her work covered both continents. The life of this frail woman marked a new era in the history of human progress.

The Sick and Insane

It is impossible to do justice to the marvellous advance on all lines of social, industrial, and national enterprise due to the increasing Christian sentiment of the age. Societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, organizations which do the same work for animals, the disappearance of duelling from every English-speaking land, arbitration for the settlement of national disputes, more considerate laws in war, the treatment of both civil and military prisoners, the crusade against opium and spirituous liquors—these and other facts show the growing power of Christian light and love. There are clouds, however, yet in our sky ; there are occasional ebullitions of the old savage barbarism ; there are problems of the most serious and perplexing character, such as intemperance and the conflict of labor and capital, which face the present generation. But the progress in the past fifty years has been so gratifying that we cannot but look to the future with great hope.

Other Reforms

Christian union is one of the most beautiful phases of our American ecclesiastical life. It is only within recent years that fraternity has predominated over denominational differences. The old theological controversies were so bitter, and men held to their convictions with such intense emphasis that it was impossible for the churches to cooperate in the spirit of Christian love. The great revival of

Christian Union

1857–59 helped to dissolve these animosities. The Evangelical Alliance, founded in 1846, has been a powerful agency in bringing the churches into closer relationship. The Young Men's Christian Association, founded in London by George Williams, June 6th, 1844, attracted a great number of young men of all denominations into Christian work, and furnished a broad platform on which all churches could stand for the furtherance of the Redeemer's kingdom. The growth of this non-sectarian organization is one of the golden fruits of this era. There were, in 1891, 4110 associations throughout the world, with 375,163 members, of which number 1341 associations were in the United States and Canada, with 212,676 members. The Sanitary and Christian Commissions were voluntary associations for the care of the wounded and suffering during the Civil War. These also strengthened the sentiment of Christian union.

The needs of the unevangelized masses; the folly of intruding denominational rivalries into small communities in our own land, and in mission fields already occupied; the helplessness of a divided Church before any great and urgent call; the scandal to the Christian name of the spirit of division which has had free course in many parts of the country; the perpetual object lesson of the Roman Catholic Church in the massiveness and unity of its impression—these and other considerations have helped forward the conviction that the time has come when some kind of a *Bund*, or federal union, or alliance—some method of realizing an interdenominational fellowship—is imperatively demanded. The noble work of that best of all non-sectarian organizations, the American Bible Society, formed in 1816 in New York—a society which for nearly a century has been the meeting-ground of Christians of every name—has shown that such a communion of labor and counsel is entirely practicable. The growth of Christian union has been also helped by the formation of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, organized in Portland, Maine, by the Rev. Francis E. Clark, in 1881. This society emphasizes loyalty to one's own Church as one of its cardinal principles. But it has interdenominational features which give it a unique and splendid advantage. This recent development of the Christian activity of America has had a marvellous growth in all evangelical denominations, and has contributed towards the realization of

Federal Union Demanded

the sense of Christian brotherhood and of the oneness of all of Christ's followers.

Steps towards Organic Union

The Protestant Episcopal Church has the honor of being the first to institute proceedings looking towards the reunion of Protestantism. In its General Convention, held in Chicago in 1886, the House of Bishops submitted a plan by which it was thought the churches might take initial steps towards organic union. This basis was endorsed by the Convention, and it has been submitted to the other Christian churches for their action. It puts forward the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds as an expression of doctrine, the Bible as the rule of faith, the sacraments of the Lord's Supper and baptism, and the historic episcopate. The overtures have received cordial welcome in many quarters, and in others only indifferent attention. The chief difficulty seems to be in the interpretation of the "historic episcopate." The consummation of some form of tangible and visible Christian union is the great need of the Modern Church. But there is no likelihood that this fruition will ever be reached on the basis of any definite form of ecclesiastical polity. A declaration identical in terms with that of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church was set forth by the Conference of all the bishops throughout the world in fellowship with the Church of England, held at the Lambeth Conference, London, in the summer of 1888. But the almost unanimous report of the Committee on Christian Union appointed by the chairman of this Conference, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the acceptance of the "historic episcopate" was interpreted as not necessarily invalidating the ordinations of other churches, was voted down by a large majority, and even its publication suppressed.

CHAPTER XXVI

MISSIONS

[AUTHORITIES.—The best single work is Bliss, Encyclopædia of Missions (N. Y. 1891). Jackson and Gilmore's bibliography is one of remarkable completeness. The work as a whole is superb. The Report of the Centenary Conference on Protestant Missions held in London, 1888 (N. Y., 1889), gives a conspectus of the whole missionary field, and of all missionary problems. For histories of American Missionary Societies see Reid, History of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (N. Y., 1879); Mary Sparkes Wheeler, First Decade of Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (N. Y., 1881); Anderson, History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Boston, 1870–74), Commemorative Volume of the American Board, in Connection with Seventy-fifth Anniversary (Boston, 1885); Smith, Concise History of the American Baptist Union (new ed., 1883); American Baptist Missionary Union, in Connection with Fiftieth Anniversary (N. Y., 1865); Tupper, Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention (Phila., 1880); Historical Sketches of the Missions of the Presbyterian Church (Phila., 1881). A larger volume of the same name by various contributors is also published (Phila., 1886). Histories of Episcopal Missions in Various Lands: China (N. Y., 1885), Africa (N. Y., 1884). See the History section of Jackson and Gilmore's Bibliography in Bliss, Encyclopædia of Missions, vol. i., pp. 637–646. Historical Sketches of Woman's Missionary Societies in America and England (Boston, 1880).]

The Missionary Spirit

IN no country has the growing missionary spirit been so strong as in the United States. In proportion to its brief history and the absorbing demands of its own territory, no land has achieved so much in foreign fields. The home field has indeed taken up the energies of the churches to a degree unparalleled elsewhere, yet this has stimulated to increased sacrifices for foreign missions. When we consider the work achieved in these two departments, it is impossible to charge the American Church with indifference to the needs of the perishing.

Reference has already been made to the work of Eliot and other missionaries to the Indians. During this century the

work has been carried forward with greater persistency. The Penobscot Indians in Maine have been under the charge of Catholic missionaries. Romagne, who labored among them from 1800 to 1820, was one of the most devoted of the Catholic workers. In 1765, Samuel Kirkland opened up a Presbyterian mission among the Senecas, in New York State. He then turned to the Oneidas, where he met with great success. The tribe was changed from savages to a sober, industrious, civilized, Christian community. The Friends have also labored among the New York Indians during this century. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational and Presbyterian from 1810 to 1870, Congregational since 1870) began their work in this field among the Cherokees of Georgia in 1815. One of their converts, a half-breed Cherokee, invented the Cherokee alphabet in 1825, and in three or four years half the nation could read. A remarkable fact in attestation of the good fruits of Indian missionary labor is, that when in 1859 the Rev. H. H. Spaulding returned to the Nez Percés, after an enforced exile of twelve years, he found that these Indians had retained their religious services, and that many of them still kept up morning and evening prayers. In 1883 the American Board transferred all its Indian missions to the American Missionary Association. The Presbyterian Church entered this field in 1833. It has accomplished much in educational work. The Protestant Episcopal Church has paid special attention to the Sioux. The Rev. S. D. Hinman translated the Prayer Book into the Dakota tongue, and this Church has established several successful agencies among intractable tribes. The Baptists have made a noble record. They have one hundred and sixty-two churches and twenty-one missionaries in Indian territory. John Stewart was the pioneer Methodist Indian missionary. His charge was the Wyandottes of Ohio. He died in 1823. Many Methodist Conferences have now their own missions among the Indians in all parts of the land. Two facts make missionary labor among the Indians peculiarly difficult—their extreme conservatism and their natural suspicion and jealousy of the whites, due to our Century of Dishonor.

The North American Indians

The Church of the United States has achieved great results in connection with missions in European and Asiatic Turkey. This has been especially an American field, and no part of the

vast enterprise of modern missions has required greater wisdom and zeal. It was of the remarkable results of this mission that the Earl of Shaftesbury said: "I do not believe that in the whole history of missions, I do not believe that in the history of diplomacy, or in the history of any negotiation carried on between man and man, we can find anything to equal the wisdom, the soundness, and the pure, evangelical truth of the men who constitute the American mission." General Lew Wallace, who went to the East prejudiced against mission work in those countries, completely changed his views after a residence on the ground, and gave cheerful testimony to the fine work, both civilizing and religious, which the American missionaries are accomplishing. In 1863 Robert College was opened on the Bosphorus, and about the same time the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut. These schools have been powerful factors in the uplifting of the country, and some of the missionaries —Drs. Hamlin, Long, Bliss, Washburn, Van Dyck, Post, and others—have blessed the whole world by their Oriental scholarship and sublime devotion to a great cause.

Turkey

Another triumph of the American missionary is the Sandwich Islands. In 1819, Bingham and Thurston arrived on the islands. In 1824, the principal chiefs agreed to recognize the Sabbath, and adopt the ten commandments as the basis of government. The country has been long since completely Christianized, and in 1850 the native churches organized the Hawaiian Missionary Society, to carry the gospel to other islands. To the American Board belongs the honor of this marvellous history. In 1863 a greater proportion of the population could read and write than in New England. The results of this mission, however, have been severely endangered by the heavy ingress of foreign traders. This element has served as a most corrupting agency.

Sandwich Islands

Japan has also been a special field of American effort. The first to take advantage of the treaty of 1858, in which certain ports were opened to trade and residence, July 4th, 1859, was the Protestant Episcopal Church, which before the latter date had sent John Liggins and C. M. Williams (afterwards bishop) from China to Japan. The same year the Presbyterians sent Dr. J. C. Hepburn, the famous Japanese lexicographer, and the Reformed Church the Rev. Dr. S. R. Brown, and two others. This was the beginning of that mighty im-

Japan

pulse which has carried Japan to the van of Oriental nations in tolerance and the ideals of a Christian civilization. In 1868 occurred the great revolution which overturned the old Tycoon, and brought in the reign of liberal ideas. In the magnificent progress of Christianity in Japan the American churches have had a large share. Nearly all the denominations have representatives there. The societies laboring under the Presbyterial polity united in 1877 with the Native Church of Christ in Japan. The churches organized according to the Congregational polity are independent native churches. Efforts at further union have been made, but thus far unsuccessfully. The chief difficulty is in the line of discipline and polity. The Japanese themselves are impatient at what seems to them the frivolous divisions of the Church. "It is evident to all who are familiar with the history of the native intellect, or with the workings of the Japanese mind, past or present, that subtle doctrinal theories have no charm, but are only a weariness to the flesh. They refuse to believe that the hereditary quarrels of European Christians need to be perpetuated in their country, or that, in view of the gospel's supreme good news, and the necessities of their countrymen, either the denominational differences in doctrine or peculiarities of government are at all needful."* In 1890 there were eighteen Protestant churches operating in Japan, supporting 422 stations, 207 churches, and reporting 29,663 communicants.

India

India was the virgin field of the American missionary movement. In 1806, four students at Williams College were accidentally driven together by a thunder-storm. Under the lee of a hay-stack they pledged themselves to carry the gospel to the heathen, Samuel J. Mills saying, "We can do it if we will." Two years later Mills, Richards, and Gordon Hall signed a pledge to missionary work. "In 1810, Mills again leading, with Judson, Newell, and Nott—all students in Andover Theological Seminary—met a number of ministers at the parlor of Professor Stuart, and in response to their appeal to be sent to foreign lands received the assurance, 'Go, in the name of the Lord, and we will help.' The next day two of those ministers, Drs. Spring and Worcester, on their way to

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* Article on Japan in Bliss's "Encyclopædia of Missions," vol. i., p. 498.

the General Association of Massachusetts [Congregational] at Bradford, formed the plan of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which three days later, June 29th, 1810, was adopted by the Association." This is the oldest missionary society in the United States. On the 19th of February, 1812, Judson and Newell, with their wives, sailed from Salem, Massachusetts, for Calcutta, and on the 22d Hall, Rice, and Nott sailed from Philadelphia for the same port. This was the beginning at once of American foreign missions and of the heroic labors of American missionaries in Burma and India. The conversion of Judson to Baptist views brought the Baptists to India. The Presbyterians entered in 1833, the Methodists in 1856, and now there are about fourteen American churches working in India.

It is impossible to name all the lands where the feet of the American missionary have trod. The latest accession to Africa is the brave William Taylor, a man of apostolic mould. He has gone into the Congo country, and we trust will aid mightily towards founding a Christian state. The first Methodist foreign missionary was Melville B. Cox, whose early death in Liberia, in 1833, left the memory of a beautiful and devoted life. Korea is one of the latest on the list of missions. The

Eastern Asia

Rev. John Ross, of Monkden, China, without leaving his own mission, mastered the Korean language, translated the whole New Testament into Korean, sent packages into the country, and thus, when Protestant missionaries at a later time entered Korea, "they found whole communities in the north professing Protestant Christianity, studying the Bible among themselves, and only waiting for some one to come and teach them." In 1884, the Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal Boards almost simultaneously sent missionaries into the country. Alaska, long shamefully neglected, is now the centre of a promising mission. The Rev. Dr. Sheldon Jackson, the Apostle of Alaska, has placed the whole Christian Church under obligation to him for his labors in that new and needy field. He is an honor to the Presbyterian Church.

No more important mission field demands the consecration of Christian sympathy and energy than the United States.

Home Missions

Immigration on a scale unknown in modern history has placed upon us problems which are the despair of our wisest men.

"Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,
And through them presses a wild motley throng—
Men from the Volga and the Tartar steppes,
Featureless figures of the Hoang Ho,
Malayan, Scythian, Teuton, Kelt, and Slav,
Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn;
These bringing with them unknown gods and rites,
Those, tiger passions, here to stretch their claws.
In street and alley, what strange tongues are these,
Accents of menace, alien to our air,
Voices that once the Tower of Babel knew!
O Liberty, white Goddess! is it well
To leave the gates unguarded? On thy breast
Fold Sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate,
Lift the down-trodden, but with hand of steel
Stay those who to thy sacred portals come
To waste the gifts of freedom. Have a care
Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn
And trampled in the dust. For so of old
The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome,
And where the temples of the Cæsars stood
The lean wolf unmolested made her lair."*

The first Home Missionary Society was organized by the Congregationalists in Connecticut in 1774. The Presbyterians of New York and New Jersey followed in 1789 and 1796, and the Congregationalists of Massachusetts established the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society in 1799. The polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church requiring an itinerant ministry, the labors of many of its preachers were purely missionary, without the name. The Western field was one great territory for home missionary work. The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society was organized in 1819, but its labors for the first thirteen years were confined entirely to the home field. All the churches exhibited a profound interest in missionary work. The Protestant Episcopal Church organized its Board of Missions, for both foreign and home work, in 1820; the Baptists established their Home Missionary Society in 1832. Some of the churches have Women's Home Missionary Societies which supplement, in a wise and successful way, the regular work of the churches with which they are connected. The field which these latter societies have chosen has been chiefly in the South, on the frontier, and especially in

* Thomas Bailey Aldrich, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1892.

Utah. The American Home Missionary Society was formed in 1826. It is mainly supported by the Congregationalists, as is also the American Missionary Association. The work of these and other societies in our own land is one of the most promising and important which can engage the attention of our people. Our national history thus far has been more or less of an experiment. It is for the churches to say whether, in the very highest and largest sense, the Republic of the United States shall prove a success and its Liberty shall continue to enlighten the World.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL

[Authorities.—Pray, The History of Sunday-schools and of Religious Education (Boston, 1847); Watson, The First Fifty Years of the Sunday-school (London, 1873); Vincent, The Modern Sunday-school (N. Y., 1887); Trumbull, Yale Lectures on the Sunday-school (Phila., 1888); Record of the World's Sunday-school Convention (London and Chicago, 1889). An admirable brief discussion of the Sunday-school problem is Taylor, What Shall We Do with the Sunday-school as an Institution? (N. Y., 1886).]

As in England so in America, efforts were put forth for the religious instruction of children, entirely independent of the work of Raikes, in 1780, from which the Sunday-school, as an organized institution, takes its rise. As early as 1641 the General Court of Massachusetts Colony provided for catechising the children. The Scriptures were memorized with great assiduity. There is historic proof of a number of Sunday-school beginnings: in Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1674; two years later, in Norwich, Connecticut; in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1680; in Newtown, Long Island, in 1683; by the Schwenkfelders, in Berks and Montgomery counties, Pennsylvania, in 1734; in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, by Ludwig Hacker, in 1740, "a school continuing for thirty years with gratuitous instruction, children's meetings, and having many revivals;" in Bethlehem, Connecticut, by Rev. Joseph Bellamy, in 1740; in Philadelphia, by Mrs. Greening, in 1744; in Columbia, Connecticut, by Rev. Eleazer Wheelock,

American Beginnings

in 1763; and in 1786, by Bishop Asbury, at the house of Thomas Crenshaw, in Hanover County, Virginia. After 1790 many schools sprang up. In January, 1791, the First-day or Sunday-school Society was formed in Philadelphia, to secure the religious instruction of poor children on Sunday. These schools were isolated instances, and it cannot be said that any one of them was the original of the American Sunday-school.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sunday-school in America has enjoyed a remarkable growth. In no part of the world has it possessed such an hospitable field. The visit of Mrs. Bethune and Mrs. Graham, earnest Sunday-school workers, to England about 1803, and the visit of Rev. Robert May, of London, to America, in 1811, gave the cause a permanent growth. May was an enthusiastic believer in Sunday-schools, and he suggested many improved methods. Sunday-school unions were organized in New York and in Boston in 1816, and in Philadelphia in 1817. Out of these grew the American Sunday-school Union in 1824. This is an undenominational society, and it has been of incalculable service to the cause both as a missionary and a publishing organization. In 1826 the Methodist Episcopal Church formed its own Sunday-school Union, and the other denominations have also taken the work into their own hands. The agent of the Sunday-school Union is often one of the first representatives of Christianity to set foot in many a pioneer settlement, and the Sunday-school he organizes is invariably the nucleus of the coming church. In 1889, at the World's Sunday-school Convention in London, the following statistics were reported for the United States: Sunday-schools, 101,824; teachers, 1,100,104; scholars, 8,345,431; total membership, 9,445,535. The membership must be now nearly ten millions.

Growth

A large part of early Sunday-school instruction was in the elementary English branches. By and by, with the development of the common schools, religious instruction came more and more to the front. Often—and that to the present day in some parts of the country—instruction in the alphabet and elementary reader and in the Bible proceeded side by side. "James Gall, in his 'End and Essence of Sabbath-school Teaching' and his 'Nature's Normal School,' aimed to introduce an improved lesson system into Scot-

Development of Methods

land, which was also used in some schools in America as early as 1820. Stowe's training system, giving prominence to pictorial methods of instruction, aided in reforming the excessive use of the memory. A thorough advance in America was effected by the introduction of the 'Uniform Limited Lessons,' prepared in 1825, and adopted by the American Sunday-school Union, and its hundreds of auxiliaries, in 1826. This scheme contemplated a five years' course of study for the whole Bible—one and the same lesson for all, of from seven to fifteen verses, questions and comments in at least three grades, and reviews." This was really a revolution in Sunday-school methods. At once the institution assumed an importance never approached before.

Uniform Lessons

In 1840 the London Sunday-school Union adopted a similar scheme. Mimpriss introduced in England, in 1844, an excellent method for the study of the Gospels in a graduated simultaneous series, which was republished in this country, and exerted a considerable influence. In 1871 a meeting of Sunday-school publishers in New York, at the request of the executive committee of the National Sunday-school Convention, agreed upon a scheme of lessons for 1872. "At the Indianapolis convention in that year, a lesson committee was appointed to arrange a course of lessons for seven years, covering the whole Bible, which was recommended for the use of the Sunday-schools throughout the country." This excellent plan was adopted in 1873. The same system, now called the International System of Sunday-school Lessons, has contributed more towards Bible-study than all other agencies combined. Conventions, teachers' meetings, normal classes, and other auxiliary means have helped to perfect the Sunday-school idea. A rich literature has grown up. The presses of all the churches have furnished for the Sunday-school Library not only works in biography, history, travel, religion, adventure, and fiction, but they have also given admirable and scholarly works for the understanding of the Bible.

International Lessons

CHAPTER XXVIII

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

[AUTHORITIES.—There is no history of the religious literature of the United States. The best that can be done is to consult the larger histories of American literature, such as Duyckinck's Cyclopædia and Tyler's and Richardson's Histories. See Part V., Chapter XVI., above. For hymnology, the best authority is Julian, Dictionary of Hymnology (London and N.Y., 1892). Duffield, English Hymns (N. Y., 1886), is the next best authority. It is a work of rare interest, by a devout and scholarly mind. Nutter, Studies in the Hymnal (N. Y., 1890). This author is a master in hymnology.]

ELEMENTARY religious works were produced at an early period. The "New England Primer," during the eighteenth century, was the little manual which was regarded in New England as necessary for every child's instruction. The catechism prepared by Richard Mather and John Cotton, entitled "Spiritual Milk for Babes," appeared in many forms and for many years, and was incorporated into the "New England Primer" of later date. It was made a part of a primer for the colony of Connecticut, and published about 1715. The "New England Primer" absorbed the necessary parts of other elementary works, and was published in the various colonies. It was edited by many competent hands, and adapted itself to the political changes of the colonies. At one time it was strongly anti-Catholic. It was loyal to the British king when it was necessary so to be. But in due time it produced Washington's portrait as its frontispiece. The "New England Primer Improved" was the later and final form. It contained hymns by Watts, easy spelling and reading lessons, prayers, acrostics, the Shorter Catechism, and the celebrated "Dialogue between Christ, Youth, and the Devil." The picture of John Rogers at the stake, surrounded by his wife and children, was always a necessary illustration. The alphabetic couplets beginning with

Elementary Books

New England Primer

"In Adam's fall
We sinned all,"

and closing with

"Zaccheus he
Did climb the tree
His Lord to see,"

were never omitted, as needful exposition of the truth to accompany the quaint illustrations. The "Psalterium Americanum," edited by Cotton Mather, was used for worship extensively. The "Whole Book of Psalms," published in 1640, and the first English book printed in the western hemisphere, was a literal reprint of the received version. It was as near an approach to the Psalter of the Established Church as the antipathies of the Puritan fathers would allow. The great basis of the New England faith was the Westminster Catechism. It was the universal guide. Each pastor in the colonial period proceeded according to its requirements. It was regarded as the great modern triumph of Christianity in Europe. Sermons were preached upon it, and books were published in exposition of it. Samuel Willard, for example, covered a space of nineteen years, by delivering two hundred and fifty lectures on the Shorter Catechism. His works were published after his death in a ponderous volume—the first folio produced by the American press. Sermons were a favorite form of religious literature. Watts's "Psalms and Hymns" went through numerous editions. Religious biography, such as the "Journal of Whitefield," and others, was in general demand. Reprints of Baxter's practical works were common. Only a short time elapsed before a good practical work in England found its way to Boston, and came out from the press of Kneeland, Bumstead, or some other printer of that place. The fruits of the colonial press now appear exceedingly primitive, but they formed an essential part of the religious foundation of the country, and prove to us the early determination of the colonists to develop a religious literature independent of the mother country.

Later Literature

The religious literature of the recent period has taken on a more popular character. To no one writer is America indebted more than to Jacob Abbott for the power of religion over the popular mind. After leaving the Eliot Congregational Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts, in

1836, of which he was pastor for two years, he devoted his whole time to the writing of religious books. These have had an enormous sale. He made religion attractive, and inaugurated a new era in the treatment of such themes. As soon as the Sunday-school began to use the circulating library, a demand arose for a literature that would combine fascinating interest with pure moral instruction. This demand has been abundantly supplied in a Sunday-school literature the most captivating in the world. Writers like Daniel Wise, Edward Everett Hale, Richard Newton, Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, Julia A. Eastman, and Pansy (Mrs. G. R. Alden), have furnished the present generation with religious books of unparalleled interest and power. Some of the works of Newton have been translated into twenty languages. The most recent phase of this subject is the popularity of books of scholarly and thoughtful cast. Volumes of sermons and other discussions in religion by vigorous and progressive thinkers, who are heartily in sympathy with historic Christianity, pass through many editions in a few years. The best preachers command a vast audience through their books and the weekly publication of their sermons. Religious newspapers and magazines have a wide circulation, which is constantly increasing. Judging from the sale of books, there never was so much popular interest in religion as at present.

Religious Periodicals

In no country has the religious press so prominent a place as in the United States, and that place is richly deserved by superior merit. Thomas Prince (1722–48), son of the famous pastor of the Old South Church, published the first American periodical. It was called *The Christian History*, containing accounts of the revival and propagation of religion in Great Britain and America for 1743 (Boston, 1744–45, 2 vols.). It was published weekly. *The Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* began in 1800 in Hartford, and continued ten years. *The Massachusetts Missionary Magazine* began in Boston in 1803; *The Panoplist* (begun in 1805) was merged into it in 1808; the name was changed to that of *Missionary Herald* in 1822; and under that familiar name the magazine has continued to the present time. Other religious and theological magazines and quarterlies followed. The first of the present religious newspapers was *The Congregationalist*, which began under the title of *The Boston Re-*

corder, January 3d, 1816. The next in order of time were *The Religious Intelligencer*, in 1816; *The Watchman*, in 1819; *The Christian Mirror*, in 1822; *Zion's Herald*, in 1823; *New York Observer*, in 1823; *The Christian Advocate*, in 1826; *The Morning Star*, in 1826. Many other great denominational papers followed in quick succession.*

Literary Outgrowth of Missions

A notable result of the organized missionary labor of the American Church has been the production of a rich and varied literature. Aside from the many reports and histories bearing more or less an official cast, a still larger list of works is the natural though incidental outgrowth of this most sublime effort to evangelize the nations. Inspiring biographies of choice missionary spirits; vivid and scientific accounts of races, tribes, countries, customs, dialects, and the decaying faiths of heathenism; tales of adventure and discovery; the story of the long and weary task of reducing spoken tongues to writing and of translating the Scriptures; studies of linguistic and ethnological value; and romances of fact more fascinating than any possible fiction, form some of the more valuable contributions of our American missions to the world of letters.

Hymnology

From the day of the "Bay Psalm Book" and Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom" to the verse of Ray Palmer is a history fraught with notable achievements in Christian song. America has contributed her share to the general chorus. The more notable of our hymn-writers have been recognized by the whole Christian world. Timothy Dwight (d. 1817), the President of Yale College, was a renowned theologian in his time, but he is now known most of all for his hymn, which is sung the world over,

"I love thy kingdom, Lord."

Samuel Davies (d. 1761), one of the most eloquent and powerful preachers of the American Church, wrote

"Lord, I am thine, entirely thine."

James Waddel Alexander (d. 1859), of princely origin, was happy in his translation of German hymns. The old passion hymn,

"O Sacred Head, now wounded,"

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* See Dorchester, "Christianity in the United States," pp. 424, 425.

is the best known. Bishop George W. Doane (d. 1859) wrote

"Softly now the light of day."

His brethren in the Episcopal Church, Bishop Henry W. Onderdonk and William Augustus Muhlenberg, have also produced some masterpieces. The latter, who died in 1877, was a man of saintly life and of noble influence on the Christian life and thought of his time. His hymns,

"Like Noah's weary dove,"

and

"I would not live alway,"

will long continue to express the sentiments of innumerable souls until the discords of earth are lost in the harmonies of the Song of Moses and the Lamb. The poet Bryant is known by several hymns found in all the hymnals, and John Pierpont has given us

"O Thou, to whom in ancient times,"

and

"The winds are hushed, the peaceful moon."

Phœbe Cary wrote many sweet lyrics of trust and hope. Her best-known hymn is

"One sweetly solemn thought."

William B. Tappan (d. 1849) was an industrious poet. His

"There is an hour of peaceful rest,"

and

"'Tis midnight, and on Olive's brow,"

are familiar to Christians in all parts of the world. Augustus L. Hillhouse (d. 1859) wrote one of the grandest poems in the English language,

"Trembling before thine awful throne."

Edward H. Sears, author of one of the best studies of John's Gospel, "The Fourth Gospel the Heart of Christ," gave us two inspiring Christmas hymns,

"Calm on the listening ear of night,"

and

"It came upon the midnight clear."

Bishop Arthur Cleveland Coxe is the author of

"Oh! where are kings and empires now,"

"How beauteous were the marks divine,"

and

"In the silent midnight watches."

Ray Palmer (d. 1887) stands at the head of all our American hymn-writers, and by the side of the immortal masters of universal Christian song. Some of his hymns are perfect. Like the best of Wesley's and Watts's and Toplady's, they seem the fruit of a divine inspiration. They are exquisite in form, and breathe the majestic spirit of Christian faith and the profound humility of Christian devotion. All of our great poets have contributed to our hymnology. Longfellow, Whittier, Bryant, Holmes, have written single lyrics which greatly enrich the sacred poetry of the Church Universal.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE AMERICAN PULPIT

[Authorities.—Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit (N. Y., 1856–69) is a monumental work. It is a thesaurus of the most valuable material. There is no work on the history of American preaching. The lives of the great preachers should be read: Edwards, Life of Bellamy, in Works (Boston, 1850); Life of Dwight, in his Theology (Boston, 1809 sq.); Park, Life of Emmons, in Works (1860–61); Edwards, Life of the Younger Edwards, in Works (Boston, 1842); Autobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher (N. Y., 1864–65); Cummings, Life of Payson, in Works (Portland, 1846), also published separately; Tyler, Life of Nettleton (Hartford, 1844); Wright, Life of Finney (Boston, 1891); Prentice, Life of Wilbur Fisk (Boston, 1890); Willitt, Life of Summerfield (Phila., 1857); Roche, Life of Durbin (N. Y., 1889); Henkle, Life of Bascom (Nashville, 1854); Beecher and Scoville, Life of Henry Ward Beecher (N. Y., 1888); Crooks, Life of Matthew Simpson (N. Y., 1890).]

The American pulpit has occupied a large place in the religious history of the country. The first preachers were men of remarkable gifts. Thoroughly educated, for the most part in Cambridge, England, devoted to Bible study and to the investigation of the severest theological problems, active in tem-

poral affairs, the first ministers of the colonies made their influence felt on the whole life of the country. This was particularly true of New England, where the clergy had a fair field. They were the real founders of the New England commonwealths. In their Fast-Day and Thanksgiving-Day discourses they discussed public questions with great ability and perfect frankness. The legislators derived their best advice from the ministers, who never avoided the full and just treatment of great public questions. They were the chief promoters of every educational movement. They founded the early colleges. They knew their power; they magnified their office. No Stuart king was reverenced more by ardent loyalist than the New England minister by his flock. But in this case no men were more worthy of that reverence. As Professor Moses Coit Tyler says, "for once in the history of the world the sovereign power was in the hands of sovereign men." In holiness of life, in intellectual breadth and acuteness, in devotion to their calling, they were a body of men unsurpassed in the history of the founding of great commonwealths. Their support was often scanty—a piece of land and a few hundred dollars. They were often paid in produce. Poor in all things except the wealth of brains and faith, the preachers of the colonial period of America have made many rich.

The New England sermon, until quite a late period, was a magnificent specimen of intellectual athletics. The deepest problems of religion were ventilated with a completeness and logical thoroughness of which the preaching at this age can give us but little conception. If one sermon was insufficient for this purpose, the subject was continued the next Sunday. Indeed, it might run through the year—or the years. Doctrinal preaching was largely in vogue. Abstract points of metaphysical theology were then living questions in which the people were intensely interested. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, as one to the manner born, has interpreted the New England mind in her "Minister's Wooing." She there represents the men and matrons of the age succeeding the Revolution as discussing over their work the theology of the long, abstruse sermons of the preceding Sabbath. They entered into these debates with keen relish. The pulpit was the sole fountain of popular instruction. Happily enough, it was not then confronted with the

The New England Sermon

many rivals which now contest its influence. The preachers rose to their opportunities, and from their high vantage-ground they spoke with power and authority. They were the uncrowned kings of the age. The pulpit was the only throne known to the colonies.

In the past more than to-day, the American clergy have been the leaders in all movements for liberty and the Better Time.

Leaders in Reform

In the War for Independence they thundered from their pulpits against English oppression, and aroused the people to enthusiasm. Both in the North and South the clergy were heroes on the field and in council, and were among the first to foresee the necessity of revolution and the sublime destiny of the country. Without the clergy of that critical time, the Independence of the United States could not have been achieved. The same fact appears in the Civil War of 1861–65. In the gradual development of the spirit of emancipation of the slaves the clergy performed their full share. Many of them, indeed, were conservative, and took no active part in the discussions. Others spoke out boldly. Samuel Hopkins, in Newport, lifted up his voice against the slave-trade, then actively conducted by New England dealers. He was fierce in his attacks, even though some members of his congregation were engaged in the business. He devised a scheme of colonization, by which he hoped to solve the problem. Theodore Parker was a mighty champion in the same cause. Henry Ward Beecher told the members of his church in Brooklyn, on becoming their pastor, that he expected to wage war against slavery, and that he desired a free field. Many less influential were no less outspoken. The temperance reform has called out the earnest efforts of the clergy. Justin Edwards devoted his life to this cause. Hitchcock, at Amherst, and Beecher, at Litchfield, were sturdy champions. If to some the ministry did not move fast enough along lines of reform, it can be said that the adherence of the clergy has made this and every other beneficent movement possible.

Many of the American clergy have been famous for the quickening power of their preaching. Great revivals and organized movements have been promoted by their appeals. Edward N. Kirk, of the Mount Vernon Congregational Church, Boston, exercised a most fruitful ministry. Asahel Nettleton was active as an evangelist in Massachusetts,

Revivals

Connecticut, and New York, from 1812 to 1822. He was a strong Calvinist, and vigorously opposed the methods and doctrines of Finney. Finney himself labored with marvellous success in evangelistic work from 1824 to 1860. Even after his installation as professor at Oberlin in 1835, he travelled through the country on his revival mission. He used simple language, was clear, logical, and direct in his presentation of the truth. He analyzed the motives with a master-hand, and his appeals to the conscience were overwhelming. Both his preaching and methods were similar to those already employed by the Methodists, and for a time he was bitterly opposed by some Congregational and Presbyterian ministers. These conservatives held a convention in New Lebanon, New Hampshire, to decide what to do concerning Finney's innovations. Lyman Beecher, though progressive enough in some matters, was among Finney's opponents. Beecher was a powerful preacher, and his own labors were not without permanent results in the quickening of the churches.

Benjamin Abbott (died 1796) carried on a marvellous ministry in New Jersey in the later decades of the eighteenth century. He was the founder of many Methodist churches in that state. Peter Cartwright, the Methodist pioneer in the West, was a man of original mould, with a strong dash of eccentricity. His preaching and that of many of his co-laborers was attended with remarkable demonstrations. The days of Pentecost were repeated. Cartwright received over ten thousand people into the Church. The "*Revue des Deux Mondes*," in a full treatment of his career, has presented Cartwright's work as a type of the pioneer religious life of the United States. His life reads like a romance. Recently, under Moody and other evangelists, revivals on a large scale have been witnessed.

Peter Cartwright

Many eminent preachers have shed honor upon the American Church. In no field of our ecclesiastical life has there been reaped a richer or more enduring harvest. In these later times the following, among others, deserve mention. Edward Payson was a man of pre-eminent holiness and purity of character. He was the pastor of the Second Congregational Church of Portland, Maine, from 1807 until his death in 1827. It has been said that his "Life and Sermons" have been "more read at home and abroad than the

Great Preachers

writings of any other New England divine, except Timothy Dwight." John Summerfield was an Englishman, who, in 1821, entered the Methodist ministry in New York. His career was brief, but it was one of remarkable brilliancy and success. He drew vast crowds by his astonishing eloquence. Henry B. Bascom, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who died in Louisville, in 1850, had a national reputation as a preacher. Horace Bushnell, of Hartford (died 1876), was the Frederick William Robertson of America. His sermons were bold and original, and remarkably suggestive in their unfolding and application of spiritual truth.

Henry Ward Beecher is an important name in the history of American preaching. He was the son of Lyman Beecher, and began his ministry at Lawrenceburg, Indiana, in 1837, whence in two years he was called to Indianapolis. From 1847 until his death, March 8th, 1887, he was the pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, where he achieved a world-wide reputation. His frankness and unconventionality, his warm human sympathies, his intrepid advocacy of every moral reform, his marvellous insight into certain aspects of the gospel and of the character of Christ, the sweep of his imagination and his splendid oratorical gifts—all these gave him a phenomenal success as a preacher. He cared nothing for theology as a system. Indeed, he had little theological ability. His mind was not logical and constructive, but intuitional. He had a great heart, and the supreme object of his ministry was human helpfulness. His long ministry of forty years in Brooklyn is the most famous, perhaps, in the annals of Church history. It may be fitly compared, because of fervid eloquence, combative force against popular errors, and lengthy continuance, to the immortal career of Chrysostom in Antioch and Constantinople. Matthew Simpson was one of the most powerful and magnetic preachers of the American Church. With vivid imagination, a far-reaching and melodious voice, a keen perception of the very central truths of the gospel, an intense sympathy with the masses, he long stood as leader in council, on the platform, and in the pulpit. Phillips Brooks possessed a vivid imagination, eloquent speech, and wonderful insight into the deep meaning of the Scriptures. His graces and gifts of nature gave him cosmopolitan leadership and clothed him with universal brotherliness. Anglo-Saxon Chris-

Beecher, Simpson, and Brooks

tendom stands a mourner at his fresh grave. Many other names occur in the history of American preaching: Francis L. Hawks, John M'Clintock, Thomas Guard, William Adams, John P. Thompson, Edwin H. Chapin, William R. Williams, George W. Bethune, Thomas Starr King, James Freeman Clarke, Otis H. Tiffany—these names represent many more who have shown that in the matter of preaching the United States has been behind no country in the world.

CHAPTER XXX

THEOLOGY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH

[AUTHORITIES.—There is no history of American theology. An excellent sketch appears in Fisher, History of the Church (N. Y., 1887). See Hurst, Our Theological Century (N. Y., 1877), and the lives of representative American theologians.]

The Early Theological Tone

THE early American Theology was serious and fundamental. The doctrinal differences of the Old World had caused the Puritan emigration. The thinking revolved about the foundations of Christianity. Never was so much theological meditation, fortified by appropriate Scripture proofs, produced amid such humble surroundings as in our early New England colonies. The echoes from the Westminster Assembly were heard throughout New England, and produced their effect in the log-house of the humblest colony. Theological terms were well understood, and the finer points had their discriminating judges in men clad in homespun. The Bible was uppermost in every mind. A doctrinal tenet which was purely speculative, and had no direct Scriptural proof, passed as of little value. The Westminster Catechism, the Savoy Confession, and the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were the universal bases of belief. These were claimed to be derived directly from the Bible, and stood next to it in the love of the people. The Scriptures were read daily in the domestic circle, and often the head of the family used the original Hebrew and Greek. Scriptural themes were frequent in academic use. Cotton Ma-

ther's address, on taking his degree as Bachelor of Arts, was based on "The Divinity of the Hebrew Points." "We record," says an author, "at our country's origin a favorable impulse to the employment of our native good sense in theological investigation; for our fathers made an open renunciation of all prescriptive systems, and took the Bible alone for their text-book."

A Reaction

The Liberalizing Period came as a result of the introduction of the Half-way Covenant. Many persons coming into the Church without profession of regeneration, a large amount of loose theology came in with them. Less attention was given to the confessions. The Bible was regarded as of less importance than in the earlier time. Many people looked upon the severer thinking of their fathers as good enough for the beginning of colonial life, but not suited to the more advanced period. The reaction against the Scriptural letter opened wide the door for a too liberal theological tendency. The result was the Unitarian revolt.

The Return to Controversy

The Controversial Period was the next stage in our theology. While the great revival at the middle of the eighteenth century did much to restore the old theological firmness, the tendency now was to a discussion of great Scriptural themes. Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton, by his work on "The Freedom of the Will," opened the door to a line of controversy which has broken out afresh, at intervals, ever since. His work was the best philosophical structure ever reared on the Calvinistic theology, whether in the Old World or the New. The Congregationalists were most affected by this controversy. While the Presbyterians were agitated by the discussion, they were never diverted from a line which they early chose—the literary qualifications of their ministry, a thorough Christian experience, and a zeal in occupying new territory. The favorite theological text-books of the pre-Revolutionary period had been Ames's "Medulla," Wolleb's "Compendium," and Willard's "Body of Divinity." But some other works came in to take their place. The writings of Edwards, who is the real founder of "New England theology," took the place of these primitive works. The three authors who built on the Edwardean foundation were Bellamy, in his "True Religion;" Smalley, in his "Distinction between Natural and Moral Inability;"

and Hopkins, in his "Reduction of Disinterested Love to a System of Theology." The Hopkinsian theology was a toning-down of the strict Calvinism of Edwards and his school. The leaders were Hopkins, Bellamy, the younger Edwards, West, Spring, and Emmons. They differed from the elder Calvinism as to the nature of human depravity, the imputation of Adam's sin, the nature and extent of the atonement, and the natural inability of the unregenerate to become Christians. They were warm advocates of revivals, benevolent institutions, and missionary movements; and they founded the *Theological Magazine* (New York), the *Evangelical Magazine* (Connecticut), and the *Missionary Magazine* (Massachusetts). The strict Edwardean Calvinists and the Hopkinsians were two distinct classes at the beginning of the present century. Each operated on the other favorably. In due time they approached and amalgamated, though without any formal action. The union of the Calvinistic *Panoplist* with the Hopkinsian *Missionary Magazine*, in 1808, was one of the public evidences of the amalgamation.

Leonard Woods, of Andover, was a judicious and moderate theologian, who stood squarely on Calvinistic principles, without pushing them to an extreme. Nathanael Emmons, of Franklin, Massachusetts, carried still further Hopkins's liberalizing of Edwards. He emphasized the freedom of the will, and free volition as essential to every good or bad act. He rejected the transference of Christ's righteousness. The influence of this godly and venerable pastor and theologian was most profound on later New England thought. Nathaniel W. Taylor, of the Divinity School of Yale College, sought to relieve the Calvinistic doctrine of sin of its difficulties. His theological lectures and works created widespread consternation among the more conservative, and led to the formation of the East Windsor (Connecticut) Theological School, under Bennet Tyler, his bitter opponent. This institution has developed into the present Hartford Theological Seminary. Edwards A. Park, the pupil of Emmons, was the Nathaniel W. Taylor of Andover. He was a teacher of great intellectual acuteness and breadth, and completely emancipated the Congregational theology from the last remnant of strict Calvinism. The quickening power of his influence on multitudes of pupils who have carried his theological method further than the master is one of the most notable facts in the

Emmons, Taylor, Park

recent history of the Church. The present Andover theology is in the direct line of this development. It is due to the extension of the idea of the universal atonement of Christ. The recent trial of the Andover professors for heresy, under the Seminary creed, has been decided by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts — though on another and technical issue — in favor of the professors.

Unitarianism

The Unitarian development arose as a protest against the old Calvinism, and was fostered by the intellectual atmosphere of New England and the decline of spiritual religion. It has recently thrown out many of those positive elements which linked it to historic Christianity. Some of its representatives have adopted the extreme of German rationalism, while others adhere to the border-land of the orthodox faith.

Presbyterian Theology

The Presbyterian Church has gone through a similar experience with the Congregational. It has been helpless to prevent the disintegration of the severer creeds of the post-Reformation age. The Old School fought tenaciously for the traditional conceptions, but at the reunion of the Church in 1870 the New School obtained complete recognition. It was the ruling school in the North. Henry B. Smith, professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, from 1850 until his resignation on account of ill-health in 1874, was the real father of the most modern and aggressive Presbyterian theology. The noble personality of this devout scholar and theologian is one of the rare heritages of the American Church. The Hodges, of Princeton, were able champions of the Old School. At present Princeton stands as the representative of the strict orthodoxy of the Presbyterian Church. In the Union Theological Seminary, Professor Charles A. Briggs, the pupil and follower of Henry B. Smith, is under trial for heresy. The partnership between Princeton and Union in the conduct of a most able and admirable theological periodical, *The Presbyterian Review* (1880–89), was dissolved. A revision of the Westminster Confession has been undertaken, which is proceeding on very conservative lines. The present outlook is, that the younger and more progressive thinkers, the pupils of Smith, Schaff, and Hitchcock, and like-minded theologians, will yet occupy hospitable places in their ancestral home.

The Irenical Period is the latest stage in American theology.

The Irenical Period

While each of the great religious denominations has its theological system, and has developed its systematic theology from the basis of its Confession, there has been a notable absence of the polemic spirit. The Edwardean theory of the Will has been ably answered by Whedon, from an Arminian point of view, but without acrimony. The universal tendency now is, in treating doctrinal theology, not to pull down another, but to build up one's own system. Everywhere the spirit is constructive. In spite of appearances that indicate the contrary, the animus of theology at present is peaceful and mediatory. The purpose is more and more to emphasize the great underlying truths on which all the churches stand, and to free the evangelical faith from embarrassing and unnecessary inferences and additions. The reconciling influence of Arminian theology, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was dreaded as a dangerous importation, has been most salutary. But there are many factors which have contributed towards a larger tolerance and a more generous catholicity. The churches are uniting on a basis of the fundamental doctrines of Christ to carry on an aggressive campaign against the kingdom of darkness. The points of disagreement are seen to be comparatively few and minor. The true growth of the Church, both in spiritual power and in the respect and homage of men, is found to be not only consistent with the free expression of individual opinion and the untrammelled development of theology, but to require such freedom of expression and development. The essential doctrines of the gospel were never more cordially believed than is the case to-day. The American Church is more and more inclined to settle down on the cardinal truths of Christianity, and, without laying again the foundations, or compromising any of the essentials of belief, to go forward to meet the great questions which Humanity has too long been asking, but in vain.

CHAPTER XXXI

THEOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP

The contributions of the American Church to theological science, even from the early Colonial period, have been important.

The development of Biblical scholarship has been very rapid, especially within the last hundred years. Moses Stuart, of Andover, was the most notable of the early interpreters of the sacred text, and so far surpassed all predecessors that he may be called the father of Biblical literature in America. He was the first to bring to his task as an exegete the requisite first-hand knowledge, and to inspire others with his enthusiasm for scholarship. His name in this respect is the most eminent of any in the history of our land. He broke the ground in 1813 by a "Hebrew Grammar," and he continued until he died, January 4th, 1852. His last book, "A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs," was published in that year. When he printed his "Hebrew Grammar" he was compelled to set up the types of about half the paradigms of the verbs with his own hands. He was the pioneer also in introducing German theological works into this country. He here achieved a great triumph in overcoming a deep prejudice, but he conferred a lasting boon on American students, for all time to come, in opening to them the wealth of the evangelical learning of Germany. He was himself an expositor of the Bible, of rare insight and judgment. Contemporaneous with him was Samuel H. Turner, professor in the General Theological Seminary (Episcopal), New York, from 1818 until his death, in 1861. He also shared with Stuart the opprobrium of translating German works on the Bible, and published original "Commentaries" and other works. Turner was an earnest scholar and a sound commentator, and he achieved much for American Biblical scholarship. Edward

Exegetical Theology

Stuart, Turner, Robinson

Robinson was the third member of this illustrious trio of pioneers. In 1823 he assisted his friend and colleague, Professor Stuart, in getting out a second edition of the latter's "Hebrew Grammar." His life was devoted to his science. His greatest work was his "Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petraea," the first edition of which was published in 1841. It was the first attempt in modern times to open up the Bible lands after thorough and patient exploration. It was a monumental work, and all the later books on the Bible have drawn from it as from a fountain. William M. Thomson, in "The Land and the Book," shows how the lands of the Bible, as seen to-day, confirm the Scriptural narrative.

Andrews Norton, who taught sacred literature in Harvard from 1813 to 1830, was also an early worker in the Biblical field. His great work on the "Genuineness of the Gospels" was published in Boston, 1837–44. He is the Lardner of America. Coming down to later times, we name only representatives of a large class of Biblical scholars: Ezra Abbot, a textual critic of world-wide reputation, author of an invaluable monograph on the "External Evidences of the Fourth Gospel"; Caspar René Gregory, whom Abbot assisted in the publication of the "Prolegomena to the Eighth Larger Edition of Tischendorf's Greek Testament"; Horatio B. Hackett, one of the noblest Christian scholars of modern times, whose "Commentary on Acts" is a work of exceptional value, and who, with Abbot, assisted in editing the American edition of Smith's "Bible Dictionary"; Thomas J. Conant, the learned and patient translator of the Bible for the American Bible Union; Joseph Addison Alexander, a man of vast learning, who at Princeton helped Stuart of Andover in popularizing German Biblical scholarship, but, like Stuart, was also an independent explorer; Fales H. Newhall, a brilliant scholar; Henry J. Ripley, whose life connects the early and later period; Enoch C. Wines, famous in another department of labor, whose "Commentaries on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews" has established his reputation in this department; George R. Noyes, one of the older commentators, an accurate and reverent translator; Charles Hodge, Daniel D. Whedon, James Strong, and William Nast, who have done honor to the universal Church by their priceless labors in the field of Biblical science.

The Later Biblical Scholars

In Historical Theology there has been an excellent beginning. America being far removed from the conflicts and prejudices of the Old World, there is no reason why there should not here prevail the judicial spirit. Some of our young American scholars in general history, beginning their historical studies in the German universities, have transplanted to our shores at once the pure historical spirit and the rare historical fruits of the long and calm investigation of German historians. America preceded England as the discoverer of the historical treasures of Germany. Bancroft, Motley, and others of our young men feasted their eyes upon the stores of historical wealth in Göttingen ; they only prepared the way for a great habit—the American study of history in Germany and a sustained familiarity with the latest historical literature of the continent in general. This early drinking at the German fountains of history applies also to historical theology. George P. Fisher, of Yale, was a student in Halle, and without his German training there had not been his superb Histories, which have appeared during the last two decades. Henry B. Smith's edition of Hagenbach's "History of Christian Doctrines" is a masterpiece of scholarship. The same great scholar revised and completed Gieseler's "History of the Church," and wrote himself a "History of the Church in Sixteen Chronological Tables." Philip Schaff is the greatest of all our Church historians. A native of Switzerland, and a student under the noble and pure Neander, he came to this country when a young man, and has devoted his life to teaching and authorship. There is hardly a department of theological science which he has not made richer by his labors. But it is as an historian of the Church that his scholarship has been most important and his fame most enduring. His example has been an inspiration to many young men, who will enrich the historiography of the Church of the Future.

Influence of Germany on American Historiography

Fisher, Smith, and Schaff

Lyman Coleman has investigated Christian Antiquities, and Charles W. Bennett has given us the best single work on Christian Archæology. Charles W. Baird and his brother, Henry M. Baird, have made thorough studies of the Huguenot Emigration to America; and their father, Robert Baird, was the first to give a connected historical account of Religion in

America. Dorchester has produced a "History of Christianity in the United States," which is a storehouse of valuable facts. Leonard Bacon has written a History of the origin of the New England Churches, entitled "Genesis of the New England Churches." Henry M. Dexter was an accomplished student of Puritan history, and his works are of great and permanent value. His "Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as Seen in its Literature" is one of the most important works in Church history produced on either side of the Atlantic. While Stuart was bringing forward his exegetical treasures from Germany, James Murdock, at the same institution, was doing the same work for the German church historians, adding, himself, most valuable materials. Ezra H. Gillett was an historian of painstaking research. His "Life and Times of John Huss" and "History of the Presbyterian Church" are comprehensive works. Hatfield, Nutter, and Duffield have written valuable books on the history of hymns. The latter's investigations into Latin hymnology are specially worthy of mention. Charles P. Krauth has given the results of his study of the Reformation in a notable volume, and E. J. Wolf has published a graphic account of the Lutherans in America.

Other American Church Historians

America has achieved pre-eminent success in theology proper. The long line of New England theologians is a list of sturdy thinkers which no other land surpasses. Charles Hodge was for over a generation the Nestor of Calvinism. His "Systematic Theology" is a textbook wherever the English language is spoken. His son, Archibald A. Hodge, continued his father's work in his father's spirit and with his father's ability. Robert J. Breckenridge was the Charles Hodge of the South. Thomas O. Summers, distinguished in other literary fields, wrote a most valuable treatise on theology. James Richards did good service at Auburn. Daniel D. Whedon was a most virile thinker. His prelections are among the finest specimens of theological debate to be found anywhere. James W. Dale is famous for his elaborate works on baptism. Lewis F. Stearns left one of the most important books of the present time as the monument of his short life—namely, "The Evidence of Christian Experience." J. P. Boyce and J. L. Dagg, both Baptists, have treated Systematic Theology. Horace Bushnell exerted a wide influence

Systematic Theology

on the thought of his time. His works on "Christian Nurture" and on "The Vicarious Sacrifice" are among the most suggestive treatises in the whole range of theology. Charles G. Finney impressed his views of truth on a wide circle of pupils and hearers. He was the founder of the Oberlin theology. Enoch Pond was a veteran instructor and author. Henry B. Smith mediated between Calvinism and modern theology. His posthumous lectures, edited by his pupil, the late Professor Karr, are among the most valuable books of the kind in our literature Miner Raymond was the first Methodist theologian to produce a complete "Systematic Theology." Randolph S. Foster, after a number of minor theological discussions, such as "Beyond the Grave" and similar works, began a colossal undertaking in systematic theology, under the general title of "Studies in Theology." Stephen M. Merrill has treated certain departments of systematic theology, especially in eschatology and baptism, with great skill. John Miley has produced a "Systematic Theology" at once original, liberal, and fully recognizing the latest investigations. Every theological seminary has its authority in this science, and men now venerable have made able contributions in published volumes.

The Churches of Europe have produced the most scholarly treatises on Pastoral Theology known to Christian literature.

Pastoral Theology

The conduct of a parish has been sung in the poems of George Herbert and others, developed by Baxter and many other writers in special treatises, and illustrated by the labors of Baxter, Howe, and many generations of devoted pastors. Many of them have become the honored teachers of the American Church. We have depended mostly on the German writers, whose treatises have been translated into English and made to do service in the United States. The most popular of the foreign works of this class has been Vinet's "Pastoral Theology," which, however, has been left in the background by later works. Theology, as an applied science, has had in the United States an unparalleled field for experiment. The problems of Christian life and work with us are so numerous as to remove the science of Pastoral Theology quite out of the limitations of the State Churches, and to give it a larger place in the service of the Church. The labors of Ebenezer Porter, James W. Alexander, Daniel P. Kidder, and Austin Phelps are fair specimens of how well the American

mind can conduct the treatment of great pastoral questions. All practical subjects have been discussed with singular fulness and promptness. Hitchcock, Behrends, Ely, and others have shown the relations of the Labor question to Christianity. The Sunday-school, in its most modern phases, has enlisted the services of Wise, Vincent, Trumbull, Hurlbut, Eggleston, and many others. Missions, evangelical work, Sabbath observance, humane efforts, and many other departments of ecclesiastical activity, have interested writers of all the great churches, and the fruit of their pens has become the immortal treasure of the Church, both in Europe and America.

General Subjects in Practical Theology

The record which the American Church has made in the great work of Christian defence is excellent. The echoes of the scepticism of the Old World which have reached our shores have left no harmful result. The people of the United States, even from the early colonization of the country, have never given hospitality to the rationalism of Germany or the deism of France. Our greatest danger arose from the force of Thomas Jefferson's example of sympathy with French infidelity, and of Thomas Paine's gross scepticism. But the great revival at the beginning of the present century was of incalculable influence in producing an evangelical spirit, from which the American Church has never shown the least disposition to retire. There has been some variety in attachment to the Christian foundations. In New England the disposition has been stronger than elsewhere to make concessions to the opponents of the orthodox communions. In the Middle States the field for rationalistic opinions has been less inviting, and these have never secured more than occasional favor. In the Southern States there has never been any yielding to sceptical influences. All the churches in the Southern States have, from the beginning of the Colonial Period down to this day, stood side by side in loyalty to the faith of the Church in its periods of reform and evangelization. The arduous experiences of James Freeman Clarke, in his pastorate of a little group of Unitarians in Louisville, are a fair type of the difficulty, from the beginning, of planting any other than principles of Evangelical Christianity on Southern soil.

Christian Apologetics of the American Church

Territorial Difference in Religious Belief

It is in harmony with the general evangelical trend of the American Church that we should find among American theologians a goodly number of heroic defenders of evangelical faith, and yet who are advocates of a growing and aggressive theology. Indeed, in no country do we find a keener appreciation of the labors of the eminent Christian apologists of Germany, France, and Holland, such as Neander, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Lange, Christlieb, De Pressensé, Van Prinsterer, and Van Oosterzee, than in the United States. The American defections from Christianity, excepting the Unitarian, have never made a lasting and profound impression on the life and thought of the country. Philip Schaff, here, as in many fields, has benefited the American Church by his prompt recognition of the dangers of German rationalism. George P. Fisher, by his "Supernatural Origin of Christianity," gave prompt notice that American scholarship was on the side of Evangelical Christianity. William Nast, in his "Introduction to the Gospels," has produced one of the most successful and convincing refutations of Strauss and his school. Joseph Cook has had a unique career in the Boston Monday Lectureship, and has widely influenced the views of many. These are representatives of a large class of men who are of supreme influence in shaping the theology of the American Church. There is every reason to expect that, in the battle for a firm and aggressive faith, the Church of the United States will be as devoted in its attachment to the Divine Word in the Twentieth Century as it has been in the three centuries already past.

Representative American Apologists

APPENDIX

CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES

I.

STATISTICS AS GATHERED BY THE CENSUS OFFICE

CHURCHES	Church Edifices	Organizations	Value of Church Property	Communicants or Members
Adventists:				
Advent Christian	294 1/2	580	$465,605	25,816
Church of God (Seventh Day)	1	29	1,400	647
Evangelical Adventists	22 7/8	30	61,400	1,147
Life and Advent Union	7 1/2	28	16,790	1,018
Seventh Day Adventists	418 1/3	995	644,675	28,991
Baptists, Seventh Day	78 1/2	106	264,010	9,123
" Six Principle	13 1/3	18	19,500	937
Brethren in Christ or River Brethren	34	63	57,750	2,080
United Zion's Children	25	25	8,300	525
Brethren (Plymouth) I	—	109	—	2,279
" (Plymouth) II	1	87	1,265	2,364
" (Plymouth) III	1	—	200	1,081
" (Plymouth) IV	—	—	—	446
Catholic:				
Armenian	—	6	—	335
Greek Catholic (Uniates)	13	14	63,300	10,850
Greek Orthodox	1	1	5,000	100
Old Catholic	3	4	13,320	665
Reformed Catholic	—	8	—	1,000
Roman Catholic	8,765 5/6	10,221	118,381,516	6,250,045
Russian Orthodox	23	12	220,000	13,504
Catholic Apostolic	3	10	66,050	1,394
Christian Church, South	135	143	137,000	13,004
Christian Connection	962 5/8	1,281	1,637,202	90,718
Church of God (Winnebrenarian)	338 1/4	479	643,185	22,511
Church of the New Jerusalem	87 3/4	154	1,386,455	7,095
(Community) Adonai Shomo	—	—	6,000	20
" Amana Society	22	7	15,000	1,600
" Bruederhoef Men. Soc.		(See	Mennonite)	
" Harmony Society	1	1	10,000	250
" New Icaria	—	1	—	21
" Society of Altruists	—	1	—	25
" Society of Separatists	1	1	3,000	200
" Society of Shakers	16	15	36,800	1,728
Congregationalists	4,736 1/24	4,868	43,335,437	512,771

CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES—(*Continued*)

CHURCHES	Church Edifices	Organizations	Value of Church Property	Communicants or Members
Disciples of Christ	5,324 1/4	7 246	$2,206,038	641,051
Dunkards, or German Baptists or Brethren (Conservative)	854 29/180	720	1,121,541	61,101
" " " (Old Order)	31 5/6	57	24,970	2,088
" " " (Progressive)	95 17/20	128	145,770	8,089
Seventh Day German Baptists	3 2/3	6	14,550	194
Evangelical Association	1,899 1/3	2,310	4,785,680	133,313
Friends (Hicksite)	213	201	1,661,850	21,992
" (Orthodox)	725	794	2,795,784	80,655
" (Primitive)	5	9	16,700	232
" (Wilburite)	52	52	67,000	4,329
Friends of the Temple (Hoffmanians)	5	4	15,300	340
German Evangelical Protestant	52	52	1,187,450	36,156
" " Synod of North Amer.	785 1/13	870	4,614,490	187,432
Independent Churches of Christ in Christian Union	183 1/2	294	234,450	18,214
Jewish (Orthodox)	122	316	2,802,050	57,597
" (Reformed)	179	217	6,952,225	72,899
Lutheran, Buffalo Synod	25	27	84,410	4,242
" Danish Church Assoc'tion	33	50	44,775	3,493
" Danish Ch. in America	74 1/3	131	129,700	10,181
" General Council	1,551 7/13	1,995	11,119,286	324,846
" General Synod	1,322 6/13	1,424	8,919,170	164,640
" German Augsburg Synod	23	23	111,060	7,010
" Hauge's Synod	99 3/4	175	214,395	14,730
" Icelandic Synod	4	13	7,200	1,991
" Immanuel Synod	19	21	94,200	5,580
" Indep'nd'nt Congregations	87	112	530,125	18,096
" Joint Synod of Ohio, etc.	443	421	1,639,087	69,505
" Michigan Synod	53	65	164,770	11,482
" Norwegian Ch. in America	275 1/3	489	806,825	55,452
" Suomai Synod	8 1/3	11	12,898	1,385
" Synodical Conference	1,531	1,934	7,804,313	357,153
" United Norwegian Ch. of America	668 47/60	1,122	1,544,455	119,972
" United Synod in the South	379 1/3	414	1,114,065	37,457
Mennonite	197 17/24	246	317,045	17,078
" Amish	61	97	76,450	10,101
" Apostolic	1	2	1,200	209
" Brethren in Christ	34 1/3	45	39,600	1,113
" Bruederhoef	5	5	4,500	352
" Defenceless	8	9	10,540	856
" General Conference	43	45	119,350	5,670
" Old Amish	1	22	1,500	2,038
" Old (Wisler)	11 1/3	15	8,015	610
" Reformed	29	34	52,650	1,655
Bundes Conference der Mennoniten Brueder Gemeinde	11	12	11,350	1,388
Church of God in Christ	8	18	1,600	471
Methodist:				
African Methodist Episcopal	4,124	2,481	6,468,280	452,725
African Union Meth. Protest	27	40	54,440	3,415

CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES—(*Continued*)

CHURCHES	Church Edifices	Organizations	Value of Church Property	Communicants or Members
Methodist:				
Amer. Wesleyan Connection..	341⅔	565	$393,250	16,492
Evang. Miss. Ch. in America..	3	11	2,000	951
Independent Methodist.....	14	15	266,975	2,569
Methodist Episcopal	22,844¼	25,861	96,723,408	2,240,354
Methodist Episcopal, South...	12,687⅜	15,017	18,775,362	1,209,976
Primitive Methodist.....	78	84	291,993	4,764
Union American Meth. Episc.	35	42	187,600	2,279
Welsh Calvinistic Methodist..	189½	187	625,875	12,722
Zion Union Apostolic.....	27	32	15,000	2,346
Moravian.....	114	94	681,250	11,781
Mormons:				
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	265⅝	425	825,506	144,352
Reorganized Ch. of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Sts.	122½	431	226,285	21,773
Presbyterian:				
Associate Ch. of N. America..	23	31	29,200	1,053
Associate Reformed, South...	116	116	211,850	8,501
Cumberland Presbyterian....	2,008⅞	2,791	3,515,511	164,940
" " Colored	192⅝	238	202,961	13,439
Presbyterian in United States	2,288	2,391	8,812,152	179,721
Presbyt. in U. S. of America..	6,663¾	6,717	74,455,200	788,224
Ref. Presbyt. (Covenanted)...	1	4	—	37
Ref. Presbyterian, Gen. Synod.	33	33	469,000	4,602
Ref. Presb. in U.S. and Canada	1	1	75,000	600
Reformed Presbyterian Synod	115	115	1,071,400	10,574
United Presbyterian	831⅓	866	5,408,084	94,402
Reformed Church in America ..	669¾	572	10,340,159	92,970
Christian Reformed.....	106	99	428,500	12,470
Reformed Church in the U. S...	1,304⅙	1,510	7,975,583	204,018
Reformed Episcopal	84	83	1,615,101	8,455
Salvation Army.....	27	329	37,350	8,662
Schwenkfeldians.....	6	4	12,200	306
Social Brethren.....	11 1/12	20	8,700	913
Society for Ethical Culture.....	—	4	60,000	1,064
Spiritualists.....	30	334	573,650	45,030
Theosophical Society.....	1	40	600	695
Universalists.....	832 1/30	955	8,060,833	49,224
Total.....	89,756 101/180	104,108	$480,030,800	15,395,127

CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES

II.

STATISTICS AS GATHERED FROM DENOMINATIONAL YEAR BOOK AND OTHER SOURCES

CHURCHES	Church Edifices	Value of Church Property	Communicants or Members
Baptists, Freewill	1,210 5/13	$3,105,392	87,369
" General	220 7/52	298,390	23,002
" General Freewill	1	4,778	859
" Old Two Seed in the Spirit	79	54,000	2,126
" Original Freewill	58	32,050	4,417
" Primitive	2,100	1,426,570	85,000
" Regular Colored	10,518	2,605,907	1,229,516
" Regular (North)	8,083	45,296,989	783,769
" Regular (South)	16,059	13,214,109	1,282,221
Christian Scientists	7	40,666	7,889
Church of God in Christ Jesus	29 3/4	45,075	2,612
Methodist:			
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	3,500	2,498,560	349,788
Colored Methodist Episcopal	3,196	1,563,681	128,758
Congregational Methodist	190	47,500	10,143
Free Methodist	1,102	805,085	22,113
Methodist Protestant	2,003	3,682,837	141,072
United Brethren	4,265	4,698,614	228,158
Protestant Episcopal	5,605	73,586,201	532,054
Social Brethren	5	8,700	913
Unitarians	422	13,079,800	67,749
Total	58,653 47/156	$166,094,904	4,986,528
Recapitulation:			
Total by Census Returns	89,756 101/180	480,030,800	15,395,127
Total by Year Book and other Sources	58,653 47/156	166,094,904	4,986,528
Grand Total	148,500 1009/1170	$646,125,704	20,381,655

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